3: Cline E-5 (1930) 1938 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
Sinkaietk

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THE SINKAIETK OR SOUTHERN OKANAGON OF WASHINGTON

By

WALTER CLINE, RACHEL S. COMMONS, MAY MANDELBAUM,
RICHARD H. POST, AND L. V. W. WALTERS

Edited by Leslie Spier

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[p. 2 contains no textual material]

PREFACE

101 The Okanagon are a Salish speaking people of north central Washington and adjacent British Columbia. Their territory comprised the drainage system of the Okanogan River and the upper Methow River, both northern tributaries of the Columbia River, from Okanogan Lake and the Similkameen valley in British Columbia southward to the mouth of the Methow.

The subject of the present paper is the culture of those Okanagon bands which occupied the southern half of this territory, from the Methow northward to Osoyoos Lake immediately north of the Canadian boundary. Two tribal units may be distinguished among these bands: the Sinkaietk or Southern Okanagon, occupying the lower Okanogan River valley, and the southern bands of Okanagon proper or, as we prefer to call them, the Northern Okanagon, situated above and below the international boundary. There are other Northern Okanagon bands wholly on the Canadian side with whom we had no contact.

The data we obtained relate in the first instance to the Sinkaietk or Southern Okanagon, but include much on the southerly bands of the Northern Okanagon, that is, those located about the boundary. In addition there are incidental notes on the Colville, Wenatchi, Methow, and other neighboring tribes.

The culture is that of a southern Plateau people, with moderate influences from the Northwest Coast. The Southern Okanagon bands differ culturally from those of British Columbia, and further possess appreciable individuality among themselves. The local differences seem in part due to Northwest Coast influences entering the area by three routes: through the Thompson tribe in the north, from the south by way of the Columbia River through Wenatchi and Chelan, and again through the Chelan from the Skagit on the western side of the Cascade range. This means that the central bands are culturally undistinguished in contrast to those north and south.

197 The language of the Okanagon is a dialect of Interior Salish identical with that of the Sanpoil, Nespelem, Colville, and Lakes (Senajextee) adjacent to the east. It is said to differ only slightly from the forms spoken by Wenatchi and Chelan to the south, the Kalispel, Pend d'Oreille, Spokan, Coeur d'Alêne, and Flathead to the east, and the Thompson, Lillooet, and Shuswap to the north.

114 This ethnographic study was made during July and August, 1930, by a group of grad-

114 uate students participating in a field training course of the Laboratory of Anthropology (Santa Fé, New Mexico) under my direction. The party comprised Miss Rachel S. Commons (of the University of Chicago), Miss May Mandelbaum (Columbia University), Emanuel Gonick (University of California), Walter Cline and Richard H. Post (Harvard University), who were joined by Miss L.V.W. Walters, financed by the University of Washington. A collection was made for the Washington State Museum (University of Washington), which has been used as the source of illustrations for this paper.

101 As a field for investigation for the group I hit on the Southern Okanagon. The
121 cultures of the southern Plateau in eastern Washington, Idaho, and western Montana have been neglected. It was, and is, my contention that the more typical forms of Plateau culture are to be found in the southern part of that area rather than in the north. Further, the solitary general ethnographic report published at the time, J. H. Spinden's "The Nez Percé Indians," tends to over-emphasize Plains elements, although these are demonstrably recent and superficial.

114 After a choice of tribe to be studied had been made, I received through the kindness of Dr. Franz Boas, a proof copy of James A. Teit's "The Salishan Tribes of the Western Plateaus," which contains an account of the Okanagon. Since it appeared, however, that Teit's account was brief and that he had not obtained information from the Okanagon bands in Washington, it seemed wise to proceed with our plan. The results appear to justify the decision, for the culture of the American Okanagon was found appreciably different from that of the Canadian bands.

Since I felt that the training would be incomplete unless it included the preparation of a printable manuscript, each member of the party was requested to prepare a section of the general ethnographic account. This despite our awareness of the insufficiency of the data. Before we disbanded we discussed a suitable division of the material and reached an agreement on the manner of treatment. Actually, when it came to writing these sections, the authors saw fit to depart quite widely from the agreed form.

The several sections were allocated partly in accordance with preferences, partly by lot. All the field notes were then collected so that I might sort them by topics and dispatch them to the authors. It proved impracticable to send the whole set of notes or the finished manuscript to each in turn. Hence it fell to my lot as editor to scrut-

114 inize the full set of notes to see that nothing was missed. The whole procedure was awkward, and without doubt valuable details and interrelations of phases of culture have been lost in the process.

It must be distinctly understood that each author is responsible only for the presentation of his topic, not for the content with all its inconsistencies and gaps. I, too, must share this responsibility: I have added, deleted, and otherwise changed these manuscripts to a considerable extent, for the most part without consulting the authors or initialling my contributions. This is especially true of the sections Material Culture and the Individual Life Cycle.

It is unanimously our feeling that this ethnographic account is incomplete and inaccurate. Local differences in culture seem to have been marked: informants had quite diverse backgrounds. These, plus the inevitable contradictions of informants, caused confusions which were never resolved. It is our feeling that the culture of the Sinkaietk should be restudied by one who will use these data as merely provisional.

101 The Southern Okanagon now live on and
162 about the western part of the Colville In-
361 dian Reservation. They now number about 250-300. The group is much mixed, both by intermarriage with other peoples for generations and by the inclusion of many individuals of neighboring tribes. Add to this a high mobility, such that most or all of our informants had resided at one time or another with other peoples. Mixture and intergradation of bands and tribes in this area is clearly ancient and only accelerated by the concentration of interior Washington tribes on the Colville Reservation in the middle of the last century. The upshot is that the ascription of various items of culture to particular bands and tribes is exceptionally difficult.

105 The aboriginal culture is now largely a
197 thing of the past. Older people maintain some aspects of their former economic life and material culture. There is some fishing at weirs; some gathering of berries and roots; some casual hunting. A few tipis and sweat lodges are in use; baskets and bark buckets are still made; occasionally a cradle board prepared and hides tanned in the old manner. The simple social structure has been adapted to reservation purposes, but is now nearly functionless. Shamanistic procedures, the winter dance, the Dream cult, and other organized religious activities of the ancient type are gone. Yet, while many are at least nominal Catholics, the old religious outlook, with its emphasis on guardian spirits, prevails to a surprising degree. The language is still functioning. On the whole, they are about as much deculturated as the Klamath or Walapai.

115 The following notes on some of the informants and interpreters were prepared by the members of the party.

115 Michel Brooks, Southern Okanagon, aged 55, was born of a Canadian mother (Northern Okanagon ?). He remembers the old life as a little boy. His father and grandfather told him much of the old ways.

Cecile Brooks, about 58 years old, was born at the time of the great earthquake (1872 ?). Wife of Michel Brooks by the levirate. (Her first husband had been a cousin of Michel's and a son of Lucy Joe's.) Kalispel by birth, but married into the Kartar branch of the Okanagon at a rather early age (about fourteen). There got rather full technological training as well as some insight into the functioning of the social and religious order, and traditions about the tabus of menstruation and so forth, which were for the most part no longer practised. Very able and intelligent. Distinguished very carefully between customs of the Okanagon and those she knew of the Kalispel.

Lucy Joe, Kartar, aunt of Michel, was more than 70 years old. She first married at the time of the earthquake, or somewhat before: her oldest child died at the time of the Nez Percé war (1877). Remembered days before the establishment of the mission. Herself able and intelligent, she was respected and somewhat feared by the others, particularly as she had a reputation as an important shaman. She did not admit this power openly during the five days we [M.M. and R.S.C.] talked with her, but hinted at it. This may have colored her material on religion somewhat, but her disavowal of Catholicism was frank and clear enough. Had been strongly influenced by the Indian preachings of the local advocate of the Dream dance. Had travelled, particularly to the Thompson country. Intelligent and well-informed on economics and theoretical social arrangements, ceremonies, and so forth.

Julie Josephine, also Kartar, probably about 80, but only a little older than Lucy Joe. These two are cousins: Lucy Joe calls Julie Josephine "older sister," since the father of the former was first cousin of Julie Josephine's mother (or more distantly related ?). This informant was good at specific details, such as relationships between actual individuals in a particular village. Time too short to get very much information.

Suszen Timentwa, 48 years old, present chief of the Kartar band, was born at Okanogan town. Ancestry is a mixture of Moses-Columbia and Kartar on his mother's side for several generations: father was Chelan. Intelligent person with mystical tendencies; prone to formalize everything into a cosmic scheme centering around his religious ideas.

Mary Carden, about 78 years old, member of the Tukoratum band. Her ancestry is Tukoratum and Chelan. Very shrewd, excellent memory, no scruples about divulging the past, and no pet philosophy to uphold.

Josephine Marchand, 38 years old, Mary's daughter. Her father was white. Considers

herself a Tukoratum. Excellent interpreter; interest was not in the past but in financial returns. Annie Marchand, aged 16, her daughter, furnished a tale.

Chilowhist Jim was born at Entiat about sixty-five years ago. He came to Malott as a boy of eight or younger. His mother lived at Malott, his father at Entiat. He has been on the Methow River a great deal and still goes there often.

Old Harry is also from the southern end of the Okanogan River. He married at twenty-six; had twelve children by two successive wives; his youngest son is now forty; hence Old Harry must be about ninety.

Billie Joe was an unsatisfactory informant whose views were undoubtedly colored by his wide contacts with other tribes. His father was Wenatchi; his mother a Northern Okanagon from Penticton; his stepmother Wenatchi; and his wife a Wenatchi shaman.

Johnnie Louie, aged 49, served both as interpreter and informant. His affiliations seem to be mostly among the central and northern bands, but one or more of his grandparents were Colville, and there is a question how far he identified himself with the Colville. Much of our Colville information was supplied by him. He is shrewd, intelligent, well-informed, and was active in furthering our enterprise.

Emma Louie, his wife, aged about 25, was also interpreter. She is Colville by birth, marriage, and normal residence. Nine years of mission school education. Adequate knowledge of languages; fairly intelligent, completely naive. Translations fairly accurate, as far as could be judged, and unbiased, but not always full enough.

Andrew Tillson, aged 78, affiliated with the northern bands and with the Northern Okanagon. Difficult to work with because of Johnnie's resentment of his deafness, and his character. Material seems to have been trustworthy whenever certainly checked as his own.

Tom Martin, about 60 years old, member of the Inkamip band, Northern Okanagon. He gave reliable information, but there were many things about the past that he did not

Yale University
September, 1933

know, or had forgotten. 115

Maggie Felix, 24 years old, born at Nkamapeleks [Douglas Lake band of Northern Okanagon ?] and married to an Inkamip man, was all right as an interpreter. I [L.V.W.] did not work with her long enough to train her. She was completely naive, friendly, and intelligent.

David Isaac, aged about 75, was born and grew up just north of Oroville. His mother's mother was of the Penticton band of Northern Okanagon; his father was Inkamip. His father's mother was Northern Okanagon of Oroville; his father's father was Inkamip; his mother's parents were both Penticton.

Margaret Sersepkin is now about 92. She was seventeen or eighteen when she went to the Plains (i.e., about 1855-56), which was six years after a severe earthquake.

We are indebted to Mrs. Martha Flahaut (Washington State Museum) for the identification of plants, and to Mrs. Richard H. Post, A. H. Gayton, and Verne Ray for line drawings. Mr. Ray also prepared the map of tribal distribution. 114

The rendering of native words leaves much to be desired. None of the students had received adequate training in transcription, and Interior Salish is phonetically difficult. Each one followed his own scheme of transcription. I have reduced these, somewhat ruthlessly, to a single notation. The phonetic system printed here follows the simpler system suggested in "Phonetic Transcription of Indian Languages" (Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections, 66, 1916, No. 6). The vowel series is as follows: 194

a	as in	father	á	as in	but
ä	"	hat	e	"	met
ē	"	fate	i	"	pin
ī	"	pique	o	"	not
ō	"	note	u	"	put
ū	"	rule	E, the indefinite vowel		

Glottalized consonants with fortis effect are indicated in the usual way by an exclamation mark after the consonant. Whispered sounds are raised above the line. It is doubtful that the native forms given in this paper are any more than mere approximations.

Leslie Spier

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000 Since this was written we learned of the untimely death of Rachel S. Commons. In her we have lost an ethnographer of promise and a companion whose charm meant so much to our life in the Okanagon country.

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THE SINKAIETK OR SOUTHERN OKANAGON OF WASHINGTON

THE SUBSISTENCE QUEST

by RICHARD H. POST

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Sinkaietk

THE SINKAIETK OR SOUTHERN OKANAGON OF WASHINGTON

THE SUBSISTENCE QUEST

By RICHARD H. POST

SEASONAL ROUND

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The foods utilized by the bands of the lower Okanogan River were typical of those found among northern plateau Indians generally. They took every variety of fish and game, root and berry that was available; also moss, seeds and the cambium layer of pine trees. Very little camas grew in the valley and no kouse, but the former root was well known through trade and special trips to camas grounds. Since the activities of collecting and preserving varied continuously with the seasons, the material will be presented in calendrical sequence. There are two main seasons, the sedentary winter and the nomadic summer. The latter was spent in camping, sometimes for several weeks, to obtain salmon and deer, but for much shorter intervals for other foods.

In winter the bulk of the people were in the villages, living in the tule longhouse or the underground house. A number of families from each band were generally scattered through the hills; usually those who did not lay in large supplies and depended more on winter hunting and fur taking. Hunting for furs became more frequent after white contact. Such families were visited frequently by young men sent by their chief to bring them food if needed. Game was soon scared from the vicinity of winter villages. If food was scarce men would go on long hunting trips, singly or in pairs. But game was thin and poor until summer.

Bears were taken in March and April, when they first came from their winter quarters and were still fat. Overnight trips were not generally needed except for grizzly bear hunting in the mountains, one of the few trips when women did not accompany the men.

During the last three weeks of April the fish locally known as suckers were running in the Okanogan, and families from the whole valley went to the falls in McLaughlin Canyon (twenty miles below Oroville) to work traps. They would remain a week or two, gathering and drying enough to last until the first salmon runs in June. The run of steelhead trout at this early season was not so important, but at Keller and other places considerable numbers of people used to gather. From here some people went directly to the summer salmon camps, particularly those at Oroville and Kettle Falls.

22 262 [517] 361 When several bands came together at a fishing site they camped separately and the chiefs tried to keep peace and order. After fishing all day they might come together in the evening to trade, wrestle, and run races. The chiefs might meet to pass about their pipes and compete in showing off.

During late April and May the rest of the people left winter quarters for the bitter-root areas, or perhaps the camas lands far to the south. In either case the men hunted while the women dug. Wild carrots, wild onions, potatoes and pine tree sap were taken then too. Only the very old stayed at the winter sites all summer.

From June to October the salmon were running and the bulk of the roots and berries ripening along the rivers. The people were then living in semi-permanent camps at the salmon traps or temporarily at the berry and root grounds. Trips were made to Wenatchi territory for camas and rabbits, and into the hills for hunting.

During October came the great fall hunts for deer. Groups of up to four families camped together in the hills, the men spending all day hunting and the women at camp, cutting and drying the meat, digging the last roots and gathering moss.

Then came a short period of building winter homes. Some families camped at the mouth of the Okanogan to spear dog salmon. Nearly all were settled in winter quarters by the middle of November.

Each family would go to the same general vicinity each year for hunting, fishing or digging, and almost always wintered at the same site, changing only if firewood became scarce or some catastrophe occurred. The band wintering above the present location of Omak would hunt about Moses Mountain and Omak Lake; the band wintering near Monse went into the Twisp country for summer hunting, returning in September for salmon in the Okanogan. Trips were made in small numbers, not as a group. Routines were changed according to their successes, the advice of power, and the homes selected by the newly married, whose parents used frequently to visit them for a whole season or more.

An interesting summary is given by Curtis:

"All the interior Salish subsisted largely on salmon, such roots as camas and kouse, berries, especially choke-cherries and

22 huckleberries. Extensive game drives for deer were held in the fall..... In the spring roots were dug, and the people returned about June to the streams and speared salmon.... In July began the season of digging fresh camas, which continued indefinitely until a sufficient supply had been accumulated. After the great fall hunt, the tribe disbanded (each small group of related families building its long lodge in a sheltered place in the valley)."[1]

It is difficult at this late date to estimate the proportions used of different foods. There was variation from band to band, from family to family, and from year to year. Some of the families, spending much time at the fishing grounds, would take enough salmon to last almost the year around, and the few who stayed in the hills subsisted very largely on deer. To judge from the mention of foods in tales and anecdotes, I should estimate that approximately equal thirds were used of game, of fish, and of vegetable foods, but close questioning brings up the vegetable quota to one-half. Undoubtedly the Indians preferred fish and game to the latter, and particularly deer meat. Probably more salmon was eaten than deer meat. Small game and smaller fish played a very minor role, and none were preserved but suckers.

[251] Chilowist Jim stated that some twenty salmon were stored in a single tule sack. Each family had about ten sacks of these and as many of deer meat. About equal amounts of deer and salmon were used. All these sacks containing a family's winter food supply made a pile six feet tall.

Johnnie stated that fresh deer meat was preferred to all other food. The Southern Okanagon ate four or five times as much salmon as game during the year. The Colville took enough salmon, largely at Kettle Falls, to last them the year around, but few others did.

SALMON FISHING

226 The brief account of fishing given by Teit[2] is quite proper for the Southern Okanagon, as is the somewhat longer account of Curtis[3] for the interior Salish. Salmon were of the most importance, and were taken during every big run.

Of the five species of salmon frequenting the Northwest Coast,[4] evidence was found in the Okanogan River of three: (1) Oncorhynchus tschawytscha, or Chinook salmon, which ran in May, June and July in the headwaters of the Columbia. They are by far the most abundant, now as formerly, and run for the longest period. They rarely went higher than Oroville. They begin spawning in the

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1 Curtis, North American Indian, VII, 70-71.
2 Teit, Salishan Tribes, 246
3 Curtis, North American Indian, VII, 71.
4 Cobb, Pacific Salmon Fisheries, 4.

926 lower Okanogan in mid-September, at which time they develop long fighting teeth and dog-like snouts. (2) O. nerka, the blueback or sockeye salmon, which run in July and August according to Cobb, in late May and June according to the local game warden. (3) O. kisutch, silver or white salmon, taken in November.

The steelhead trout, usually thought of as salmon, were fully as important as the last two species. They were taken when they ascended the rivers in March or April. After spawning, they descended the small streams to the Columbia River where by winter time they were fat enough to be worth catching.

Salmon were caught by various methods, depending on the season and the status of the fisherman. In the shallows they used spears, standing on the rocks or wading (no platforms were known); in certain favored positions weirs and traps were built; at waterfalls small dip nets were operated by hand. Large nets may have been used at the falls near Oroville. In winter spearing was accomplished from canoes by torchlight; and when the salmon had spawned and drifted ashore they were gathered by older women. A man lacking any proper implement might shoot fish in shallow water, but this was by no means a customary method.

A salmon weir can be built at only a few places on the Okanogan River, for which the prerequisites are (1) rapids where the water is not over waist deep; (2) a deep and large pool below the rapids, where the fish have the habit of lying during the daytime, so that there will be more chance of some going through the rapids at night; (3) rocks about six or eight inches in diameter on the bottom of the stream among which the poles will settle firmly. At present these locations on the river are (1) the rapids just above the head of the island at Monse; (2) rapids about a mile downstream from Malott; (3) rapids just above the head of the island which is about a mile below Omak. These places are used only when the river is at its present low level (summer of 1930). In former times when the river was higher the traps were located elsewhere. There were none between Shell Rock Point and Oroville.

227 203 622 The first step in the building of the weir is the announcement by a man (occasionally a woman) that he will build one at such a time and place. This announcement usually occurred at the winter dance. The news spread by word of mouth, in former times also by the speakers of the chief, whose permission had to be obtained by this "head man." The two would talk over the plans in some detail, with the help of older men.

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The head man was the first to move his family to the camping site, more families following day by day. The trap was communal: anyone could spear in it who wished, and anyone who was there would work on it. He would detail groups of men to make the preparations; some to cut poles of proper length, others to cut branches, twigs and strips of yellow bark for lashings; to make or borrow spears, canoes, apparatus for lighting, etc. As these assistants begin to arrive he cuts a small willow stick, while singing his power song, and lays it on the ground to signify the beginning. The others also sing if they have power songs. The head man superintends the whole construction, himself working here and there as he sees fit.

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Poles of young pine trees are cut for tripods, each from ten to twelve feet long and four to five inches in diameter. They are hewn clean of all branches, the top yard or so cut off, and the butts sharpened so that they will stick in the bottom. These are not sharply pointed, but bluntly rounded, since no pole could be sunk more than a few inches among the rocks of the stream bed, and a sharp point would not present a large enough frictional area to hold firmly. Two of these poles are tied together about a foot from the tips and the third is tied to one of them two feet from the tips. Thus one of the three poles has two lashings, one a foot above the other. The lashing is of willow bark, wrapped around and around, and secured with half hitches. (Hay wire is used today.) The lashing is done ashore on the ground, and the tripods are then pulled out into the river to the site, either by pairs of men or a boy on a saddle horse with a lasso. In former days the head man carried the upstream pole of the three. He sights along the tripods which are already placed so as to get the next one aligned. Each one is placed so that the two poles whose lashing is the lower will be upstream and the third pole downstream of them. In former days the weir was built straight across the river, perhaps slightly curved with the convex side upstream. Today the Indians on the Okanogan River are allowed to put their weir only halfway across. So from this halfway point they run a wing straight downstream, which obviously helps to corral the salmon. The poles do not have to be worked down into the bottom, but are merely jammed between the rocks. In the eight or nine m.p.h. current they are quite stable, with their angles of inclination at about twenty-five degrees from the vertical. The tripods are about twelve feet apart, and the poles comprising each tripod are about seven feet apart at the water line, so there is a pole every five and seven feet alternating at the waterline. Power songs are sung at frequent intervals while this work is in progress.

Longer poles, of eighteen to twenty-two feet, are now lashed horizontally to the two upstream poles of each tripod, about eight inches above the water. One can walk along these easily. Sticks about two inches in diameter are lashed to this in a vertical

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position, their lower ends pushed firmly into the crevices between the rocks. Heavy chicken wire netting is laid along these, one edge of the strip of wire being fastened along the horizontal pole and the other edge flat on the bottom. It is curved downstream, so that salmon cannot work their way under it while ascending the river. A second strip of chicken wire forms the trap proper. One of its edges is wired to the top of the horizontal pole at the same place where the first strip is wired. The other edge is held in the air, about two and a half inches above the water level on the upstream side of the weir, supported by sticks about a yard long, which are nailed one to each tripod pole. The fish jump over the horizontal pole, and into this second wire, which is bent so as to form a pocket V-shaped in cross section. The fish will become jammed in this and are not able to flop out. They will jump because of the small waterfall, four or six inches high, made by accumulating leaves and other floating debris which collects in the first wire. In former times, in place of the wire netting, green stakes, one inch thick, were used; they were two or three inches apart, lashed with willow withes and little sticks. They were held in place at the bottom by rocks. 227

About twenty feet from shore a bulkhead or platform of stones is built, about ten feet square, where the spearsmen stand. Its upstream edge is in line with the weir. One reaches this from shore by stepping stones. Next to it the water is fairly deep (three or four feet) for a short distance, and over this an arbor of willow and pine boughs is built, also about ten feet square. On the downstream side this covering is built to the water level. Under it a lantern is hung at night so the spearsmen can see the fish; also for the purpose of dazzling them, for they are said to become immobile in its glare. The arbor is made so as to prevent the fish from stopping before they are within range of the spearsman. 226

In former times, when fish were plentiful, a trap was made at the center of the weir, at the apex of the upstream bulge. A hole about a foot wide was made here under the water, by removing several of the vertical pieces, and an enclosure built on the upstream side of the weir, supported by two extra tripods. This was at the deepest part of the stream. A horseshoe dip net was often suspended under water to one side of this passage, where the fish would congregate. When the trap was full the passage would be closed and the salmon speared, either from the main horizontal support of the weir or from canoes. Iron gaff hooks have been used recently for this. White stones might be placed on the bottom of the trap to make the fish more easily seen. This is also described by Curtis. 227

Another construction is described by Curtis.

"On the downstream side a single panel

927 of similar fencing was constructed at an oblique angle from the shore to one of the tripods in the stream. This contained two openings large enough to admit the passage of the salmon, which entering the quiet water thus enclosed, were speared from the shore or the top of their weir."[5]

926 A pair of men watch together for night spearing, one holding the spear and the other tending the light; in the old days a fire, now a lantern. As soon as a fish is speared, it is killed with a simple club.

[462] Salmon which had spawned and were dead were gathered by old women, who could not
251 fish. They were picked up not only along the shore, but from canoes in mid-stream. They were butchered by cutting off the head and tail and throwing these away; slitting up the belly and taking out the backbone; then throwing the whole piece over a pole to dry. They had to be eaten "from the pole:" if put away in bags as the fresh ones were when dry, they would be very bad. So they were left hanging all fall and all winter, higher than the coyotes would be able to jump, or they would be roasted at once. They always smelled bad, but are said to have tasted good despite the smell. These salmon had no fat, and were very stringy. The males were worse than the females; fins worn, skin all white and cut, etc. It was thought that
[825] when numberless salmon had spawned and turned white, there would be a smallpox epidemic.

226 Women used also to fish with small nets.
462 Net-making was a feminine art. But they never went torch fishing, for the salmon were too
[787] hard to handle. Women might also dream of some information which would be of help to their husbands.

226 Salmon eggs were dug by the Colville from the sandbars of the Columbia when the water fell. This was not done on the Okanogan River.

SALMON DRYING

251 All freshly caught salmon were butchered in a stereotyped manner, as fully described below. This routine was followed for all which were to be dried, as well as those eaten during the four day ceremony. When salmon were being caught in large numbers, they might be cached several hours in the shade before being butchered.

251 They were dried on racks set up near the
417 fishing places. These were of two types. The smaller consisted of two tripods of poles ten to twelve feet long, each with a horizontal crosspiece lashed between two of its poles from seven and a half to eight feet above the ground. The tripods were eighteen to twenty feet apart. These two horizontal- supported between them a number of longer poles, and on these rested the sticks, about

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5 Curtis, North American Indian, VII, 71.

251 417 a foot apart, on which were laid the pieces of salmon. The other type of rack was square, twenty feet on a side, often employing trees for corner posts. In both cases, the sticks bearing the flesh had to be set in place with the aid of forked sticks, for the rack had to be seven and a half to eight feet high in order to prevent animals from stealing the meat. Bits of bush might be placed over it to keep off the sun, and a small fire of dry willow or alder wood, which was not pitchy, kept going underneath if the weather were moist, if the flies were bad, or if the people were in a hurry to move on. Generally it took about two days and nights to dry the salmon, but it was watched carefully so as to be dried the optimum amount, more being constantly set up wherever there was room. The dried fish was stored in sacks of hemp or tule, about as large as burlap bags, placed in arbors and later in caches.

Dried salmon would last only one year: it became wormy after that.

If taken in winter the fish (mostly silver salmon) were hung in the eaves of the house. If they were caught too quickly for this they were allowed to freeze. They could not then be dried and stored, but had to be eaten fairly soon, and they had practically no taste. The dog salmon which was picked up dead was treated similarly.

252 Small amounts of salmon pemmican were prepared by pounding the dry flesh on flat rocks with large pestle-shaped stones or mauls. Tule mats would be spread out next to the rocks to catch the crumbs. No berries or roots were mixed in, but oil was added, which helped to seal the fish from the air.

Fresh salmon was cooked only by roasting: dry salmon might be roasted or boiled. Roasting consisted of placing the flesh near a glowing fire, usually with a splint of wood run through it for support, and if it were fresh and juicy, with a receptacle underneath to catch the dripping oil. Boiling was accomplished always by use of hot stones in buckets, usually of bark. The stones were moved with fresh green sticks. Fish which had been smoked could not be roasted but had to be boiled, whereas fish dried in the wind could be roasted.

Methods of preparing salmon heads were cited by Mary Carden as follows. (1) The head might be roasted to keep for several days. Having been cut off back of the gills and slit from mouth to throat, the flesh inside was cut into strips, and a stick pushed through the whole transversely to hold it flat. This was set on a spit beside the fire and turned from time to time. (2) To dry the head for storage, it was cut and skewered as above, and hung to dry. (3) Sometimes these were boiled for immediate consumption. Eyes were always eaten, but not uncooked.

FIRST-SALMON CEREMONY

First-salmon ceremonies[1] were carried on during the first four days each year that fish were taken at a weir. The procedure was to keep the fish at the river shore until daybreak (the first ones usually having been taken at night), and then carry them up on poles, actually spear poles, which were thrust into the gills and out through the mouths. A pair of boys can thus carry eight or ten, the pole resting on their shoulders. They are laid on a thick bed of willow leaves to await butchering. The butcher is chosen by the head man as one skilled in the work and deserving the distinction. He frequently does it himself.

Each fish is scraped clean with a knife. A transverse cut is made into the ventral side at the base of the mandible, where the gill slits are closest together, and another transverse cut into the dorsal, at the base of the neck. Each cut penetrates almost to the backbone. The head of the fish is then bent upwards and backwards until the backbone breaks, when the head comes off. Five longitudinal cuts are now made into the ventral side of the head piece, one in the midline (running through the mandibular symphysis) and two on each side of this, so that the head piece can be flattened out. A sharpened stick is pushed through in a lateral direction to keep the head flat. Three or four heads are thus impaled on the same stick, with their left sides all uppermost.

The butcher then kneels at the edge of the bed of willow leaves and lays the fish on its left side, its tail towards [away from ?] him. A slit is made from the anus to the proximal end of the body cavity, the viscera taken out, and the blood which has clotted along the backbone scraped away. This material is all put into a bucket or pot which is filled with water, later to be boiled as a finale to the feast. Nowadays this blood is thrown away.

A transverse cut is made into the right side, just posterior to the dorsal fin, clear to the backbone; and a longitudinal cut is made to this from the anterior end, along the middle of the right side, halfway between the dorsal and ventral sides. This is the line which marks the white ventral surface of the fish from the darker dorsal surface. This cut is also made to the backbone. The transverse cut is occasionally made before the belly is slit (twice out of four times observed). The lateral line cut was once made with the knife's direction passing from tail to head instead of from head to tail. These variations were not permitted years ago, however.

The fish is now turned about end for end so that its tail is between the butcher's knees. Two small transverse slits are made

[1] [For footnote, see p. 15 (c), category 116.-- Analyst]

by jabbing the point of the knife into the flesh on each side of the lateral line cut and near the posterior vertical cut. By placing an index finger in the upper slit the flesh can be raised, as the knife separates it from the backbone. This upper strip of flesh is cut off and laid aside. The knife begins its work at the posterior end and advances anteriorly. Then the fish is turned around end for end and the bottom strip is cut off, with the direction of the knife from head to tail. Two strokes are needed for the upper strip of flesh, one to sever it from the backbone and another from the dorsal line, while only one stroke is needed to sever the lower strip. The dorsal fins remain with the left strip of flesh. 226 252 788 796

The fish is now turned on its right side, with its head between the butcher's knees and its tail away from him. Similar cuts are made on its left side, and these two strips of flesh removed, the top one first. Then the backbone is severed at the point where the transverse or vertical cuts have been made, and the tail piece, which is three or four inches long, laid aside. There are thus seven pieces of salmon, counting the backbone on which considerable flesh remains. As has been said, the ventral and dorsal fins are on the lower and upper pieces of the left side in all cases, the second side to be cut.

Sticks of wood two and a half to three feet long and pointed at one end, are being whittled from cedar splints, dry and not green, by others while the butcher is at work. Willow is used if cedar is not procurable. The salmon heads are impaled three or four together on these, and as many tail parts are put together on other sticks, posterior tips uppermost. Roe is similarly impaled, the four clusters of two females on a single stick; and the testes of male fish on other sticks, eight or ten together. These last, however, cannot be eaten until the four days of the ceremony are over. They are not roasted, therefore, but dried in the sun.

The four long strips of flesh of each salmon are now impaled each on a cedar stick. Short splints of cedar about three inches long are run through these laterally, as battens to keep them from falling apart, perhaps eight or ten to a piece. If the flesh is still not firmly fast on the splint, it is tied up with a piece of green willow twig from which the leaves have been stripped. The twig is made pliable by holding it in the two hands about half a foot apart and rotating these hands in parallel planes about the same axis, in such a way that when one hand is up the other is down, etc. This is done again and again at different points on the twig until it is pliable, the fibers being separated.

All varieties of salmon are said to be

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[1] Mr. Post took part in the building of a weir and first-salmon ceremony near Moloit. — L.S.

p. 15 (C)

[1] [For context of this footnote, see p. 15 (A), category 116. -- Analyst]

[First-Salmon Ceremony]

226 252 788 796 prepared in this ritualistic way, and on all occasions, not for the ceremonies alone. That is, a salmon is always cut into seven pieces. They are always butchered the day that they are caught, and as early as possible, the feast following at once.

[171] This account deviates greatly from that of Teit for the Thompson Indians, which, however, resembles the procedure found among the northern bands of Southern Okanagon, according to our information. There the head and tail are cut off, and the head sliced as before so it could be opened out. The dorsal fin and the two lateral ventral fins are cut off, each with a small strip of meat. Slits are made along each flank so that they can be opened out; then the belly is slit, and a cut made along each side of the backbone, which is lifted out and thrown away. Finally the back is slit almost up to the neck and the fish slung over a stick on the drying rack, hanging from the neck.

226 796 574 When the pieces have all been arranged on splints, they are carried to the fire, which covers a space three by eight or ten feet. Young men and boys have gathered dead wood for this, piling it almost half a foot high. They willingly stick the splints in the ground, one row of them on each side of the fire, the windward row quite close to it and the leeward row a few feet away. The skin side of the strips of flesh is always away from the fire, lest it drop off. Meanwhile the older men move up from where they have been watching the butchering, and assemble about a second bed of willow leaves, three feet wide by eight or ten long and six inches thick. The food is to be served on this. Here they continue their constant conversation, which never lags and never becomes boisterous, yet is never monotonous to a white listerer: fairly lengthy discourses and shorter remarks, much as we would make them, all well-sprinkled with laughter.

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At the end of the fire nearest them a gallon bucket is placed, into which the viscera of all the salmon have been put, also the blood clots along the backbones. It is filled with water and service berries and allowed to boil about two hours. The flesh takes about one hour to cook. In former times a bark bucket was used instead of an iron pot: it would be set in a hole at the head of the fire and hot stones placed in it. This dish is called xalū'ps.

The pieces of flesh are turned around with the skin sides towards the fire as soon as the other sides are hard and done. Oil drips from the pieces, but it is not collected or saved during the ceremony.

When done, the head man calls the boys to bring the pieces of flesh to him at the fresh pile of willow leaves. Here he pulls the splint and support sticks out of the pieces, scraping the flesh off each one and collecting it on a tule mat of fine texture. This is to be used as t'simrai'wi. The pieces of flesh are handed out to the crowd

Sinkaietk

[First-Salmon Ceremony]

226 796 574 of men, who sit down around the bed of willow leaves, still forever talking. Nowadays they will save several pieces to take home to their families, women included, if they have caught plenty of salmon. The fresh-roasted flesh is wrapped in willow leaves, each bundle tied firmly with a supple twig and set aside until evening and the homegoing.

226 796 574 264 As the men and boys eat, they throw all the hard parts of the fish which they do not care to swallow in the center of the willow bed: bones, fins, gills, cartilage, eyeballs, etc. At the end of the feast these particles are gathered up and added to the t'simrai'wi. This is put into a burlap bag (formerly tied up in leaves) and hung from a branch of a tree nearby, where animals might not reach it. At the end of the four days, the accumulation is put into a pot with service berries and boiled. T'simrai'wi is said to be collected after all feasts, and kept as a last resort in case of winter famine. The xalū'ps is eaten at the end of each feast. It is regarded as a delicacy, and only the older men might take it. Actually it is bitter in taste, though one grows to like it more and more.

The same places are used for butchering, roasting, and eating the salmon during these four days. On the fifth day the salmon are given to the women, who thenceforth do most of the handling.

If a large number of salmon are taken during the four days, the men may be taxed to eat it all, but they must do so; even as each man must surely have a taste if only a small amount is caught. Usually only a few were caught these first days, for the runs commenced gradually. Of course, men might eat anything else during the day if this morning "feast" is but a small pinch of flesh. From fifty to one hundred men used to attend these feasts.

Of the four nights' fishing, the first two are spent spearing at the fire site and the second two watching for fish to jump into the weir. Only two men work at a time for the first two nights: a spearsman and a man at the fire. Other men sleep nearby, and a second pair may take the places of the first during the night.

226 796 [775] 825 The few Indians who will give an interpretation of the salmon ceremony say that their ancestors were taught it by Coyote, according to their myths, and that therefore they must follow it. They fear that the salmon might not come in the future if they failed to observe it. The salmon have come a long distance for the Indians, and they are quite willing to please them by such recognition. The number four is used "simply because the head man always chooses four days when he announces the full plan at the winter dances." At this time he tells where the trap is to be built, how close the women may be allowed to come, and other rules and regulations. The same head man often built a weir year after year.

[First-Salmon Ceremony]

a weir year after year. 000

While first salmon ceremonies are typical of Plateau culture, the traits found here seem fairly different from those of most tribes so far studied. Gunther' gives nine outstanding traits, of which these Southern Okanagon have only four: catching by a specified person, cutting by a specified person, cutting in a ritual manner, cooking in a ritual manner. It is questionable if the power songs sung individually while the tripods are being erected are her "prayers," and if the carrying of salmon on small poles by the boys is her "carried in specific manner." There is no dance, no throwing of the bones into the water, no boiling of the fish (which is more characteristic of the coastal tribes). 226 796 171

The Okanagon motive is typical, to renew or maintain the established world, even though few Indians could explain this. Coyote said the ceremony should be done so, and so it is. They have the idea of making animals revive and return another year (see treatment of deer bones, and the bear ceremony and song), but these do not apply to salmon in the same way, except that every scrap of the salmon must be consumed at the feast. 226 796 825

Women are not supposed to come nearer than a half mile from the weir, so camp is pitched at least this distance from the chosen spot. Women might come closer if under the escort of a man with special power, after the first four days of fishing. Women may not eat salmon until after these four days. A person whose close relative has died recently, or a man whose wife is pregnant with her first child is not allowed to come in sight of the trap or to eat the fresh salmon. A man would not be allowed to help build a trap within two years of a death of a parent, brother, sister, or wife. Boys are not allowed to participate in the feast unless they are old enough to help in preparing wooden spits, carrying the flesh about, etc. They may, however, go as near to the weir as they wish. 226 796 784 825

The upper bands of Southern Okanagon permitted no swimming nearer than a half mile from the trap, on the downstream side: they could swim anywhere above it. All water had to be drawn from the upstream side. After the ceremony the entrails might be thrown into the river before the fish are set out to dry, but this, too, is done above the trap. Some people preserved the heart and liver, some did not.

If any part of a human skeleton is thrown into the river, the salmon will never come there until the object is removed or washed away. A salmon head or intestine put in the river will stop them also. A person with strong salmon power may prevent the salmon from entering the trap of a person with weaker power.

P.17(A) , Gunther, A Further Analysis of the First Salmon Ceremony,

mon from entering the trap of a person with weaker power. 900

Women and children were not supposed to eat the heads or the tails of salmon, but when the people were ready to leave the river, they would grow careless and eat dried heads and tails, which were not as dangerous as the fresh. Should the salmon then fail, they would become strict again. 226 796 784 825

These tabus did not apply to other fish; in fact women ate even the boiled viscera of trout and squawfish. 262

If a woman should break a tabu it would scare the salmon away and she would suffer from menstrual pains. One never did break a tabu deliberately. Women and mourners made a wide detour around the trap when passing up or down the river shore. Very few individuals understood why they had the tabu; they simply followed it.

Explanations of women's tabus vary. The fact that the men were naked while building the trap, or wearing perhaps a strip of maple, willow, or sagebrush bark wrapped about the end of the penis as protection from the poles they are handling, might account for it. Perhaps the idea came from the Okanagon creation myth, in which the first weir is said to have been built by two bird sisters, far down the Columbia River. Coyote took this away from them and gave the same sort of weir to the people all the way up the river and its tributaries, saying that they should obey his laws and follow his directions in the building of weirs and catching of salmon. One of these injunctions was that the men were forever to keep weirs and fishing away from the women. In this regard the tabu is similar to the tabu on deer hunting. Could they be a survival from the hypothetical days when men monopolised control over the food, and subjugated the women? Are they connected with fear of blood, associated with women? [773]

While the men worked at a weir, some of their women would go into the hills to gather roots and berries, while others would remain in camp nearby. Women did practically all of the work of drying the salmon.

SMALL FISH

Suckers (q'ôq'ômû's) were taken during both of their annual runs, upstream in early May and downstream in August, when they sought deeper, more quiet waters. By far the larger catch was in May, when traps were set at the bases of waterfalls in McLaughlin Canyon. This fishing was left largely to old men: women dried the catch which was traded with those who had spent this time digging roots. A pole would be set horizontally in the rocks so that the surface water fell directly upon it. Smaller poles were secur- 226 [462] [887]

226 ed to this, at right angles to it, and sloping away (i.e., downstream) at ten or fifteen degrees. Willow twigs would be woven through these "to form a basket-like trap," the mesh fine enough to prevent the fish from falling through. After jumping up the falls many fish would be unable to swim against the swift water above, so would be washed down again, only to fall into this trap. They would flop down its slope and into the woven basket, which was emptied every hour or so. It was not hard work, and great numbers of fish would be taken in a very few days, often a valuable accession before the first salmon runs. Families would come from as far as Chelan and even Wenatchee for this fishing. They brought tule mats for tipis, stayed a week or two, dried their fish, and packed them home.

227 Conical traps of woven willow twigs, from three to six feet long and about a fifth as wide at the base, were set in shallow parts of streams, not over two feet deep. The warp consisted of sticks of green or white willow, three quarters of an inch in diameter at the butt ends, which were at the base of the trap, and tapering finely towards the apex, where they were all tied together. The weft was of willow bark or small twigs made pliable by bending. The twining was similar to that of a tule mat, one warp caught into each twist, the wefts being from three to six inches apart. At the center of the base was a mouth, three inches in diameter, in which was a funnel of woven twigs (two feet long) projecting into the trap, its smaller end inside, which prevented the escape of captured fish. The trap is weighted down with rocks. A fence of tule mats or bundles of willow weighted with rocks may lead to the trap, the fish driven by waders; or six or seven traps may be placed close together, mouths upstream, in a row across the stream at a narrow place, making a partial dam. The fish are removed daily by untying the withes at the apex.

226 417 Spearing platforms were built on the Okanogan River above Monse at the head of eddies. (Strangely, these bands did not use platforms for salmon.) Two poles would be worked into the mud by pounding with big stones, three heavy supporting poles bound to these with willow withes, and two more laid horizontally to the river bank. Leafy willow boughs and skins laid on these shaded the water so that the fish could be seen. [433] This work was done in April before high water. Whoever built the scaffold owned it, but anyone could use it. Dip nets were operated from these, the man crouching or kneeling on the platform and dipping downstream with a sweeping motion.

226 Suckers are speared preferably with a spear which, beside its central point, had two foreshafts (wi'tc). Each foreshaft had a reverse barb made from the radius or ulna of a bear rather than from deer horn, since the latter is more brittle and was used only for detachable points. On spearing, the foreshafts are spread apart by the fish

226 while the point penetrates it. The pole is then jerked back so as to force the barbs into the fish. This secures it firmly so that it can be lifted out of the water by raising the pole, with very little chance of the fish dropping off.

This spear is especially desirable in winter for torch fishing from canoes, which is delicate work and demands precautions when hands are cold and quarters cramped. The torch is of shavings of cedar or pitch pine wrapped into a ball, soaked in pitch, and tied to the end of a long pole. One man holds this in the bow, a second paddles in the stern, and two more do the spearing from amidships. Five kinds of fish were taken in this way: lampreys, whitefish, steelheads and squawfish, besides suckers. The Columbia River was the best place, when there was not too much ice. Lampreys and squawfish were too lively during the day, but went more slowly at night. These two fish were also taken with the dip net.

Suckers were taken with the same spear in early spring when they are so fat they can swim only fifty yards at a time, so are easily pursued. On the lower Okanogan River they were even speared from the banks. No long
252 trips were made for such fishing. Suckers were not often caught in numbers great enough for drying; but were roasted fresh. They were butchered by slitting the belly and removing the viscera, but leaving the skin in place. They were then impaled on a splint before the fire. The backbone might have been removed and thrown away. Sometimes the viscera were boiled in a pot with berries, etc., like the salmon xalū'ps, but such sucker stew could be eaten by women or children. Usually no internal parts were used but the
251 roe, which was dried for winter use or smashed up and boiled. To dry the suckers a cut was made down the right side of the backbone and the fish kept open by running a small stick through the flesh transversely. Both sides of the backbone might be cut and the bone removed as well as the viscera. A hole was then punched through the tail and a stick run through several fish at a time. Thus they were hung on a drying rack for a week or less; not in the sun, for then the oil would drip off, but under a shelter covered with brush, rarely of tule matting. In rainy weather a small fire would be kept going beneath, using dry wood, such as would not flavor the meat. This would take perhaps only three days. Dried suckers were kept in
[462] tule mat envelopes, stored in caches or platforms. This work was done by women, and the catching by men or women. Usually only older people and children took suckers. The dried fish were boiled in wintertime, after being broken up if too hard.

226 First fruits ceremonies were observed
796 for suckers. The first nights' catch was roasted next morning by the women; bitter root and service berries prepared too. Everybody present would eat all they could; the portion left was divided and taken home. Before eating, some old man "thanked the Lord" for the suckers.

p. 18 (B)

for the suckers.

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A small fish called sEsERē'ūs abounded in the creeks emptying into Omak Lake during the spring floods. These came from the lake to spawn. They were so numerous that they could be caught by hand in hundreds. Later in the season, before service berries were ripe, the fish was even better, having more fat; while they could still be caught in the hand, they were then not so numerous. The fish were dried on racks and later mixed with bitter root or service berries. Or the eggs were extracted and mixed with service or other berries. The latter dish (alone ?) was called xalū'ps, like that prepared from salmon, but unlike it this was not tabu to women at any time.

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Trout (xōkōmē'na) were caught in late summer and fall, while descending the mountain streams to spawn in the lower creeks. Hooks and lines were employed, also traps like salmon traps, but smaller, from which they were usually lifted by hand. Small salmon trout were also taken with the dip net. They were sometimes dried in the sun for winter use. During the winter they were taken in the rivers, but only when other food was scarce, since they were then thin.

Fishing by hook and line was not common, and was carried on mostly by women and children for small fish. A pole was always used, of straight tamarack, cedar or fir, always peeled and smoothed. It was called qElht-EmnalōqtEn. The line, of Indian hemp, was tied to a little notch at the end; sometimes also passed down and tied again at the handle. Hooks were of crossed splinters of bone (usually deer ulna) wrapped together with sinew, sometimes one passing through a hole in the center of the other and wrapped (called qaqē't and t!tamē'n interchangeably). These splinters were shaped by cutting and grinding on a stone. A hole was bored in the hook for the line and a groove made on each side of the point where the bait, grasshoppers or worms, was tied on. A line was never held by hand alone. Bullheads were caught thus, as well as trout and other fish.

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Ling or devil fish (spokōla'tc) were caught through the ice in wintertime in Lake Okanogan, that is, in Northern Okanagon territory. The hook was made by binding a bone point, one inch long, to the end of a piece of dogwood (about three inches long) which is strong and has no odor. A small fish is used for bait and Indian hemp for a line; also for binding on the point. The line is dropped to the bottom of the lake in deep water and its end tied to a cake of ice. When a fish takes a bait he swallows it completely, and so does not often get away. These fish were a palatable and valuable winter food. Usually they were boiled after skinning. They were not preserved, but eaten fresh.

1/4 [For context of this footnote, see p. 19(B), category 116.-- Analyst]

8 Cf. Teit, Thompson Indians, 346. 4

DEER HUNTING

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Deer were the most important game animals and after salmon the largest item of food preserved for winter use. They were taken at all seasons of the year; most in the fall and perhaps later in mid-winter. A variety of methods were employed: pre-eminently with bow and arrow, frequently with the aid of dogs and often in big drives, though never by stalking with the aid of animal disguises; spring traps and fences; nooses; and nets. It was always considered sport to hunt deer, and one or two, perhaps three men would go together whenever fresh meat was wanted and there seemed good chance of success. The simplest and most common procedure was to walk through the woods and flush the deer from their resting places. Perhaps a hunter would hide by a salt lick (ɬEcqōqane'ntEn) or drinking place. In recent years a pit might be dug there and covered with bushes, or a scaffold made in the trees.* "They often spared the does and shot only the bucks."

The fall was the best season, for then one's vision was wider, the deer were fatter and had longer hair on their hides, and they herded together. The people now made camps in the hills and hunted intensively. A group of four or five boys might form a line across a small valley and advance towards its head, perhaps with dogs, shouting and waving their arms, scaring all the game before them. The hunters, twenty or so, would be in hiding at narrow places. Occasionally the deer were driven over a cliff, as near Loomis.

The Colville are reported to have set fire to the underbrush in the late fall to drive game through a defile where hunters were stationed as the Thompson did. This firing repeated over the same territory every three years would prevent the dead logs and underbrush from accumulating enough to permit a severe fire. Both Suszen and Old Harry declared this was not a device of the Sinkaietk.

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All such hunts were directed by a leader, who had special power to hunt deer. Generally he would announce his plans at the winter dance. He might get special favors such as all the kidneys of the deer killed by the group, not ostensibly as a reward or payment but because of a command of his power. The men were awakened early in the morning before a big hunt by a speaker (sūktakei'n) or caller, who was appointed by the chief to do this regularly. He prompted the men to bathe first and bring dried meat along with them. There was no tabu against sleeping with a woman the night before going on a hunt. [834]

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Dogs were used mostly in the fall. The deer could not run very fast then, and they

*[For footnote, see p. 19(A), category 116. -- Analyst]

224 could be seen from some distance. The dogs were held in leash by a simple thong around the neck, usually of willow withes. When they came to a fresh track they would strain and pull, and if it was a large deer they would be set free, the hunters running after them. As soon as a deer was brought to bay the dogs would bark, and the hunters stalked up to shoot it, keeping hidden, since the deer would still run if it should see a man. A very good dog could bring a deer to bay all by itself. Such hunting was done only by one or two or three men. If there were more they would organize a drive.

Deer fences were used in October when herds had formed and were descending the trails from summer pastures, the does first and the bucks later. A fence would be built across the brow of a hill as on a contour line. Where it crossed a deer trail a trap would be built, usually only one for each fence, but sometimes two or three. There would be an opening in the fence here just wide enough for a deer to pass through. The fence would be about half a mile long and eight feet high. It was made by chopping trees halfway through and bending them over to forty-five degrees, all in the line of the fence. The limbs would hold them so. If the deer were scared they would jump over such a fence, but if undisturbed they would travel along it until they came to the hole. The fence was reinforced here by twining extra poles among the trees.

A log about two feet in diameter is laid across the trail at the hole in the fence. A deer coming down the hill would step over this; if it were any bigger he would jump. Just where the forefoot would come down on the further side of the log, a hole was dug in the earth about one and a half feet deep and two and a half feet in diameter. A noose of Indian hemp rope, about three-eighths of an inch in diameter, was laid about the hole and tied to the top of a fir sapling, which was bent over and tucked under a notch in the log to hold it down, the tip very close to the hole. Small twigs were laid over the hole to hide it. When the deer steps over the log his foot will jar the sapling so that it springs up, pulling the noose which is around the forefoot. The sapling is not large enough to carry him into the air, but simply to lift his foot.

The more complicated and effective variation of this trap described by Teit[9] was probably also used, but was only dimly recollected by Chilowist Jim. Here the spring is held down by a second rope, which is tied to the center of a piece of wood six or eight inches long. This was caught under the log and a rock placed at the opposite side of the hole. Another stick resting on this served as a trigger. When the deer steps into the hole he pushes down the covering

[For context of this footnote, see p. 20(B), category 116. -- Analyst]

9 Teit, Thompson Indians, 247.
10 Curtis, North American Indian, VII, 70.

224 twigs which move the trigger, so that the spring is released. In general, Teit's account of Thompson deer hunting is very similar to that of the Southern Okanagon.

One man would make such a trap alone, with no help outside the family, during one day. Elderly men made these, being incapacitated to follow the deer. Usually a man would have only one or two, or at most three traps. He would visit each almost every day and spend the rest of the time hunting elsewhere. They were perhaps two miles or so from the camp.

A simple noose might be arranged in a deer trail, so that an animal would run his head through it as he passed. The end of the line was attached in a stout tree. A deer when caught would usually spring and pull so hard to get away that it would soon strangle itself, but often it would escape.

224 Nets (spinpI´nia) were made occasionally
286 of hemp, sometimes over four hundred yards [?] long, but only eight feet high, since the deer could not see them to jump over them. They were stretched between trees and shrubs and the deer driven into them so that their horns and feet became entangled, when they [462] were shot. Women prepared the hemp string and men made the net, tying it by hand without shuttles. They were made in sections of convenient weight to pack, and tied together. Teit reports that nets among the Thompson were generally made of the bark of Apocynum cannabium.

224 The second best time of year for hunting was during the winter when the crust on the snow was hard enough to support the weight of a man on snowshoes, but not enough to support a deer. Men usually hunted alone, singling out the freshest track they could find and following it persistently. This work demanded much strength and endurance. Frequently hunters would sing (pray) in their lodges the preceding evening for the appropriate conditions: first a fall of snow, then rain for a while to melt the surface, then cold to make the crust. They usually carried a sack tied to their belts containing dried [264] meat and roots. In starvation times they would eat game in the bush, though it was customary to bring everything to camp first.

An interesting variation of the surround is described by Curtis[1] for the interior Salish:

"As many old moccasins as could be collected [were hung] on trees, around a fairly extensive area. The men went out to scare the deer towards this. Of course they would not pass the man-smelling moccasins and they were shot whenever they came into view."

008 Men might sing in the sweathouse before

[1] [For footnote, see preceding page.--Analyst] p. 20 (B)

Men might sing in the sweathouse before starting on a hunt, at any time of year. They would sing the sweathouse song and add something like "I'll just be going around, not looking for a deer, and I'll see the biggest deer just in front of me. Sweathouse, help me to get the deer easy." A man might shake his power stick while singing, to make his bow infallible. A method of bringing a deer within reach was to "wash" one's body in the smoke of certain roots, "which makes you sick." 224 782

PREPARATION OF DEER

When a deer was killed in the woods, it was carried to camp if possible. To do this a slit was made between the bone and the tendon of each back leg, and the foreleg of the corresponding side put through it. Each foreleg had been cut and broken at the first joint, so that it would not slip back through the hole in the hind leg. The hunter's arms could then be put through the holes made by the locked legs of each side, and the deer carried on his back, its head hanging down. The head was never cut off for fear of bad luck. 224 482

If too many deer had been killed to be carried to camp, which was frequent, they were skinned in the woods. The head and the four legs were cut off, the two sides of ribs cut off, then the backbone cut in two at the base of the neck. The work was done with stone knives; sometimes with a round blade, sometimes a long blade. The nine pieces were left hanging from the trees in summer time, hooked on dead branches which had no ants, since live branches would flavor the meat. The flies would not eat the meat after it had dried. In winter when there were no flies the meat would be left on large flat rocks under fir boughs and small rocks to keep away the coyotes. This was preferable to hanging it, but could not be done in summer since the maggots and flies would eat the meat where the boughs touched it. This meat would be brought into camp in no hurry: it would keep. It would be all wrapped in the skin to be carried and the ends of the four legs tied together so that the arms of the man could be put through these and some part put over his head as a tump line. The Thompson similarly cut their deer into nine pieces." 224 251 [482]

In preparing the deer in either case the blood was always saved, for the Indians tried never to waste any of the edible parts of any animal, even in times of plenty. To do this the intestine was taken out as soon as the belly of the deer had been cut, before skinning, turned inside out like a stocking, and the blood scooped into it by hand. As the viscera were removed they were put into the large intestine, after which, when more blood had gathered, this was also poured into the small intestine. Care was taken during the rest of the butchering to save all 224 251 262

11 Teit, Thompson Indians, 348.

the blood possible, and this was all poured in too. Blood was sometimes drunk raw by warriors, if they had the power of a deer-killing animal, but more frequently service berries were cooked in it, or it was added to boiling meat, etc. It was kept in summer time, even though it clabbered in the heat. The intestine was hung up near camp until all the blood was consumed. 224 251 262

Livers were also eaten raw, and sometimes other parts. The milk was not used, nor the contents of the stomach. The skull was cut open by several sharp blows with a sharp rock, the brains scooped out by hand and wrapped up, to be used in tanning. Head meat was chopped up and boiled. The head was always kept by the man who killed the deer.

If a large killing had been made in the hills the meat would be dried there, at any time of the year. It would then be lighter to carry. Men always skinned and cut up the deer while women cut the meat into slabs, several inches square and three-sixteenths of an inch thick. If there was much meat, a structure similar to the salmon rack would be made from six to seven feet high, on which sticks were laid bearing the meat. The number of poles varied with the amount they had to dry. If there was only a small quantity they would make a structure like a small sweathouse, of bent-over branches. A small fire of dry wood was made underneath. The sheets of meat had to be kept horizontal, and close enough together so that too much hot air would not escape. All the meat was turned over every little while, and the thicker parts opened out. When no more blood is left in the meat it is dry. After this it is kept in the air for two or three days, and then can be stored. If put into sacks right after smoking (which is really a slow roasting), it would spoil. The drying takes only one or two hours out of doors, but it might take as long as four days in a tipi where it is done more slowly, and thus better from the point of view of retaining the fat. 251 [462] [417]

In summer the meat could not be kept long without smoking, so it is roasted at once and fairly quickly. But when freezing it could be kept a week or so, though it might spoil if it should thaw. Then it was smoked slowly in the tipi eaves.

A different drying rack was constructed at permanent camps (sEnxaówí'ltseten). These had four uprights, were five to six feet long by three feet wide and three feet high, with four poles lengthwise supporting eight or ten crosswise, all of peeled willow about one half inch thick, green so that it would not easily burn. The frame was arched longitudinally. Each joint was tied with willow bark. A fire was built on the whole surface underneath, of dry willow twigs at first, green wood being added to cause smoke. The thicker pieces were opened out more now, for 251 417

251 the thinner the meat is the better it will dry. After two or three hours of smoking
417 the meat was allowed to remain on a similar rack in the shade for two or three days until completely dry.

251 Deer meat can be dried in the sun without being smoked, but this was not done frequently because of the flies, the fact that
262 it cannot then be roasted but must be boiled (since there is no fat in it), and the fact that it cannot then be pounded up with deer fat to make pemmican (k'kai'ikst'n). This is a favorite food: bone-dry meat pounded fine as flour on flat rocks with a stone pestle, then deer fat added and ground in. It was the main food taken on hunting trips, being extremely nourishing and delicious. It was stored in sacks sealed with fat.

Meat which had been smoked and dried could be eaten as such, either roasted or boiled. The roasted meat tasted best, but it was commonly boiled so that the children and older people would have the soup. Roots were usually boiled with it. The soup might be put aside for use in boiling vegetables for another meal. Fresh roasted deer meat was at all seasons the favorite food. The deer bones were left two or three days after the meat was taken off, then boiled to make a soup to which bearberries were added. Deer blood was used to thicken boiled vegetables.

Deer fat was smoked carefully and stored for later use, usually to be added to boiling meat, vegetables, or berries. It was never added to food cooked in the earth oven. Any fat which dripped from roasting meat was carefully collected, and used for sealing food preserved against winter, or for cooking.

252 Suszen reported whole deer being steam-baked in a pit, after its intestines had been removed, between layers of sweet grasses and fir boughs, etc. It took eight hours. This seems incredible.

324 Certain tabus were observed in connection with deer hunting. During the first
784 three days of the fall hunt women could not eat the ribs of the deer unless they were
825 dried. None of the inside parts could be eaten by them until the fall hunt was ended. Women could cook any part of the deer for their men, however.

During this hunt women must not go upstream from camp nor beyond the hunters to fetch wood, or for any purpose. No woman might touch slain deer nor walk in that part of the house where deer were placed. (The temporary house faced back in the direction the party had come.) If a woman made a mistake, she would usually tell what she had
[783] done. The men must then sweat and prepare their sweathouse with fir boughs before they could go out for deer again. This would take two or three days. The remedy would suffice even if it was not known what woman had broken the tabu and caused the game to disappear. Another remedy, likewise calculated to please

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the deer, was to make all the women roast their meat for a number of days, and then boil it for a certain number of days.

At the fall hunt the first deer brought in by each man was distributed among the people of the camp. The hunter's son or some other boy passed the meat around, having instructions as to what portion to give each one. After the first deer had been distributed the women of this house might handle the deer to dry the meat. This is an analog of the first fruits rites for other products.

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At all times of year freshly killed deer were brought into a house through a hole under the rear mats if there were women in the house. (Lucy Joe stated that this applied only to the deer taken during the fall hunt.) Women were not supposed to go out the back of the house, nor in that direction. Women must not be permitted to cross the trail of a deer while it was fresh.

There are stories of people who used to throw all their deer bones into the nearest lake, whence the reborn deer would emerge. The custom of wasting no deer flesh hinges on the same idea of rebirth or replenishment.

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Meat was frequently divided among the group. In the evening after game was cut up a large pile might be made, about which the women sat in a circle, and those men who had no women. They might sit for this division on several days, and each woman would have the same place each day. One man was selected to divide it, not usually the leader of the hunt. He received nothing himself, but of course his woman did. Even after a small hunt much meat would be given away, the quantity depending on the word of the leader. The families of the participants usually received the larger shares, and for this reason the young or poor hunters would join a party of recognized good hunters if they needed meat. Even the lazy and improvident would be given some meat. A hunter who did not share his game this way would be called stingy. The hides and heads were always

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kept by the owner. Berries and roots were not divided: what each woman got she kept.

Most families would go to the same hunting ground every fall, and the sons would continue after their father died; yet any man could hunt wherever he chose without asking permission.

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While the men hunted, the women dug and prepared "parsnips" (m'sa'wɪ), which ripened at this season, also black moss.

BEARS AND OTHER GAME

Bear (ckámɪɪ'ct) were hunted from spring to fall by groups of three to five men for protection. Since bears used to come to the rivers only occasionally, the hunting had to be carried on in the hills. It was considered the most dangerous of work, particularly for grizzly bear (kɪlau'na). These were sought in the higher mountains. The

Sinkaietk

[i.e., bear-hunting party. -- Analyst]

The leader of the party had to have considerable power. Nevertheless, his power would be of no avail if he went bear hunting during his wife's periods, unless he had first sweated. This was necessary for the hunter of any game under the same circumstances, but in this case the bear would certainly kill the hunter. Before going out to hunt the grizzly, he painted his body red, being nude save for a breechclout, and drew red marks on his cheeks. Or having smeared red paint over his face, he scraped claw-like marks with his finger tips (see Figure 16).

He would stalk the bear and shoot it all alone, relying on his power to prevent it from charging. The other men might help dispatch it with spears and clubs. After he had killed two or so, the other men might try, for then they would have the protection of his power. No dogs were used, though reported by Teit for the Thompson. A bear was skinned on the spot, the meat divided equally among all the men, although the head, heart, paws and skin went to the head man. If he had a number at the end of the season he would give some of these parts to his followers.

An anecdote illustrative of the danger from grizzlies was told by Mary Carden. Some women were camped on the Methow in September. One old woman had a dream that someone would be killed. Four young girls went gathering choke cherries when they came on the tracks of a grizzly. At that three of them hurried to lace their baskets to return. The fourth, a captive, was not afraid. She went on picking while singing a love song. A bear sprang from behind a bush and clawed her face. She screamed. The other girls ran to camp. The bear tore the girl to pieces, even tore out her heart, and dragged the body to the creek where he covered it with mud. The women returned to the main camp. Next morning the men set out to find the remains.

Deadfalls were set in the early spring when bears came from their dens, usually during a big thaw, for at this season they were in good condition. The trap is rectangular in shape, open at one end, made by driving stakes into the ground, four down the two long sides and three across the back. In the diagram (Figure 1) the upper right hand stake is extra large, and may be a living tree. The stakes are about six feet high and three inches in diameter, placed close enough together to keep a bear's head from being poked through. The entrance is two feet wide, just wide enough to permit the body to go in. A horizontal pole (1) is fastened across the tips of the two stakes standing next to those at the entrance. Another horizontal piece at right angles to this rests on it (2). A verticle pole is attached to the main upright stake by lashing it at the center. The top of this pole (3) is notched and the end of (2) fits under the notch. On the other end of 2 rests a very heavy log (4), which is the deadfall. Thus 2 is held in place; but if the bottom of 3 be pulled forward, towards the middle of the trap, so that its

top goes backwards, the notch will release the horizontal piece (2) so it will fly up into the air and allow the log to fall and crush the bear. A large log was buried where the bear would be crushed, or perhaps several logs. Chilowist Jim described the deadfall as several logs resting on poles which leaned on the stick (2): a total weight of two hundred pounds. Instead of a buried log below, a platform of logs, four feet by fifteen, was laid on the ground. 224

Bark is woven between the stakes so that the bait can be seen only through the entrance. This bait may be the backbone of

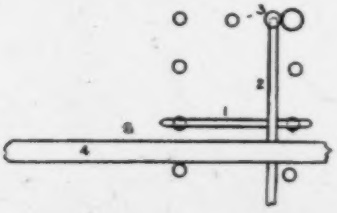

Fig. 1. Diagram of bear deadfall trap.

a freshly killed deer or fresh grease. It is tied to the bottom of the trigger and not hidden. The trap is set on a bear trail, which can be located by the blazes made by their claws as they pass along. Other animals are frequently caught in these deadfalls: coyote, fox, marten, etc., though small deadfalls are made for them too. One man might have two or three large ones. They might be operated during October and November as well as in the spring.

The body meat was prepared much like deer meat, but most of it was roasted fresh, since it does not taste so good when dry. Still some was pounded fine for pemmican. The head and paws of grizzlies were saved until no more were to be hunted, when the "head man" of the hunt would singe off the hair and eat the flesh. If many had been killed, all the hunters gathered and helped him, allowing him to eat first. A person with bear power could not eat that portion which was his power; heart, leg, or whatever (Mary Carden). 224 251 262 [624]

When a bear was being carried into camp the people sang a special song, which was taken up by the others as soon as they heard it or saw the bear, and the song continued while they were dressing it and cutting up the meat. The black bear song was called stsōmī´st. It is a happy song, very short, and known to everybody. Since there was a strong feeling that anyone who made fun of bear would be killed by one, this song was full of reverence. When the dressing was completed, they hung the skull on a forked tree or high bush and put the other bones in a creek. (The skull was not painted nor the tree cut or otherwise marked.) Formerly they roasted the head, ate the head meat, and hung 224 [585] 825

224 up simply the bare skull. Hallowell,[12] who
825 also says that no ceremonial treatment of the bear's carcass was practiced in the Plateau area, makes note of this fact. The greatest criterion of manhood was killing a bear, particularly a grizzly. Stories are numerous of heroes who killed bears unaided, the best of them by stabbing with a knife.

224 A "small mountain goat" (yälí´kwülEkEn), quite possibly an antelope since this is somewhat out of the mountain goat range, was hunted in the Waterville - Coulee City region in the spring.

Small game was taken at all seasons, and while not sought at great distances, still it formed a large item after big hunts. Generally it was a sport for boys, or a diversion for women, between berrying and root-digging. Men took part only in big drives, such as those held while the women were digging camas in the Columbia River country. There was no ritual behavior for small game, such as the women's tabus, the rituals of butchering salmon and deer, etc.

Rabbits came foremost. Cottontails were taken by small spring traps set in their trails, with piles of brush for them to jump over so they would land on the trigger and noose. The springs were bent saplings, two inches in diameter. Rabbits (spa´p kÔnten) also were shot by small boys with bows and arrows. On favorable ground boys drove them through the sagebrush towards men with rabbit sticks. These were straight sticks about one inch thick, of willow or service berry wood. Jack rabbits were hunted with sticks, bows and arrows, and boys might use a form of sling.

[963] Rabbit meat was roasted or boiled, but never dried or preserved, although plenty of rabbits were killed. The fur was used for caps but was not strong enough for mittens.

The sling was an Indian hemp cord one or two yards long and one quarter inch thick, one end wrapped about the little finger two or three times, and the rest all wrapped around a large smooth stone about one inch in diameter. The string was jerked back at the end of the throw, sending the stone spinning toward the quarry. This was also used in hunting birds.

When beaver houses were located, the entrance tunnel was dug away back to the bank of the stream; then stakes were driven close together in front so that the beaver could not escape. Sticks were then driven down into the various houses to force the beaver to rush out, on which they were stabbed with sharp stakes.

Ground hogs were shot with the bow, or a short pole of service berry wood was thrust in the animal's den under a rock and twisted

12 Hallowell, Bear Ceremonialism in the Northern Hemisphere, 73, 142.

224 in its fur so that it could be pulled out. Women might tie a thong to the end of the digging stick and drag the ground hog out when he bit on the thong.

Ground squirrels (skūqūisu'ta) were hunted by boys with bows and arrows, and by older people for sport when there was nothing else t. lo. They were not trapped, but occasionally they were forced out of their holes by pouring in water, and killed with sticks. Men or women would burn off the fur, clean them, and roast them on spits. Mary Carden mentioned a similar hunting procedure and mode of preparation for a rodent called p'sl"ūs, perhaps the same.

223 Ducks and geese were taken in the spring when they were moulting, by simply wading through the swamps, throwing stones at the stragglers and occasionally shooting them. Large parties of people might round up whole flocks, killing adults and young birds together. They were roasted on sticks and kept for only a few days. During the fall migration they might occasionally be stalked, but the birds were hard to hit and cost too many arrows, since the Indians preferred losing one to getting wet in recovering it.

222 252 Large quantities of eggs were collected by small children and older girls. They were cooked by building a fire in a hole, taking the embers out and pouring in enough water to extinguish the coals, then putting in the eggs and covering them with earth. It took fifteen or twenty minutes. No stones were used. Most of these were eaten while hot: they were kept only two or three days. Eggs were never eaten raw.

223 Other birds were taken: grouse of several varieties, magpies, prairie chickens, robins, even crows. They used string snares, bows and arrows, and the sling mentioned above: mostly the work of boys. The fool-hens (Franklin grouse) and prairie chickens were caught only (?) by women, who hung a noose of Indian hemp from a stick directly in front of the bird. It would put its head into the noose, and was killed by crushing or cutting off the head. Similar nooses were set in the sagebrush at the level of the birds' heads, or fastened to stakes and propped open. Birds were roasted or boiled; the livers, hearts and gizzards were used, but not the kidneys. The heads might be boiled for soup, with the brains in place. Fool hens heads were eaten by pregnant women to make the child "good." Fledglings were also taken from the nest to be roasted. Birds were not baked in clay.

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237 Long feathers were used for arrows, particularly grouse feathers, and the down used for stuffing. The wings of large birds served as brushes. Birds were butchered in a
252 stereotyped manner. After being plucked, both breasts were cut off, including the

wings, and the backbone cut twice so that there were five pieces. Geese and cranes were cut into seven pieces, the legs separate. This butchering might be done either before they were roasted or afterward, though it used to be done before, while the blood was still in the bird, since a cooked animal has no more spirit. However, cooking the animal without butchering it first would not kill its spirit: only throwing away some of the meat would do this.

Dogs were not eaten, except by unsuccessful and starving hunters in the bush. They were never selected and fattened deliberately, though the French traders used to buy them for food.

No snakes were eaten; and nothing was remembered of hunting elk, moose, or mountain sheep. Caribou were recollected as obtained by trade. No buffalo are known to have roamed this far west.[13]

A local authority states, however, that the Okanagon believe that buffalo at one time existed in the vicinity of Moses Lake. He quotes Ross Cox: "The Indians allege that the buffaloes were formerly numerous about the plains [of the Palouse in Big Bend and Spokane counties] and assert that remains of these animals are still found."[14]

BERRIES

In general when women went together to gather plant foods, as they generally did, no one of them would officially take the lead. One with more power might be more successful than her companions. Such power might be acquired by a child going near a dead horse But there was no division of their gleanings to affect a balance. Each was entitled only to what she gathered. They went to much the same place year after year.

(1)[15] Service berries (sI'a) were picked in June, July and August. They grew best in fertile soil along all the larger streams, and were seldom scarce. The women wore coiled cedar-root baskets (stExERē'pa) tied to the front of the waist and used larger coiled baskets (sEnsâq'a'IkEn) for packing them, equipped with a tump line. Occasionally a party would go away over night.

The drying took aproximately a week, depending on the weather and the degree of ripeness of the berries. If there were large flat rocks nearby they were spread on these; otherwise on tule mats or sacks laid on the ground or on racks ten feet long, four feet wide, and two or three feet high. They were taken in should it rain. They were never piled up; always one layer deep. They did not have to be turned over. When dry they were put into hemp bags for winter storage,

[For footnotes, see p. 25(c), category 116. -- Analyst]

13 For data on the northwestern distribution of the
14 Brown, Old Fort Okanogan, 31.
15 Such parenthetical numbers refer to the list of

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or into wooden or bark tubs if destined for summer consumption. 222 251

Today the fresh berries are boiled and eaten with sugar, though in the old days they were eaten raw or perhaps boiled for a half hour with bitter-root or salmon eggs. 222 Dried berries were never cooked alone: usually they were mixed with bitter-root and 252 boiled, often also with salmon, which was separated when served and placed on mats. 824 A special delicacy was salmon eggs and dried berries, boiled or eaten cold, but never mashed. The dried berries were sweet and thus very desirable for mixing with the many bitter foods.

(2) Red or orange foam berries (sxō'sem, 222 were gathered the last part of June and the first of July. They were dried two or three 251 days on tule mats, then sacked and stored, but were sometimes used fresh. They were pre- 252 pared by first being soaked in hot water half an hour, squeezed with the hands when soft, 824 then stirred vigorously with the foam berry mop for twenty minutes or so in a cedar root basket, until they foamed up like the whites of eggs. Dried service berries might be added for sweetening before soaking, the berries being very bitter. Grease will prevent the foaming. This dish is a delicacy, prepared in the evening when friends call, and eaten with horn spoons.

Thorn berries were gathered during the last part of July and the beginning of August, being found along the river banks. (3) Black thornberries (cxwanī'q or swá'enī'k) were picked and dried like service berries. Salmon bones with some meat on them might be pounded in a basket mortar and mixed with these berries. (4) Red thornberries (xax'xa'l'l) were mashed and formed into thin cakes to be dried in the sun for winter use. No thornberries were cooked.

(5) Huckleberries (stEka'lqx) were gathered all through August. Mary Carden's sites are Moses Mountain and the hills west of Twisp. They were gathered in coiled cedar-root baskets worn in front at the waist. Some were kept a week or so and eaten raw. They were not dried until Nez Percé Indians came to the reservation and taught how to dry and use them like service berries.

(6) The berries of the red willow (stl'q-tsū), white in color, ripened in August. They were never dried or stored but always either boiled or pounded up and mixed with fresh cherries or service berries in order to sweeten them, for they were very sour. They were boiled only if eaten alone, since boiling the mixture would nullify the sweetening influences.

Oregon grape berries were gathered in

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13 For data on the northeastern distribution of the buffalo, see Allen, The Western Rivers, 121 f.
14 Brown, Old Fort Okanogan, 31.
15 Such parenthetical numbers refer to the list of plant foods at the end of this section.

[For context of these footnotes, see p. 25 (A), category 116. -- Analyst]

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mid-August in pine bark buckets or coiled cedar-root baskets. After being squeezed in these containers, handfuls were spread on a rock to dry. After several days they were stored in tule sacks for winter use. They were not cooked; either eaten raw, or the dried lumps sprinkled with water and rolled in a mat by way of preparation.

(7) Blueberries, (8) raspberries (ɬaɬa), (9) strawberries (tq!ɛntqɛn), and (10) thimble berries (palpū´lɛqxn) grew in quantities insufficient to be profitably dried, hence were always eaten fresh. Elderberries were boiled and eaten immediately. (11) Bearberries (skūlī´s) were used in soups; only eaten fresh.

ROOTS

(13) Bitterroot (spī´tlum) was plentiful throughout the area, and gathered in quantity during May. It grew best in moist ground, not too sandy, usually among rocks. Four sites known to Mary Carden are (1) hills seven miles north of Pateros on the south side of the river; (2) all the way from Twisp to Winthrop on hills either side of Methow River; (3) all around Duley Lake, about twelve miles east of Monse; (4) on the east side of Columbia River in the hills east of Waterville. The Kartaro people dug it at three places: (1) at the south end of Lake Omak; (2) meadows south of Kartaro Creek; (3) near the present post office of Kartaro. It was common in Northern Okanagon territory. A great many people would gather at these places, often more than the number at a winter village.

It was dug with the usual dogwood digging stick, just before it bloomed; one hand holding the top of the root while the other dug. The stalk would be twisted off, the bark skinned off, and the root put in a twined hemp basket (stexƟRī´pa) carried on the right side at the waist. They were packed in large tule baskets (kwa´I'Ip').

These roots were washed and laid on mats or grass for two or three days to dry in the hot sun. They were never steamed, smoked, nor mashed. Then they were put away in tule sacks (Carden) or in pits lined with pine needles, and covered with more pine needles and rocks (Lucy Joe). Care was taken to pack them tightly enough to prevent air from circulating, since this would make them hard and dry as wood. At service berry time they were usually taken out and mixed with dried berries, about half and half, for if stored long alone they became very bitter. It took a person with good power to mix effectively. The mixture was then stored for winter use, usually in pits, packed tight to keep out the air. This was all women's work.

[462] But some men had the power to mix. Some could also pick berries, set them out to dry and go hunting a few days, come back and find the berries dried just right.

Bitterroot was eaten fresh, after being boiled or baked a half hour in the earth ov-

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en. Nowadays it is steamed in small pots, resting on many little sticks which keep it out of the water. When dried it was usually boiled. In all cases it was cooked separately but mixed with other food when served, since it is very bitter, like ordinary pepper or mustard. It was never pounded, and never eaten dry, for it would swell up inside one and be very uncomfortable, forming gases. Bitterroot was never preferred for its taste, but it was considered "good for one, like pepper and mustard."

(14) A small onion (waIqwIū'p'ts), very sweet, was dug with spitlum, in the same places and at the same times. It was eaten raw but never preserved. Today it is steamed.

(15) Camas was gathered by very few families, since none grew nearby. Some was found on the upper Methow River and in Tumwater Basin (several miles due east of Okanogan town). The bulk was dug beyond the Columbia River in the hills north of Wenatchee, near Waterville, whence it was packed after being dried. Tule mats were taken for this trip, since in early May there was considerable rain and tipis were wanted each night. While the women dug, the men would hunt jack rabbits with bow and arrow, collect birds' eggs, and spend much time at their games. The northerly bands knew only of dried camas, which they obtained through trade. Most of that of the southern bands may also have been gotten in trade.

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The following kinds were mentioned: tsaxūlō'sa, white round camas at Waterville; I't'xwa, black round camas traded from Idaho, much sweeter; ka'Gōs, white camas with a long bulb.

Camas was dug with digging sticks before the faded flowers had dropped from the stalks. The stalks were twisted off and the skins rubbed off before the roots were placed in the basket at the waist. The best ones were dried on tule mats in the sun for two or three days, then stored. They could be eaten at any time without cooking, and would last for two or three years before spoiling. Roots of poorer quality were steamed for fifteen hours in a pit and dried in the sun. They were then very hard and slightly black in color. These were stored too but would not last as long and had to be boiled before being eaten, usually as a soup with dried deer meat or salmon, since it did not taste so good alone. While the former product could be eaten without preparation and is delicious in taste, much more of the latter was prepared because people preferred hot food in winter. Sometimes camas was steam-baked in alternate layers of black moss, all dried together and cooked by boiling with a piece of deer fat. Dried camas was also boiled with deer meat or dried salmon. When it was served, the meat was fished from the vessel to be eaten separately. Camas boiled with bitterroot was mashed before serving.

Each woman dried her own lot and carried it home, keeping it for her own family or trading it as occasion arose.

(15) Wild onions were dug along the rivers beginning in April, on the hills in May and in the mountains in June, before blooming. They were rolled on a mat to remove the dirt and eaten raw. Or they were steam-baked for half an hour, and before eating each person would remove the outer skin. For storage the steamed onions would be pressed into little thin cakes and dried. These would be sprinkled and rolled on a mat until soft before being eaten. They were never boiled nor mixed with anything else. 222 251 252 824

(17) A root (stákcI'n, literally "bitter") grows in bunches like sweet potatoes or rose roots, each the size of a small fist. It was dug in early spring in rich damp ground. The plant is two and a half to three feet tall and looks like a lily, with thick leaves and a yellow flower three inches in diameter. The roots were not peeled but washed and steam-baked for five to six hours (overnight), then dried in the sun for three or four days, usually mashed and spread out in thin cakes. After steaming the roots are white and very good tasting, but as bitter as bitterroot. In winter it is boiled and put into meat soup, not to modify its bitterness, but to add to the good taste of the meats. It would be too hard and dry to eat alone. Today it is steamed in pots twenty-five minutes, held above the water by sticks.

(18) "Yellow bells" (sEmárata), a green stalk eighteen inches high with a small yellow flower in springtime, but with no leaves at any season, was dug in small quantities in the mountains during the summer. It grew in dry areas in the Methow valley and around Lake Okanogan. The roots are rough and bumpy, white, and disc shaped, two inches in diameter, and one quarter inch thick. They were eaten raw or steamed in a pit seven feet in diameter for fifteen minutes and then dried on tule mats for two weeks. Trips to the Methow River were made for these if time permitted, for they had to be dried and ready for storage before being brought back. Several women would prepare their lots together. In the north the women did not go out of their way to get them and did not preserve them. When dug with a root called : cūI'r^{u} (No. 21), they were eaten together; washed, but not peeled, and boiled.

(19) Wild carrots (sklō'kūm) were dug with small digging sticks in early June, just before they bloomed, on gravelly hillsides. Carden's four sites were (1) from Twisp to Winthrop; (2) around Duley Lake; (3) Waterville area; (4) Bridgeport area, south of the Columbia River. They have a single or double stalked stem about one and a half feet high, and a root about three-eighths of an inch in diameter, roughly spherical. The stalks were broken off before placing the roots in the Indian hemp side basket. At camp they were washed and dried in the sun, usually on racks a yard high. There would be one vertical pole at each corner of the rack, supporting two short crosspieces on which lay three longitudinal poles ten feet long. Tule mats about three feet wide were laid on

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these. Sometimes the carrots were steam-baked instead for about an hour, then squeezed dry with the hands and spread out on mats of small tules in the hot sun for three days or so (Carden).

Carrots might be eaten raw and some were buried raw in damp ground for summer use. Fresh carrots were boiled or steamed for immediate use. Dried ones were boiled, often together with service berries, until thick. They were never cut open.

(20) The root (pcaĭ'k) of a plant one and a half feet tall with thorns in the fall but only grass-like leaves in summer (roots like camas but smaller and sweeter) grows in damp areas, gullies, etc. It is knocked over with a stick and the roots dug.

(21) A root (cūĭ'x^{u}), one inch long, smooth, growing only in rocky places, was dug only in the Methow valley, at the same time with aEma'rata, and prepared in the same way.

(22) A root (tcōkōlō'sa, white camas ?), about as big as two fingers, was dug at Soap Lake during May. It was steamed, then peeled and dried.

(23) Tiger lily bulbs (stExtsĭ'n) were dug near Twisp in September, when the flowers had fallen. They were treated like onions and the inner inedible core discarded. While never eaten raw they were also steam-baked, or mixed with dry service berries and boiled. They were slightly bitter.

(24) Wild "parsnips" (mIcō'wĭ) were dug in moist ground in the higher hills during late fall while the men were hunting. The roots are two inches long and look like carrots. As soon as dug, they were steam-baked nearby in pits eight to ten feet in diameter. Fires were made inside these pits, stones heated in the fire and when the flames had died, covered with weeds and grass to a depth of eight inches, especially the large leaves of water lilies. Then the roots were laid in, followed by another six or eight inches of leaves and grass, with two feet of dirt on top. Water is poured on the hot rocks down the holes left by four sticks, which are now pulled out, and the roots cooked for forty-eight hours. They are inspected by digging a small hole in the edge.

When done the root is jet black and has an unpleasant odor but a very sweet taste. It is stored for winter as such: if it should lose its moisture it would lose its sweetness. When eaten it should still be moist, but it is never dampened artificially: this would spoil it. It is wrapped in grass and tule mats for winter, stored in underground pits, and eaten cold and raw, dipped into soup, etc. It will keep one year.

When several women dug together they would make a common steaming pit, then divide up the product by arbitrary judgment. The same pits could be used year after year.

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(25) A root (tsīms'nelqx), about twice the size of one's thumb, and growing in clusters, was dug near Oroville. They were dried two or three days on tule mats, or boiled and eaten fresh, but were then very bitter. They were not highly prized.

A root (xEnasta'tkwa) could be found in certain springs in August. Mary Carden's sites were Elliot spring near Brewster Flat and Dan Canyon spring near the Columbia between Pateros and Brewster. These long white roots were eaten raw and even preserved a few days by keeping them wet in a tule sack. They could, of course, not be dried for storage.

OTHER PLANT FOODS

(28) The cambium layer of large pine trees (tsī'xwī) was gathered in early spring (Johnnie stated in June only). If a tree is found to contain much sweet sap, its bark is scored all the way around with a knife as high as one can reach and again at the base, a vertical score made and the sections of bark pried and cut from the tree with special wooden knives four feet long called n'tsī'-xwī'tn. Incidentally this kills the tree. The pieces are laid on the ground and scraped with knives of deer rib a foot long (called nEkakamū'n), the soft cambium substance and sap being collected on dry grass (a long pine grass called qūaqūaqūnī'lp). The matter is carried to camp wrapped in soft pliable bark with grass to lend it flavor and moisture. It must be eaten the same day for it soon loses its moisture and sweetness, but even then it is stringy and tough.

(29) Sunflower seeds (mī'ktū) were collected as soon as the flowers had fallen off and the seeds were hard and dry, mostly in June and July. These plants grew so abundantly and widely that trips were never made to get them. (The sunflower plant was called c'mū'qūāk'n.) The women used a beater (klepta'n) made by bending a flexible stick back on itself and covering the space with a piece of old buckskin (Figure 24).[1] They walked about with a birch bark basket tied to the waist, bending the tops of the flowers over the basket and beating them gently to knock off the dried seeds. The baskets are rather cone-shaped, with large mouths. The seeds rarely have to be dried further, but if necessary they can be dried on woven hemp mats for two or three days, or browned by pouring them on a flat buffalo skin on which a hot rock has been placed, and pulling up the edges of the skin to toast them on it. They are winnowed by being poured from one basket into another in the wind. They had to be kept in air-tight containers, such as the wooden tubs, else they would dry out too much. The seeds would last for six years.

They are prepared by being pounded to

[1] [See figure 24 on p. 58(B), category 116.-- Analyst]

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powder in a basket mortar or buckskin bag and perhaps mixed with deer grease or pounded dry service berries. The food was eaten raw, not even moistened, and was regarded as a delicacy, served in horn spoons between meals. Today it is sugared, but used very seldom.

(30) Choke cherries (tlöxtla'x̣ū) were gathered in mid-August, along the rivers. They might be treated like service berries, dried for a day on tule mats, etc. Alternatively they might be pounded to pulp with a pestle in a buckskin bag, seeds and all, then dried in the sun spread out in thin cakes on tule mats or a wooden rack. When dry they were often pounded up with salmon heads, tails, or eggs, or else soaked in water several hours. They were not cooked.

(31) Black moss (skwalī'p) was gathered in the fall after the work with other vegetable foods was done, though it does not vary from month to month and might be collected at any time of year. It grows on the smaller branches of pine, fir, and tamarack trees, and is collected from the last two, since it has an unpleasant, pitchy flavor if taken from pines unless the branches are dead. Young boys climb high into the trees to get it, several clusters to the handful. While it may be eaten raw, it is then bitter and becomes green in the saliva, with a consistency like fresh soft dough. The large supply is steamed in pits three feet deep and ten or twelve feet in diameter. Hot rocks are covered with green leaves, then grass; then the moss is put in and over it is placed more grass, leaves, and a foot of earth. Four poles are left against opposite sides of the pit resting on the bottom, which are now pulled out to leave holes down which water is poured to the rocks. The moss is steamed from twelve to twenty-four hours, after which it has the consistency of stringy fresh dough. It is spread thin and pressed down until one inch thick, cut into pieces one-half inch square and then allowed to dry. When hard the pieces, shrunk and very black, are stored in sacks for winter use.* It is cooked by boiling in a soup, and today when sugared is delicious. It will last three years if well preserved.

(32) Pine nuts (sq!aū'q!ū) were gathered in September at the head of the Twisp River. Girls of sixteen could climb the trees and throw down branches. The cones were carried to camp in sacks. A hole in the ground would be dug, three feet deep, hot rocks put in the bottom, and on this was laid two inches of green grass and two inches of green tule. The cones were poured in next, covered with eight inches of dry pine needles and one foot of dirt. They are dry-baked over night and dug out early in the morning, with care lest dirt get on the cones. These were laid on tule mats and each one rolled with pressure under the open palm to free the

* [For footnote, see p. 28 (C), category 116. --Analyst]

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16 The process among the Okanagon was described by one of the Wilkes party in 1841 (Wilkes, Narrative, IV, 454) - I.S. [1]

[1] [For context of this footnote, see p. 28 (C), category 116. -- Analyst]

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nuts, which were then pulled out. The nuts were left in the sun for the rest of the day and stored for winter in tule sacks. 222 251

Some people ate pine nutlets as they were gathered from the fallen cones. They were not pounded or stored, but used as a tit-bit while they lasted. 252 824

Two kinds of mushrooms were used, (33) kła panter and (34) pī´tlxk'n. The former was boiled, the latter eaten raw. Neither was dried or preserved.

Prickly pear fruits (sxwi´ina, Opuntia?) were eaten, the spines being burned off."

STARVATION FOODS

When all the stored foods ran low in winter, or when they had neglected gathering because of preoccupation with the Dream dance, the people used other sources, according to their proximity. Mussels (skokōī´na) were of first importance. Large beds of these were found in the Okanogan River every three or four miles, of which the two best known are just below the mouth of Omak Creek and a mile above Oroville. The mussel is three to four inches long, dark blue in color like the salt water varieties and similar in shape, but with thinner shells. Starving people would camp by these beds and gather them with a forked stick through holes inthe ice if wading was impossible. They were easily opened and were boiled. Some few people liked them so much that they gathered and baked them in times of plenty, though never in hot weather. Shell heaps have been reported all along the Okanogan River. 261 [796] 226

Trout were speared through holes in the ice, with the small single-pointed spear with two prongs (called wī´tck). If a bad winter was feared, the location of shoals of trout would be ascertained before the ice came.

1 [For context of this footnote, see p.29 (c), category 116. -- Analyst]

17 For medical plants, see the section on religion.
18 Teit, Salishan Tribes, 238-39.

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trout would be ascertained before the ice came. 000

Winter hunting was resorted to by men with good power, sometimes after a woman or even a child had dreamed that game was near. The hunter took no dog, and planned to follow the first deer tracks he found to the bitter end. It might take several days to overtake one. If successful he must divide his quarry equally, keeping only the heads for himself. 224 [787]

Less valued famine foods were black moss, which might be eaten raw if the people were too weak to boil it; the stalks of cactus plants with the spines burned off, from which a soup was made; and sunflower root shoots, eaten raw and on the spot. If there were not too much snow the first buds of (36) cwa'ya might be used. This was like the carrot plant but with a longer stem. The early disc-shaped bud was eaten. Apparently it was far from nourishing. It grew near the rivers. Even coyote, skunk, and the like have been eaten in time of starvation. 261

There has been no dying of starvation since the coming of the whites, but it seems to have been frequent before that. 731

How one's power would save him from starvation was related by Suszen: 261

The power of any animal might help a man. If his power was the salmon, he would wish for salmon to eat; then anything he ate would seem like good salmon. A man who had beaver power would think of this. It would tell him to eat little twigs or pieces of bark just as a beaver does. The man would dream this. Those things he ate then tasted like berries and meat. He could not give this food to anyone else, not even to his family, for it would be just wood to them. But they were content to see him eat it. 776

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LIST OF PLANT NAMES

Berries

1.	Service berries, sĪ´a Possibly Teit's[1] sĪ´a,	Amelanchier alnifolia (Nutt)
2.	Red foam berries, sxō´sem	sx̣ō´sEm, Shepherdia canadensis (Nutt)
3.	Black thornberries, cxwanĪ´q	sx̣wanĪ´k, Crataegus rivalaris (Nutt)
4.	Red thornberries, x̣ax̣'x̣a´Ī'Ī	
5.	Huckleberries, stEka´lqx	stêx̣ê´llk, Vaccinium membranaceum (Dougl)
6.	Willowberries, stĪ´q'tsu	sti´ksx̣^{u}, Cornus pubescens (Nutt)
7.	Blueberries	
8.	Raspberries, x̣łāx̣a	x̣la´la, Rubus sp.

1 [For foot note, see p. 29(A), category 116. -- Analyst]

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9.	Strawberries, tq!ämtqEm	tEkei´mkem, Fragaria californica (C and S)
10.	Thimbleberries, palpü´lEqxn	
11.	Bearberries, skülï´s	
12.	Red berry, tatka; grows high in mountains; not important	

Roots

13.	Bitterroot, spï´tlum Possibly Teit's	spï´tlam, Lewisia rediviva (Pursh)
14.	Small onion, weïqwïü´p^{ts}	yekiyu´kEps, Calochortus macrocarpus (Dougl)
15.	Camas: Black round camas traded from Idaho, ï´t'xwa; White round camas dug at Waterville, tsaxülö´sa; White camas with long bulb, ka´üös	ä´txwa or ï´txwa, Camassia esculenta
16.	Big onion	
17.	"Potato," a bitter bulb, stäkcï´n	stoxtci´n, Lilium columbianum
18.	"Yellow Bells," sEma´rata	
19.	"Carrots," sklö´küm	
20.	A root, pcaï´k	cxei´kEn, Sium lineare
21.	A bulb, cüï´x^{ü}	s-hwe´^{u}x^{u}, Erythronium grandiflorum
22.	A root "white camas ?), tcökölö´sa, (perhaps comes from Waterville, above)	
23.	Tiger lily bulb, stExtsï´n	stoxtci´n, Lilium columbianum
24.	"Parsnips," mïcö´wï	
25.	A "parsley," ^{t}sïms'ne´lqx	smitsenä´lk^{u}, Peucedanum macrocarpum (Nutt)
26.	"Potato," skwEnqüïnEm	skwenkwï´nEm, Claytonia sessilifolia
27.	"Radish," xEnxEx	xa´nExan, Cycopus uniflorus

Other Plant Foods

28.	Pine cambium, tsï´xwï Possibly Teit's	tse´xwe or tsü´xe, Pinus ponderosa
29.	Sunflower seeds, mï´ktü	mï´kto, Balsamorrhiza sagittata
30.	Choke cherries, tlöxtla´x^{ü}	xlo´x.xox, Prunus demissa (Walpers)
31.	Black moss, skwalï´p	skolë´p, Alectoria jubata
32.	Pine nutlets, sq!aü´q!ü	sqa´uku, Pinus ponderosa
33.	Fungus, kEa´panter	
34.	Fungus, pï´tlxk'n	
35.	Fir tree, tsqïlxp	
36.	Early bud, cwa´ya (See No. 21, its root, which is eaten)	s-hwe´^{u}x^{u}, Erythronium grandiflorum

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STORAGE

251 Food was stored in many ways: in arbors in the woods, rock shelters, pits in the ground, and inside the houses. The greater part was cached near where it had been dried and prepared, or at some nearby rock pile where a rock shelter might be made, leaving the work of carrying it home for winter when there was more time.

251 417 The arbors (kŏŏka'os) might be built new or might be made over from the drying racks used for salmon or deer meat. They were fifteen to twenty feet square. In either case each of the four uprights would be reinforced by two extra poles fastened at the level of the horizontal poles, i.e., seven and a half to eight feet above the ground ("too high for a woman to reach"), and sloping to the ground at forty-five degrees (Figure 2). They lay in the planes of the horizontal poles, at right angles to each other. On the horizontals a platform would be built by placing smaller poles next to each other. Then at each end of the structure two crossed poles were set up above the platform and a ridgepole lashed in place between them, to which tule mats were fastened, so as to shade the food. The apices of their A-shaped frames were about eight feet above the platform. Smaller arbors of the same name were made on the model of the smaller drying rack, with a tripod at each end. The platform of this was about four feet from the ground. A ridgepole and tule mats were set up similarly.

251 415 The salmon and deer meat when dry were put into square sacks or envelopes of woven tule, each large enough to contain the equivalent of twenty salmon, but the heads, tails, flesh strips, eggs, and male parts were put into separate sacks. These might be equipped with a leather thong for a tump line. They were put into the arbor through its open ends, which were reached by ladders.

Underneath were kept the dried berries and vegetables, in sacks and baskets, raised above the ground on sticks to keep them from the dampness. They were removed as soon as convenient to the rock shelters, however.

171 The account of Teit differs essentially:

251 "The Lower Thompsons stored the dry fish in elevated wooden caches, in which they remained all winter. In spring they were removed and placed in cellars where they were allowed to lie until the following spring, when they were taken out and aired by being spread on flat rocks. They were then returned to the cellar and kept perhaps for another year. Most families thus kept the surplus of each season's catch of salmon for two or three years, in cases of emergency."[19]

251 415 Dried berries, etc., destined to be used

19 Teit, The Thompson Indians, 234.

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251 415 before winter, were preferably kept in buckets of cottonwood bark which were cached. These were made in two pieces: a round bottom piece and a cylindrical wall sewn up with a single seam. The bark was cut very thick (one to one and a half inches) so that no supports were needed. It could be peeled off the trees with comparative ease in June, when the sap is plentiful. A cover was woven of tall "horse-tail grass" (qEtsō's). Leaves and rocks were laid on this cover. These baskets were made in the same manner as those of birch bark (see Material Culture).

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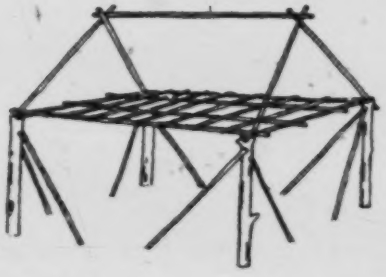

Fig. 2. Frame of storage arbor.

Storage barrels, or rather tubs, of wood were reported by one informant, Suszen. Lucy Joe, who was exceptionally well-informed, had never heard of them. These varied in height from one to three or four feet, and the diameter from nine inches to three feet. Any kind of wood was used which was free from knots, preferably cottonwood and least preferably pine, because of its pitch which flavors the food. A cylindrical section was dried for a month or so, then the inside burned out by placing coals in it and scraping out the charcoal and partly burned wood with a stone adz. This operation limited the size to four feet, for it would be difficult to manage the fire any deeper. To determine the wall's thickness, they were thumped; no holes were bored. The cover was always of wood, overlapping the rim and fitting tightly, or the gaps stuffed.

A hide might be thrown over it, held down by rocks. These barrels were never decorated. They were used for all foods intended to be kept over a month: if for a shorter time, baskets or sacks were used. Only one food was placed in each barrel, lest the tastes mix. Their special advantage over baskets and sacks lay in that insects and rodents could less easily get at the food.

251 As winter came on the supplies were removed from the arbors to rock shelters or pits, usually nearer the winter villages. The pits (ūlakI'n't) were from six to sixteen

251 feet in diameter and two to four feet deep, always round. They were lined with flat rocks twice the size of one's head, made by splitting larger rocks. Smaller pits might be built by individuals, larger ones by two or three families, each woman then marking out her own area on the floor with sticks, which radiated from the center. If many pits were dug together, only one type of food would be put into each, lest the flavors mix, for the sacks were put close together to keep the air from circulating. Sweet dry grass was laid down before the food was put in, and again on top of the food, perhaps some dirt, and then flat rocks piled on top. No skins were used for keeping out the rain; the rocks and grass were enough. Generally the cache stood several feet above the ground level. This was preferable since the freezing of the ground would then not make it difficult to get at the food. The food stored in such pits would be eaten late in the year, since it usually kept better than what was preserved in other ways. Cecile had heard of large lidded wooden boxes set among the rocks for food caches, but Michel said that none were ever made by Sinkaietk, which seems correct.

Two pits are to be seen two miles south of Okanogan on the east side of the river, about one hundred yards east of the road, under the high tension transmission lines. They are ten feet in diameter, eight feet apart, four feet deep now. The place is called qōqanī´ẖhᵘ, "cracked hilltop."

251 In the tule long-house, food was stored in compartments (xalī´na) built one on each
262 side of the door (see the section on Houses). These were walled with tule mats, and piled
342 as high as the roof. Small quantities were also kept in each family's section. Food was
352 taken from the out-of-door caches to replenish the house supplies as needed. It was estimated that the sacks of food prepared for one family for the winter would make a pile six feet high.

[1 [For context of footnotes, see p. 32(B), category 116. -- Analyst]

252 Food was often eaten cold in winter. Most of the cooking was boiling, so that
262 soup would be obtained for older people and children. Although berries and roots were cooked with meat, only one kind of meat was cooked at a time and only one kind of root or berry with it. No dried food was eaten when they had fresh. They would try to keep the preserved foods as long as they could, and to eat up at once whatever began to spoil. The most highly valued dried foods were salmon eggs, service berries (these two were mixed together for great treats), and marrow.
271 Deer pemmican was highly prized. Much water was consumed, particularly by young adults; much soup by children and the aged.

252 Cooking was done preferably in coiled baskets of cedar root, since they stand

p. 32(4) 20 Note also the practise at the fall deer hunt described above. 1
21 See the Dream dance in the section on religion. 1

252 rougher treatment than the bark baskets, even though these are lighter. The former might last ten years. The hot rocks were carried with green sticks — no tongs were known — and were blown on before being put into the water to make them clean.

FIRST FRUITS CEREMONY

222 796 First fruit ceremonies were held after the first big gathering of camas, service berries, and bitterroot."[1] The ceremony was called cqEpó'mnsinm. Most of the band would gather at the chief's house, where he would stand up and speak; perhaps other older men would too; and then the people would eat the newly harvested food. The chief might have asked a few able women to cook some of his supply, or food which had been taken by common work. This was then eaten at noon, the men being served first as usual. In later days they prayed (skûm) before the speech making. There was a special prayer for camas, said by about eight or ten women who were the first to go out digging, but usually only one ceremony was held for first roots, berries, and small game collectively. [786 834] The night following there would be much sexual intercourse between husbands and their wives, but unmarried girls were supposedly closely guarded. At Kartaro more people gathered for this ceremony than the number which usually composed a winter village.

222 796 The ceremony symbolizes the first time that the Indians learned to eat these foods (said Suszen). Probably the prayer is a recent feature, introduced by chief SûipEqê n after a dream."[1] His prayer was, "We are not the ones who made the berries and bitterroot grow. There must be another person in another world who makes the berries and bitterroot grow. And then after we get it, we eat it. You are not like birds, to just go over there and eat all you want. After somebody talks to you, then you can eat." This chief may also have introduced the idea of an "Other Person," the creator, in this rite.

171 222 796 In the northern part of the area, said David, there were no first fruits ceremonies other than those over salmon. This may be doubted because he also denied their existence elsewhere. Michel and Johnnie stated that the rite was practiced by both Sinkaietk and Northern Okanagon, but not by Colville.

FUR TAKING

224 Fur-bearing animals were taken in late fall and winter until the end of March (after which the hairs fell from the pelts). This activity was carried on mostly by outlying families remaining in the hills, or by men who left the camps for several weeks on end; one, two or three men together. All fur-bearing animals were caught in small dead-fall

[1] [For footnotes, see p. 32 (A), Category 116. -- Analyst]

traps, rarely shot by bow. No special power was needed for securing fur animals as for food, most men having enough general power; but if a man had poor luck he would dance, sweat, sing, etc. Whoever had poor luck would be pitied by his relatives and an older one might help by telling how the trapping should be done, but of course no one could approach an older man to ask this. He had to wait for this help. 224 [177]

Fur animals were not skinned as deer were, by slitting the belly, but by slitting simply the hind legs along their inner sides and then pulling the skin off inside out. All meat and fat is then scraped off and a stick of supple willow is bowed into a U and pushed into it, sometimes with a second stick lashed across its center. The skin is kept in a tipi or tule house, or in the shade for four days or so, then turned fur side out and can be used at once.

DOGS, HORSES, AND PETS

The use of dogs (kēkawa'p) in deer hunting has been described above. 231

Dogs were treated carefully and only the best were ever used. They are never spoken to in camp today, and the idea of petting them is ridiculous to these Indians. They were trained as pups to follow the scent by being brought along on small hunts by their owners, and having their heads held in a slain deer's mouth. (The latter was also a Colville practise.) Pieces of deer and bear meat would be tied about their necks, or the musk from a deer's foreleg rubbed on their noses. They were taught not to bark until a deer was brought to bay, since this would scare the other deer. Before a serious hunt they would be tied up for several days, beyond the range of camp smells, in little shelters with deer skins for them to lie on, and given very little food. They might be taken into the sweat house, where men with appropriate power would blow into their noses to give them better scent. No woman was allowed to handle them. They were not castrated. Dogs were not used as draught or pack animals. 224 [784] [492]

The dogs were about as big as coyotes, but with short legs. Their colors were black, yellow, spotted: all colors. They were given names, such as Cloud, Mountain, Trees, or more generally animal or bird names, according to fancied resemblances in the dog's marking. Billie Joe stated that probably only male dogs were named and always for animals: cinq!alī'p, "coyote"; sinikstī'a, "skunk"; ckáxxī'ct, "bear"; kīlaūna, "grizzly bear." Every dog knew its name, but they were called by saying "come here" or whistling or making a kissing sound. If a female dog was lost, in chasing game or what not, the owner would make a little digging stick and say, "Come back: think about your digging stick." If a male dog, a small bow and arrow would be made. Children were supposed to be able to converse with dogs, 231 552 562 789 231 [825]

It is said that some pains were taken in their breeding, that the best males were loaned as studs and a puppy given to the owner as fee, even that puppies were selected by being placed in a hole in the ground with the mother outside, and the ones which consistently struggled out best were kept and the others killed. They may have crossed with wolves: Suszen remembered cases. Some very hairy dogs were reported, but dog hair was not used for anything. Some dogs were special watchdogs, but there was no word for them. A good hunting dog was valuable; as much as a buffalo skin and half a dozen deer hides were paid for one. None of the old breed remain, and probably but little of its blood survives now. 231 [435]

No special inquiries were made concerning the role played by the horse in Sinkaietk life. It is of so recent an introduction and played so ancillary a part as not to have seriously affected the ancient customary habits. The horse served solely as an auxiliary means of transport; for riding and packing. Its acquisition made a difference in two directions: communication became more frequent across country rather than by canoe on the rivers, and visits to distant tribes, trading, and ranging over a larger area for food gathering became prevalent. 177 231 412

The horse is called sinł'tsaska'xa, or inkûwa'p, "my horse," from in-kikûwa''pa, "my dog."

Men's saddles were buckskin sacks filled with deer hair. Women's saddles had high pommels and cantles of forking deer antlers laced with buckskin thongs to wooden side plates. An old woman's saddle seen in the field closely resembled typical Plains women's saddles with a broad band of skin slung between the high pommel and cantle. A bridle was simply a horsehair rope tied to the horse's lower jaw. Stirrups were made of bent sticks. Spurs were not used.

When horses were first acquired, or at least became common, is not altogether clear. Apparently the horse was introduced among the bands at the extreme northern and southern ends of our area earlier than in the center. That is, it can be dated to about 1840-50 among the Northern Okanagon, about 1850-60 at the mouth of the Okanogan, and in a central group such as those in the vicinity of the present Okanogan town only about 1870-75. Naturally, data on this point cannot be gotten with precision.

The Spokan and the tribes of southeastern Washington in the Wallwalla-Umatilla district had horses before they were brought to the Sinkaietk. For a good horse the Spokan were offered two buffalo skins with one or more deer hides to boot. The Northern Okanagon traded them northward to their own people at Vernon at the head of Okanogan Lake, who in turn carried them north to the Shuswap. They also took horses to the Thompson River, where they traded them for dried salmon. 177 231 171

177 For the northern bands we have the following information. In the days when Andrew
231 Tillson's father was in his prime, that is, about 1850, they got horses in the Blackfoot
171 country by fighting. (His father died, an old man, at the time Andrew was born, eight or ten years, probably more, before the Nez Percé war of 1877.) They had no horses before his father was born. Margaret Sersepkin, a Northern Okanagon now about ninety-two, said that as long as she could remember her father had horses. This would set the date about 1840-50. (These may have been obtained from a Hudson Bay Company post, for even when she was a baby, he hunted for furs to trade with the company.) She accompanied her husband Sersepkin to the Blackfoot country with a train of thirty horses when seventeen or eighteen, i.e., about 1856. Andrew also mentioned seeing his first horse at Kettle Falls about 1874. At that time they (customarily ?) went to the Wallawalla district by canoe to get horses from Indians and whites. He also rode there at the time of the Nez Percé war (1877). This may mean only that horses came into general use in the eighteen-seventies. Andrew further stated that when he was fifteen, i.e., about 1880-85, Sersepkin and Kawi'salaqin began raising horses in numbers on the Okanogan River.

177 On the lower Okanogan, Sid Harry said he first saw horses when he was about ten,
231 not before, that is, about 1850. (He was

p.34 (A)

177
231

about ninety in 1930.) They were brought from the lower Columbia River by the Nez Percé. His mother also got some from the northeast. Mary Carden mentioned travelling with horses when she was sixteen, about 1870, but her people had horses at least half a dozen years earlier.

In the central district, Lucy Joe was living near the present town of Okanogan about 1875 when her father brought the first horses of the district from "Portland." (She is now about seventy and was a big girl then.) She stated that they had no horses before the earthquake of 1872 (?).

231

Young coyotes, foxes, and wolves were caught and kept as pets for a short time, but they were apt to chew their ropes and escape. Young bear and deer were also kept.

Eagles were kept by many families. They were always captured as fledglings and reared in cages (?). Some men laid claim to eyries and prevented others going there. Eagles would eat only raw meat, and starved to death if given any other foods alone. They grew a new set of feathers every two months; only the long tail feathers were taken as a rule.

Magpies were easy to keep: their wings and tails were clipped. They stayed right in camp. Crows and geese were also taken as pets.

p. 34 (B)

3: Cline E-8 (1930) 1938 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
Sinkaietk

MATERIAL CULTURE

By RICHARD H. POST and RACHEL S. COMMONS

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MATERIAL CULTURE

By RICHARD H. POST and RACHEL S. COMMONS

DWELLINGS

342 The principal dwellings of the Southern Okanagon were the long mat-covered lodge and the mat-covered tipi.[1] The underground or semi-subterranean house appears to have been [178] a common type in early days here as among the northern groups, but its use has been so long discontinued along the lower Okanogan River that southern informants did not remember seeing any of them. Remains of their pits are extant at Methow. At present the Okanagon live in log or frame houses, so that all information concerning the aboriginal dwellings is contingent upon the memories of informants. Only one mat tipi was found still in use on the present reservation. It was occupied by an old woman who lived in it all the year around, on the land of relatives who lived in a frame house nearby. No evidence was found of the "square or square-topped lodge" mentioned by Teit.[1] Each winter village may have had a house, presumably a mat lodge, built by the women as their working place, but this information may well refer to the Wenatchi. In addition to winter dwellings, temporary living shelters were 343 erected for summer camps. Sweat lodges and menstrual huts were also to be found near every permanent or temporary settlement.

The long mat lodge, the most common type of winter dwelling, was A-shaped in cross section and oblong in ground plan, with rounded ends.[1] An opening was left at one or both ends for entrance, depending on the [823] length of the house. One door preferably faced south or the stream. The framework was of poles, entirely covered by mats except for a narrow opening along the ridge running the length of the house, to permit the escape of smoke from the fires, which were situated directly underneath on the center line. These houses were as high as twenty feet at the apex, smaller ones ten or twelve feet. The slant of the sides was uniform for large and small houses.

The framework consisted of two pairs of end poles and as many interior pairs between them as the length of the house required. Most lodges had four pairs or frames in all, which made a "three section house." Five frames were used when making the less common "four section house," which would house a chief, a shaman, or other wealthy man. Houses were even as long as eight sections. As a rule the larger houses were not so crowded

[1] [For footnotes, see p. 37 (C), category 116. -- Analyst]

342 as the smaller. One was cited as forty feet long, which took a week to construct.

To form an end frame two poles were tied together near their tops and raised into position (Figure 3, a, a). About a third of the way down, two poles were tied to each of these foundation poles, one vertical and the other slanting in a plane parallel to the main axis of the house (b, c). A third pole was tied somewhat below this point, slanting in a plane between that of the main axis and that of the original poles (d). This made the end of the house rounded. The interior frames consisted simply of two crossed poles (e, e) tied together near the top with Indian hemp or willow twigs. These were ten to twenty feet distant from the end frames, depending on the size of the house. The butts of the frame poles were planted about a foot in the ground. Horizontal poles, set end to end, were then tied to them the full length of the lodge along each side and around the ends, leaving a door space about five and one-half feet high at each end. The number of rows of horizontal poles (f, f), which were about three feet apart, varied according to the size of the lodge. Four or five rows were common, making a lodge about forty feet long and fifteen feet high at the ridge. To the bottom row of horizontal poles short vertical sticks were lashed (g, g), about a foot and one-half apart, their butt ends buried in the ground a foot, like the frame poles.

342 285 Mats of round tules were tied to the finished framework, upon which one could climb without fear of its collapsing. The tules ran vertically, their natural length limiting the breadth of the mats to four or five feet. They were sewn together (placed with butts and tips alternating at the edge) with Indian hemp in a needle of bone or wood about seven inches long. The lines of sewing were spaced about five inches apart. A willow stick slightly larger than a tule in diameter terminated each end. The mats varied from ten to twenty feet in length. Since dry tules were used, the mat was very light and could be easily transported. One row of them, end to end, was tied to the framework all the way around the lodge, leaving a space at each end for the doorway; then the next row was tied above it, and so on, until in the finished lodge each row of mats overlapped the one below it like shingles. The top row of mats was lashed to the top pair

000 1 On the choice of village sites and arrangement of the houses, see Social Organization.
2 Teit, Salishan Tribes, 227.
3 A house of this type is illustrated in McWhorter, The Crime Against the Yakimas, 35.

[For context of these footnotes, see p. 37(4), category 116. -- Analyst]

342 of horizontal ribs, so that the space (five or six inches ?) between the ribs at the ridge was left uncovered for the escape of smoke. The top row of mats was of single thickness, the next below of two thicknesses the lower rows thicker (three to five at the most) depending on the severity of the weather. Sunlight could penetrate a single thickness of matting, although it was said rain could not. Bark, grass and earth were packed in successive layers about the base of the house to keep out moisture. One informant reported a drainage ditch, and two said that snow was cleared from near the house when thawing.

285

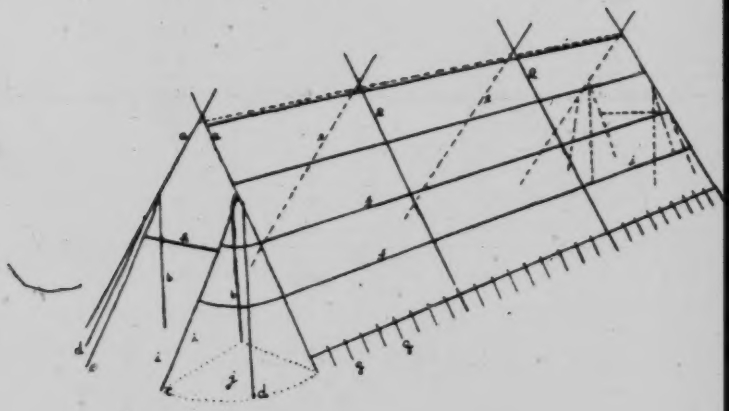

Fig. 3. Frame of a long mat lodge.

Each door space was covered by a mat of flat tules, sewn horizontally, and strengthened with horizontal battens of wood about a foot apart. This mat was suspended from a crossbar (h), tied to the two slanting poles of the end frame. The door was raised by one of its corners on entering. Tie strings were attached to its vertical edges and to the mats framing the entrance, so that the door could be tied securely shut. In warm weather these ties were released and the mat rolled up and tied to the crossbar to leave the entrance open.

Inside the door was a passageway six or more feet long, partitioned off by tule mats which were strongly reinforced with battens, both horizontal and vertical (at i, Figure 3). In the two quarter-circle spaces thus formed (j) food was stored, piled right up to the roof in the autumn. Food was also stored under the eaves. Supplies usually lasted through the freezing months when access to the outdoor caches was difficult.

[551]

342 Each long mat lodge was inhabited by several families. No definite areas were 592 marked off for them, but normally each occupied one section, less if they were poor. The floor of the house, except for the space

342 592 under the ridge opening, was covered with grass, spread more thickly around the walls where the people slept. Tule mats might be laid over this. Fire was placed on the bare space directly under the open ridge. Protec- 342 354 tion from the fires was given by a line of four-inch poles along each border, held in place by pegs in the ground. Excavations on three or four sides of each family's fire held their cooking baskets. Beds were made 342 513 up of skin robes spread over boughs and grass, which was heaped at one end for pillowing the head. Michel described the beds as made on a long platform which ran along each long side of the house. These were raised two feet from the ground and were six feet wide. Blankets were kept below the [753] shoulders of a sleeper, for to cover the head with the edge of the blanket was to invite blindness.

342 In summer the mat lodge was dismantled and the mats rolled up and stored in trees for use the following winter, or some of them were carried along for use on summer shelters.

171 342 The Colville were said to have had mat lodges precisely like those of the Southern Okanagon and to have lacked earth lodges.

The form of the mat lodge differed somewhat in the region north of Tonasket, among the Northern Okanagon. Here the house was built over an excavation about a foot and a half deep, the poles of the frame being set inside the excavation. When the house was completed, pine or cottonwood bark was laid along the outside at the base, bark side in; grass was laid over this, and finally dirt was packed over the whole. This packing covered the walls about three feet above the ground level, and was effective in keeping out moisture. The two end frames here differed somewhat from the southern type. Three

poles were tied together near the top, one of them serving as one of the frames for the door; then a fourth pole was tied to this pole near the apex and served as the other side of the door frame. A horizontal stick tied to these two poles completed the door frame. The flat tule mat door was suspended from this crosspiece. 171 342

The house of a chief was of exactly the same type as the ordinary mat lodge, but it was usually larger in order to accomodate the 342 622

Fig. 4. Mat-covered tipi of Colville or Southern Okanagon.

greater number of families who lived with the chief. The two highest rows of tule mats which covered the chief's lodge were decorated on the outside, usually with vertical imbricated strips of white material about three-quarters of an inch wide and about two feet apart. Shaman's houses were as large as chiefs' but less tidy. The ordinary man feared to decorate his house with painting or imbrication lest a shaman should then take away some of his power. [631] [791]

The mat-covered tipi was a conical lodge built on a three or four pole foundation. This has been reported from all parts of our area and from the Northern Okanagon. A circular pit about a foot deep was dug, and three or four poles (both numbers were regularly used) sharpened and tied together at the top were set up inside the excavation. Other poles of smaller diameter were then tucked in among the foundation poles, the butt ends of all poles resting against the 342

[For context of this footnote, see p. 39(B), category 116.-- Analyst]

4 Curtis, North American Indian, VII, 69.

p. 39 (A)

side of the pit. Two or three rows of transverse branches were tied on, completely encircling the frame, as in the mat lodge. 342
Like the mat lodge, the tipi was covered with several rows of round-tule mats, the tules vertical, each row overlapping the one below it, shinglewise (Figure 4). The top row of mats was of single thickness, each row below having one more layer of mats than the row above. The mats were not always rectangular, as those of the long lodge, but curved, a condition accomplished by laying all the large ends of the tules along the same border of the mat and not alternating them with small ends. After the mats were in place, slender poles were laid against the mats and heavier poles on these to keep the mats from blowing about. An opening was left at the top for the escape of smoke, flanked by two ears supported at the top by poles as in the Plains tipi; but the method of construction of these was not obtained, except for the information that they were made of tule mats. Presumably they consisted simply of two tule mats fastened to the top of the tipi on the windward side. Modern tipis with cloth covering show such ears (Figure 5). There were storage spaces at the entrance, said to be like those of the long lodge. Details are lacking beyond a description of vertical poles inside the entrance tied to the lodge poles on both sides. The door was like that of the long lodge: a mat of flat tules suspended from a lintel, with the tules horizontal so that it could be rolled up and tied. One side was raised for entering. The door faced south, for protection from the weather. Poles were laid against the mats on the outside to keep them from blowing in the wind. 342 285

In winter cedar bark was set up within the margin of the pit outside the poles and covered with grass and earth, or earth was piled up a foot or more over the outside mats, and the outermost mat or an extra mat affixed outside of this. 342

The size of the tipi varied according to the number of occupants. Only one or two families lived in a tipi: a larger number would build a long lodge. A one-family tipi was about ten feet in diameter; a two-family tipi about fifteen feet. The height of the tipi and the number of rows and layers of mats varied accordingly. There was only one fire; at the center. No elliptical tipis were reported, although Curtis[1] says they were as often elliptical as circular among the interior Salish. 342 592

The first buffalo skin tipis were seen by Old Harry, then grown but still unmarried (i.e., perhaps about 1855-60), "when the soldiers came." Possibly the reference is to the Yakima war of 1855-56. Michel stated that the first skin tipis, possibly copied from the Blackfoot, were made fifty to sixty years ago. 171 177 342

[1] [For foot note, see p. 39(A), category 116. -- Analyst]

342 361 According to one informant a summer camp usually had two rows of tipis or temporary structures facing each other with a long street between. Each one had built in front of it a flat-roofed shelter of the type described below. This was the general living and eating place during the summer, cooking being done at the outer edge nearest the street. Other informants referred to the arrangement of a summer camp as rather haphazard.

342 Data on the earth-covered lodge is equivocal. Billy Joe spoke of underground houses (among Northern or Southern Okanagon ?) about seven feet deep and rectangular in shape, usually fifteen by thirty feet, larger ones being forty feet long and smaller ones twenty. The smaller earth lodges were probably all round. There were two longitudinal ridgepoles, only three or four feet apart, supported by four stout uprights. These ridgepoles were only three to five feet above ground level and were held apart by stout braces. Smaller poles were placed as close together as possible with one end on these and the other end on the ground. Pine bark, grass and earth were laid over the poles, two feet deep, except for a space about four feet long between the ridgepoles for a smoke hole and again (?) at the entranceway. The entrance was said to be on the sloping roof and on the side away from the wind. A trench was dug around the house to carry off the water. Both floor and earth walls (against which small poles were set upright) were lined with brush or tule mats, or both, to keep out the dampness. These houses had but a single fire, even though the largest might hold eighty people. A sloping notched log served as ladder, its direction immaterial. A rope ladder was also mentioned but seems improbable. It was generally said that the wealthier and more industrious people used

342 to live in such houses. A person with the power of a burrowing animal would initiate the building of one of these because then the dirt could be more easily dug. It took about fifteen to twenty days to build one.

Mary Carden's father was reported to have heard of round underground houses among the southern bands of Sinkaietk, the largest of which might hold eighty people. A circular pit was dug. Big green logs of pine were placed "flat across the top about three or four feet apart." Small pieces of driftwood were placed over these; then a foot-thick layer of green rye or meadow grass, an another foot-thick layer of dirt. The circular hatchway, three feet in diameter, was at the center. The hatchway had a coping made of a willow hoop wrapped with tule or willow bark to make it smooth. A green pine log, notched, served as a ladder. It is not clear whether this house, presumably in the southern part of our area, had its roof flush with the ground (that is, a mere covered pit) or was a conical structure raised over a pit. The former is more probable. Billie Joe and Johnnie stated that there were no houses with roofs flush with the ground.

Julie Josephine, now about eighty, had never heard of earth lodges among the Kartar people. It is possible that this means that there were none at Kartaro, a locality famous for its mild winter climate.

Methow houses, according to Chilowhist Jim, were circular (fifty feet in diameter) and had their roofs flush with the level of the ground. Yet they did not let water drain in. The inner frame was four or five fir posts supporting a series of poles laid close together, the whole covered with tips of fir boughs and dirt. At the center was a square hatchway, through which two separate

3 Cline E-5 (1930) 1938 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
Sinkaietk; Wenatchi

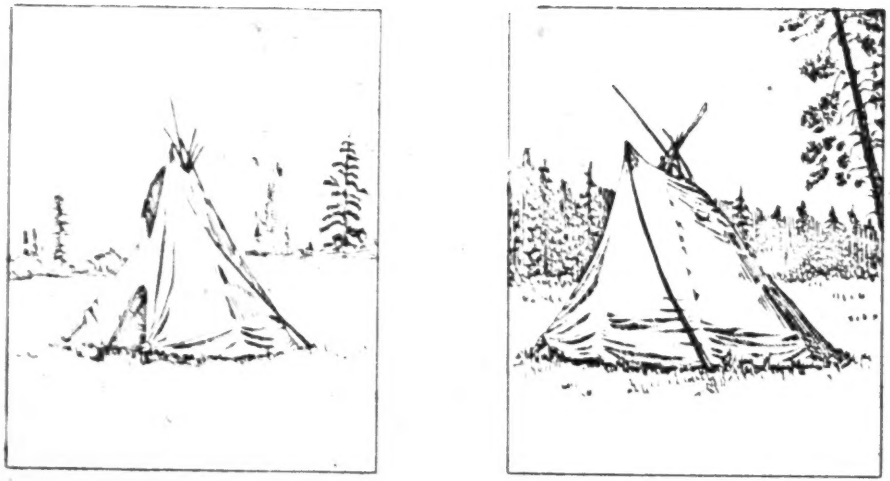

Fig. 5. Tipi of Wenatchi woman at Disautel (front and rear views).

342

p. 40 (c)

ladders slanted. These were notched logs, or rather, provided with small holes for the feet. Beside each ladder-log were two slim poles for hand-rails. The single fire was at the center of the house. At night the hatch was closed to keep snow out and the warmth in. So warm were they that no blankets were needed. 342

Underground lodges on the Similkameen River, again, were reported to have been round. Big Joe had seen an underground lodge in Inkamip (Northern Okanagon) territory. This had a notched log ladder and a little door at the ground level for the use of old people. The Colville were also said to have had underground lodges.

An obscure description of an earth lodge near Oroville in Northern Okanagon territory was obtained from David Isaac. This resembled an earth-covered tipi with a round hole at the top and set into a circular excavation. The pit was about twelve feet in diameter and eleven feet deep. It would seem that four main poles were set obliquely at as many points of the periphery of the bottom of the pit, to meet a round frame at the center of the roof. A vertical prop supported each of these four at its midpoint. Other poles were laid on this framework to form a cone (?). The roof was covered with successive layers of bark, grass and dirt. The excavation outside of the conical roof was completely filled with dirt. A notched log protruding through the smoke hole in the roof gave access. 171 342

Andrew Tillson once saw an earth-covered lodge among the Lillooet in the Nikola Valley, but he could give only fragmentary information. It projected four or five feet above the ground, the decking consisting of poles covered with six or more layers of peeled bark, bark side in, over which earth was thrown. These poles were preferably of cedar, otherwise of fir or tamarack. They were supported by four large posts set up in deep holes at the corners of a square. A circular pit was then dug. Smaller posts, mortised into their tops, reinforced the four main posts. These apparently leaned inward. Crossbeams rested on these, mortised in and held by the weight above, so that no fastenings were necessary. Other horizontal poles were set in notches in the leaning side poles. The entrance was about ten (?) feet square, exactly at the center (openings were always at the center) and was never closed. Whatever snow fell through was easily removed. The ladder set in the hatchway was a single log, sloping and notched on its upper face. It was set about a foot into the ground and rested against the rafter poles, which were notched to receive it. It protruded above the opening about five feet for convenience in grasping. The "front" of the house apparently faced west, since women were allowed to approach only from the east because game was kept at the back;" but this information does not explain the direction in which the ladder sloped. At its foot was the fireplace, on the bare

ground, with one fire for each family, all 171
directly under the opening. Nearby were
wood piles and food stores for immediate use. 342
Sleeping spaces were about the wall. On the
floor were fir boughs covered with grass; also tule mats. Such a house was built before the fall hunt, usually in as short a time as two weeks. It held from forty to fifty people. Tillson said that the Okanagon houses were not like this, however.

The summer shelter consisted of a rectangular roof supported by poles, the sides 342
being left open. Four poles were planted in the ground, the pair in front about six feet high and the rear pair somewhat shorter, so that the roof would slope slightly from front to rear. Four horizontal poles were lashed to their tops, forming a rectangle. Two or three thicknesses of tule mats were laid on the roof. Sometimes an extra pole was laid across the roof of larger structures to support the mats, and sometimes fir boughs were used for roofing. The size of a shelter was increased by adding an extra pair of vertical poles at the rear of the framework, thus making it longer from front to back. Any trees growing nearby would be used for the poles except pine, the odor of which was objectionable unless well dried.

A second type of summer structure was built as follows: four upright poles were set in the ground in a row, to the top of each a long pole was lashed with one end resting on the ground: fir boughs were then laid across these sloping rafters. This lean-to was unknown in the northern part of the territory around Oroville, but was reported by Chilowhist Jim from south of Omak.

Generally, when travelling, mats for a 342
tipi were carried along. Poles were obtained at the camp site and set up as in the 484
winter tipi, but no foundation pit was dug for this temporary structure: the poles were simply planted in the ground a few inches deep. The summer tipi was covered with one or at most two layers of mats. Rough tipis of fir boughs and brush were also made for temporary use. Flexible horizontal poles or twigs were tied on over the brush to keep it in place. The floor was covered with grass. The fire was built outside.

The menstrual lodge was the regular mat- 343
covered tipi, put up by the women. A large [841]
village might have two. At a temporary camp rough bough structures were provided. This lodge was always at least fifty feet from any dwelling.

For the construction of a sweat house a dozen birch wands about fifteen feet long were cut. Such a lodge was about four feet high and four feet in diameter. Four wands were placed with both ends in the ground to form four parallel arches, the two outer arches somewhat smaller than the two at the middle (Figure 6). The butt ends of the two middle wands were on the same side of the lodge; the butt ends of the other pair on the opposite side. The remaining wands were

343 arched over these at right angles, their butt ends on alternate sides of the lodge. Where the wands crossed, they were tied with willow twigs. Finally a heavy wand was bent over the frame from back to front and broken off at the top of the entrance (between the

middle pair of arches first erected, on the side of their butt ends), where it was tied. All the wands were set in holes made with a short stick pounded into the ground with a stone. The finished frame was round at the base and dome shaped. If the structure was a permanent one it was covered with successive layers of bark, grass, and earth. For temporary use it was covered with several layers of blankets. A blanket was hung over the entrance and lifted to enter. Originally this was simply a bundle of fir boughs. The floor was covered with fresh fir tips just before use.

The pit for the sweating-stones was a hole about a foot deep and a foot wide, situated inside to the right of one entering.

343 in very large houses it might be at the center. This was dug before the framework of the lodge was erected. Hot stones were carried into the lodge and placed in the pit; water sprinkled on them furnished steam. The sweat house was always so oriented that its entrance faced the stream beside which it was built. The fire for heating the stones was built near the lodge, a little to one side of the entrance. Sticks were used to carry in the hot stones, except by those whose power permitted them to carry hot stones barehanded.

A somewhat different type of sweat house was seen at Kataro, Disautel, and near the mouth of the Okanogan River (Figures 7 and 8). This was made of four willow poles which crossed and were tied at the top. The rock pit was at the left (?) of the person entering, whereas in the lodge described above the pit was on the right.

Each village was said to have a large

Fig. 6. Framework of temporary sweatlodge.

Fig. 7. Sweatlodge near Kartaro.

Fig. 8. Heating stones for sweatlodge at Disautel.

343
515

Each village was said to have a large 343 364
[illegible], large enough to hold ten men.[5]

Trenches and piles of rocks were reported as camp defence and refuge for women and children during attacks. Ladders were sometimes needed for access. Summer sites were reported on inaccessible hilltops for the same purpose. No barricades of logs were known.[6] 361 712

DRESS AND PERSONAL ADORNMENT

As Teit[7] also described for the Northern Okanagon, men's clothing consisted of breechclout and belt, moccasins, long leggings, shirt, and cap or headband. Women wore either a long dress or a short shirt and skirt, together with moccasins and short leggings. Buckskin was worn throughout the year, thicker in winter, thinner in summer; although in hot weather men and children could remove shirts and leggings. Men avoided nakedness, even guarding their genitals while going to and from swimming, a precaution not paralleled by women. Clothing was made also of wolf, fox, coyote and otter skins, of beaver and mink for the rich. Bear coat, and large deerskins were used for capes and robes. In summer, garments made of shredded sagebrush were worn, at least in earlier times. When first dressed, a child wore the same styles as adults. All wore moccasins, including children. All clothing was made by women.[8] 291 [858] [462]

There are indications that skin garments were a comparatively late, though aboriginal, acquisition, and that sagebrush bark was at one time the year-around material for clothing, as among other tribes of the Plateau. For instance, Mary Carden stated that the bark breechclout and bark skirt were in general use before the days of her great-grandparents. This would mean perhaps in the middle of the eighteenth century. At least within her own lifetime gala dress of buckskin was always been in use. Lucy Joe[9] thought that buckskin clothing came into use about the time of the fall of the "dry snow" (circa 1790). She was born 1850-60. As a little girl she wore buckskin. Her husband, whose first wife was Inkamip (Northern Okanagon), said that "long ago" those people wore sagebrush aprons.

The breechclout was made of a single piece of soft buckskin, two and a half to three feet long by one foot wide, passing under the crotch and hanging over a belt before and behind like an apron, perhaps as low as the knees. On some no apron was left the belt passing through tabs on the breechclout. In winter the hair was sometimes left on the buckskin, and occasionally coyote and other fur was used, worn hair side in. The apron of the clout was sometimes

5 For the use of sweat houses, see Diversions.
6 See Warfare.
7 Teit, Salishan Tribes, 230.
8 Specimens in Washington State Museum: Figure 9.

The apron of the clout was sometimes decorated with a fringe. The belt was a piece of tanned skin tied at the front in a flat knot, bowknots being unknown in the old days (?). 291 [531]

Men's leggings reached from the breechclout to the moccasins. They were frequently made of wolf, coyote, or fox skin in winter, and buckskin in summer. The exact construction is not clear. Each legging was apparently made of a single piece of skin sewn or laced with buckskin on the outside of the leg and so cut as to leave a triangular flap along the seam, point downward. This was often slit in fringes. Stripes of porcupine quills, shells, or feather quills were sewn down the seams and around the bottom as decoration. The legging was held on by a thong attached to the top on the outside, which was tied to the belt. The legging was not attached to the moccasin, but simply fell over it or was tucked in. Winter leggings, most often of coyote skin, were worn fur side out and were not decorated. The sides were sewn with buckskin, using an awl. Additional leggings of groundhog skin, sometimes added to eke out the length of those covering the thighs, reached from knee to ankle. Women's leggings were shorter than men's, reaching to just above the knee. They were always of buckskin and worn the year around. (Chilowhist Jim stated that they wore goat hide in winter.) The edges were tied together with three buckskin thongs on the outer side of the leg. Apparently there was no triangular flap as on the men's leggings. Decorations were of porcupine quills or paint, but shells were not used. [531] [531]

Two types of moccasin were in use, although both come in the category of "one-piece" moccasins. One, said by informants to be the older, was made with a tongue covering the instep, the seam of the wide sole-piece extending from the toes to meet it. A later one-piece type, said to have been borrowed from the Nez Percé, has almost completely superseded the older type. This has its own seam around the margin of the sole. Both were made from smoked skin lest wetting make them stiffen. There were no sex differences in cut.

For the older style moccasin a piece of buckskin was cut larger than the sole so that it could be lapped over the sides of the foot. This was then sewn up from the toe to the instep, and vertically up the heel (Figure 9).* A folded double tongue piece covering the instep was then inserted, the sole piece being slightly gathered to fit the tongue. The circular seam securing this was reinforced by inserting in it an extra strip of buckskin. A straight piece of buckskin, about three inches wide and long enough for its ends to overlap about two inches at

*[For footnote, see p. 43 (c), category 116. -- Analyst]

291

5 For the use of sweat houses, see Diversions.
6 See Warfare.
7 Ref.: Salishan Tribes, 230.
8 Specimens in Washington State Museum: Figure 9, Nos. 2-267, 2-268; Figure 10, Nos. 2-266, 2-269.

1/c

1/ [For context of footnote, see p. 43(B), category 116. -- Analyst]

p. 43(C)

291

the front of the ankle, was then sewn to the side of the sole piece from the top of one tongue seam, around the heel to the other tongue seam. This ankle flap was pulled tightly around the ankle with the free ends overlapping. This moccasin was laced by a buckskin thong passing back of the heel and through two loops sewed at the points where the ankle flap met the tongue.

In the more recent type of moccasin the seam runs around the outside of the foot from the toe to the heel with a vertical seam at the heel (Figure 10). The straight tongue is part of the sole-piece, and in use is tucked under the overlapping ankle flap, which is attached as in the older type of moccasin. Sometimes the sole-piece is slashed even with the width of the tongue and a tab bent back over the instep and fringed.[1] The moccasin is held on by a thong lacing which passes through holes in the sides of the moccasin and the tongue.

[1] [For foot note, see p. 44 (D), category 116. -- Analyst]

p. 44 (A)

291 Both types of moccasin were provided with tabs or trailers protruding at the heel. The tab of the recent style is inserted into the lower [illegible] as it is sewed at the heel. Those of the older style were made by pinching out the material in some fashion as the heel seam was formed. Heel-tabs were forked at various angles or fringed, according to the fancy of the maker.

[286] "Moccasins" were also woven of Indian hemp by those too poor to use deer skin. These were said to have been made in the older style, but informants could give us no details as to the manner of weaving. It is possible that these resembled the slipper-like sandals of the Paviotso and Klamath.

In winter, warmth was obtained by stuffing moccasins and leggings with sunflower leaves, deer hair, or grass, made soft by rubbing between the palms. One informant (Cecile Brooks) reported warm moccasins of

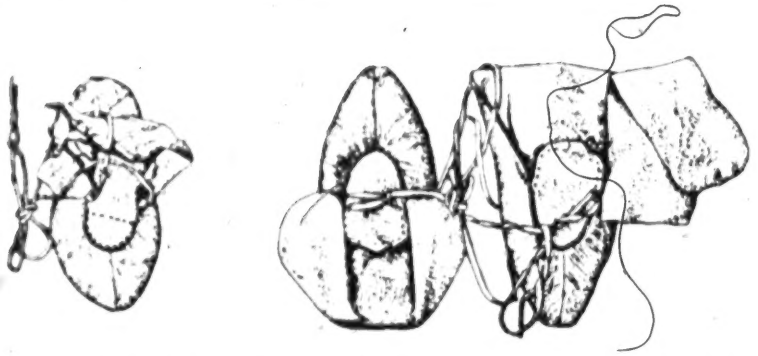

Fig. 9. Moccasins of older type. (The moccasin on the right is left unsewn to show the pattern.)

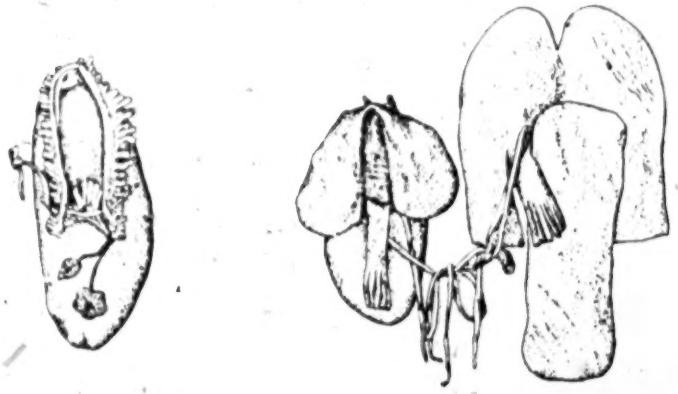

Fig. 10. Moccasins of recent type. (The moccasin on the right has been left unsewn to show the pattern.)

P. 44 (c)

291

9 This is not clear. Perhaps it is meant that the tongue is cut off short, fringed, and allowed to fall over the instep as in Figure 10 with or without another long tongue sewed in place. — L.S.

P. 44 (D)

buffalo skin with the hair inside. These needed no stuffing and were not decorated. 291

At present moccasins are undecorated except those used in the winter dances. The modern decoration is bead work in floral designs of the Great Lakes type. The old style moccasin was decorated with embroidery on the seams and surface of the inset tongue. Presumably the embroidery was done in porcupine quills in early times; after the introduction of the horse, horse hair was a common embroidery material. One pair of moccasins of the older style obtained was decorated with horse hair at the curved seam of the tongue: two lines of black horse hair at the outside, a white line inside these, and a third black line inside the white. For this several strands of hair taken in a bundle were wrapped with another bundle to form a cord-like line. The stitches of sinew with which the hair cord was sewn on passed through the turns (?) of the wrapped bundle of hairs. The two center lines of hair were thicker than the two outer lines. A tassel of hair about two inches long was left on the right side of each moccasin. 291 531

The man's shirt was made of two deer skins, neck end up, sewed together over the shoulders. It had sleeves to the elbow, beyond which a thong might extend to tie to the gloves. Sometimes the sides were fastened only with thongs. According to Teit,[10] Northern Okanagon shirts had the margins of the neck cut circular or triangular to be bent down and sewed to the body of the shirt in the manner of the pendant flaps of Plains shirts. A poncho-like shirt made of a single skin with a hole cut for the head to pass through was also worn. Fringes and embroidery were not emphasized. Neither the vest nor the neck wrap mentioned by Teit was described by our informants. 291

The woman's dress was made of two buckskins, hung from the shoulders and reaching as low as the calf or ankle. These skins had the flesh side out. One informant stated that the tail end of the skin was at the bottom of the dress because this was the broader part of the skin, but another stated that it was at the top, which agrees with Teit's information. The shoulders were either sewed or laced together with buckskin thongs. The sides of the dress were sewed together below the armpits. This stitching was well within the margins of the skin, which was purposely cut over size. The marginal portions could then be slit for fringes. The leg skins were left attached and sewed as a sort of sleeve. This was sewn along the upper side, but apparently unsewn below, or at best laced, so that it resembled a cape draped over the arm. Mary Carden mentioned sleeves of elbow length. Sleeves evidently varied greatly in length. Seams, ends of sleeves, and the bottom of the dress were usually fringed. Wealthy women added a

10 Teit, Salishan Tribes, 232.

yoke to the dress. No belts were worn with these dresses until recently. 291

The dress was decorated with paint (colored dots applied with the thumb across the top and around the bottom) together with short pieces of buckskin thong doubled and 291 531

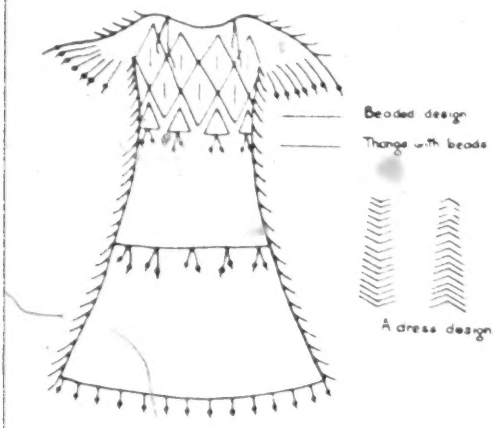

Fig. 11. Women's dress (after native sketch).

sewn on at the fold to resemble small bows. Mary Carden denied the use of painted decoration. Other dresses had designs made with bone beads or embroidery of porcupine quills along the yoke and near the bottom of the garment (Figure 11). Various special designs might be used by women with certain kinds of power. For example, a woman with power against being shot would have rows of little holes around the top and bottom of her dress. On the whole, women kept articles indicative of their power hidden inside the dress. A women with the power of a swift bird might have some of its feathers tucked into the buckskin ties on her shoulder: when pursued she would throw these feathers behind her. [778]

Porcupine embroidery was said to be made by doubling the quill, slipping the ends through two holes close together. The ends were then interlocked or tied with buckskin on the under side. (This may well be questioned.) Designs used were a series of short parallel lines, squares, triangles, zigzag lines, and chevrons. Beads or shells (including dentalium shells) were sometimes attached to the fringes. The use of beads was learned from the Nez Percé.

Some notes on design styles in general were obtained from Cecile. Solid dots and concentric circles were used; the dot within a circle as a unit being unknown. Long before the earthquake (about 1870) they were

291 using floral designs, but these were much
531 more crude than current examples.

Hill-Tout[11] states that women's dresses as a rule were made of finer, softer material than men's, and were often more highly ornamented.

[285]

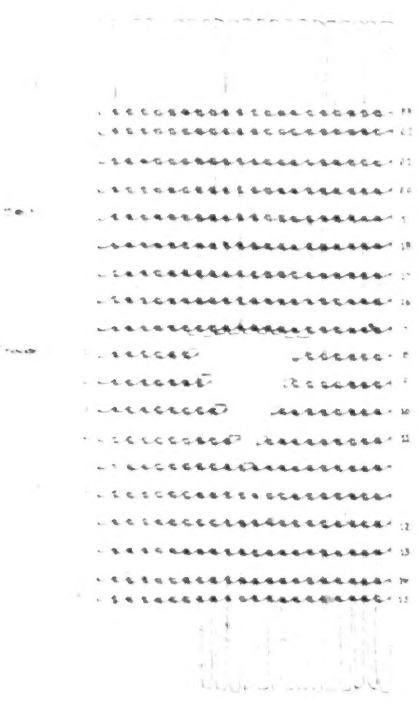

Fig. 17. Diagram of method of twining woman's poncho-like shirt.

296 Buckskin clothes might be cleaned by
317 spreading wet white or red clay over them and scraping it off with the bone skin scraper after it had dried. A white clay for the purpose was obtained from a lake above Riverside; this, called q'ēiō'q'ētc, was presumably a diatomaceous earth.

291 Skirts were sometimes worn. These were decorated with a fringed piece of skin sewn around the lower border so that the ends of the fringe hung even with the bottom of the skirt. The skirt reached only to the waist where it was drawn tight with a buckskin thong tied at the back.

Sagebrush skirts were formerly worn by women who apparently could not afford better materials. Such a skirt consisted of two

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11 Hill-Tout, Native Races, 68.

p. 46 (A)

291 aprons, one before and one behind, fastened
at the waist by a strip of bark. The apron
285 was made from the outer bark of the shrub,
from which the cortical layer was stripped.
Strips about twelve (?) inches long were
fastened together at the top by three or more
rows of twining, spaced a half inch apart.
The rows of twining appeared in the upper
eight inches of the skirt. A skirt made of
strips of willow bark, which seems to have
been a true skirt, not two aprons, was tied
in front of the right hip. This reached to
the knees.

A willow bark shirt for women, poncho-
like, was worn with the willow bark skirt

[292
531]

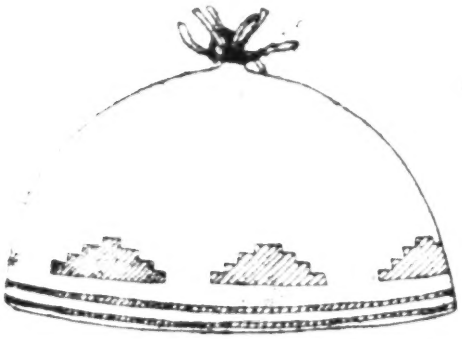


Fig. 13. Basketry hat (after native sketch).

and made much like it. The garment, which
reached only to the hips, was fabricated in
twine weave; the rows of twining, spaced two
inches apart, came to about six inches of the
bottom, the loose ends of the willow warps
being left as a fringe. It was tied under
the arms and hung with its lower margin of
fringes tucked under the top of the skirt.
The process of twining followed a definite
procedure; it was begun at the right shoul-
der of the garment and inserted in the order
indicated in Figure 12. A three or four
strand belt, braided or twisted, was worn
with this. This was tied in front or on
either side.

292 During menstruation women were a narrow
breechclout of buckskin lined with cattail
841 down. Girls commonly wore a broader strip in
a similar fashion as a protection against
839 rape. These strips were attached to the belt
by thongs fore and aft.

292 Circular shoulder capes were made of
small furs, as coyote, fawnskin, or ground-
hog. Four groundhog skins sufficed; these
being laced edge to edge. Buckskin thongs
tying in front of the neck held the cape on.
They were worn by both sexes in rainy wea-

p. 46 (B)

ther, fur outside, men less frequently. Mary Carden stated that capes were not made of willow bark. 292

Large robes of deer, bear, or several skins sewn together served both sexes for bedding and wraps in winter. The fur side was worn in and the outside was often decorated with concentric circles in paint or porcupine quills. (Such circular marks recall the beaded bosses on Plains belts and robes.) These were worn about the shoulders and fastened in front by means of a skin or hemp thong passing through small holes. A specimen obtained from Cecile Brooks, a Kalispel living among the Okanagon, measured forty-three by fifty-eight inches.[12] Buffalo skins for robes were traded from the Blackfeet or other eastern tribes. They were valuable: worth a horse. Other than this there was not much trading in articles of clothing. 291 513 531 [439]

These robes were spread over grass or soft bough tips in the houses for bedding. Man and wife shared the same covers. Two or three boys lay together on the father's side; girls similarly on the mother's side. The fur was placed next to the body. 513

No evidence was obtained of certain features mentioned by Teit,[13] such as robes of woven strips of twisted rabbit skin, of woven goats' wool, of dressed buckskin painted and embroidered, or finely embellished capes. Information is also lacking of Hill-Tout's[14] woman's bodice worn just below the breasts, usually of buckskin but also of sagebrush and cedar bark. 291

The usual hat was made of a strip of skin sewn into cylindrical shape with a disc fitted and sewn into the top. Wide tabs might be sewn on each side and a fox tail or something similar at the back for a pendant. This hat was apparently worn by both men and women, although Cecile stated that it was exclusively confined to men.

Coiled basketry hats[15] were worn by women on gala occasions, not as protection against the tump line. These were dome-shaped and decorated. One hat seen (Figure 13) had eight rawhide tassels at the top, a green and red stripe around the bottom, and above this a row of stepped triangles, green alternating with red. (Lucy Joe denied that basket hats were worn.) 292 285 531

A special type of hat, which could be worn only by a man with strong power, was made of groundhog fur. It consisted of a crown made of a single piece of skin, an ear flap on each side, and a visor (Figure 14). The flaps were tied under the chin with buck skin thongs. Bear claws or part of the pow- 292 778

12 Specimen in Washington State Museum, 2-279.
13 Teit, Salishan Tribes, 231.
14 Hill-Tout, Native Races, 68.
15 Illustrated by Curtis, North American Indian, VIII, 64.

(A)

er animal were sewn on top or front as a decoration. It was stated that if an old man with strong power saw such a cap worn by a young man who lacked the privilege, he would ask his power to kill the pretender. 292 778 [754]

A child might have a head covering of a single groundhog skin wrapped around the head and tied at the back by two buckskin strings which were permanently sewn to the skin. 291

[292 778]

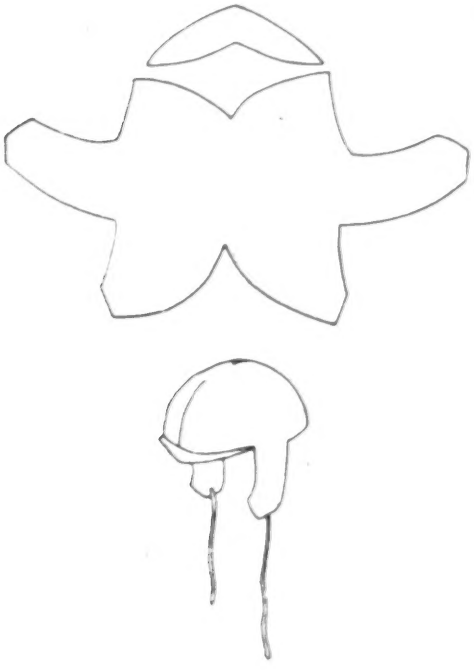


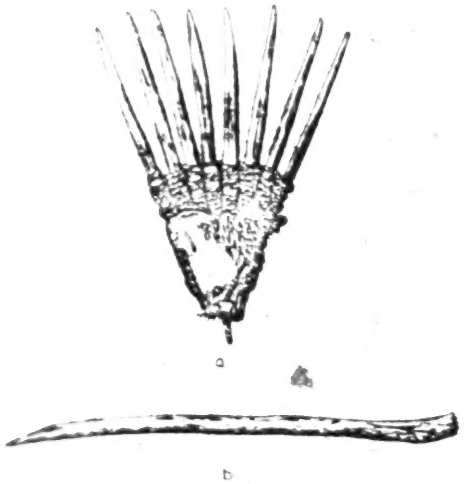
Fig. 14. Man's fur hat (with pattern above).

A net band of Indian hemp (tied in back) was worn around the head by both men and women to hold the hair in place. Most men wore a fur band, which was sometimes decorated with birds' heads, or more rarely porcupine quills. These bird heads were probably the owners' power emblem. If the emblem of the owner's power, his ciaut, was attached to this head band, he could wear it the year around. 301 [778]

Feather bonnets were said to have been introduced among the Okanagon by Sulktasku'sm (?) about eighty years ago. (Chilowhist Jim laid their introduction to the Nez Percé 171 292

171 about forty-five years ago. He stated that
while the Nez Percé, Yakima, Spokan and
292 others had them, they were not formerly used
by Sinkaietk, Northern Okanagon, Sanpoil,
Wenatchi, Chelan, or Methow.) They were of
292 the typical Plains type. The head band was
occasionally of soft buckskin but usually of
531 woven Indian hemp, while in summer a strong
net was used, with meshes one inch apart.
The feathers, of which there were one or two
dozen, were fastened one or two inches apart
on the band, their flat sides outward. These

[302]



a

b

Fig. 15. Comb and head scratcher.

bonnets sometimes had trailing ends which
might reach even to the ground. The lower
end of each quill was cut down to a strip,
which was passed through the fabric or skin
of the band and doubled back to be tucked in-
to the quill. The tips of the feathers were
often decorated with tassels of horse hair
or down. No other ornaments were attached.
[622] The feather bonnet was worn only by chiefs,[16]
and by them only on special public occasions
or when travelling.

293 Before the introduction of the Plains
bonnet, feathers were worn with the follow-
211 ing significance, according to Suszen Timen-
twa. Messengers wore one or two feathers
554 flat on the head. One feather indicated a
622 single matter of business, two feathers in-
dicated two matters of business. Scouts wore
one or two feathers upright, depending on
the prestige and standing of the individual.
Three feathers indicated a chief. Such
standardization seems highly dubious. The
[778] wearing of feathers was also connected with
power, in that an individual without the
proper power could not wear feathers without
suffering loss of prosperity or well-being.

16 But see Marriage Ceremonies.

p. 48 (A)

293 suffering loss of prosperity or well-being.
Since scouts and messengers would be chosen
211 from among men of prestige and ability, who
would also naturally have sufficient power
554 to wear feathers, there is no inconsistency
622 here. Apparently after the introduction of
the Plains feather bonnet, the wearing of
feathers became more common.

291 Mittens were worn, but the type describ-
ed does not appear to be aboriginal. They
were made of bear skin or fur, worn with the
fur outside. A piece of fur was doubled and
the edges sewn together. A hole for the
thumb was cut in the folded edge and a thumb
piece sewn on. Some mittens reached to the
elbows, others only to the wrists. A buck-
skin thong held the mitten to the sleeve, and
it was also stated that a long thong was
passed back of the neck, through the sleeves
and attached to the mitten at either end.
The aboriginal mitten, judging from informa-
tion of neighboring tribes, was proba
merely a sack to enclose the entire
without a separate thumb piece.

293 A feather fan, that is the wing of a
swan or crane, was mentioned as carried by a
622 chief. This was presumably of the Plains
type.

302 Men wore their hair in two braids hang-
ing in front of the ears or on the side, and
suspended in front of the shoulders. The
front hair was cut off at about the level of
the eyebrows and combed straight back. Women
parted their hair in the middle and had two
braids hanging down the back. Sometimes the
braids were tied together at the ends and
drawn forward over each shoulder so that the
joined ends of the braids rested against the
back of the neck. When riding, women tied
the braids together in front to keep them
[881] from blowing about. At puberty girls folded
up each braid and fastened it with a buck-
skin thong so that a roll hung on each side
of the face. Both men and women wrapped bits
of fur into their braids; not necessarily the
fur of their power animals. Porcupine quills
were used in these knots of hair behind the
ears in some unascertained fashion. At the
winter Power dance both men and women wore
their hair loose. At the same dance a coy-
ote skin with its tail hanging might be worn
for a head covering. Occasionally an indi-
vidual would be commanded by his power to
keep his hair loose always.

Grease was generally applied to the hair
by women, less frequently by men. It was
mixed with finely pounded needles of fra-
grant fir to make a pomade of bright green
color. Face and body were less often treat-
[415] ed. The grease was collected from the tops
of cooking receptacles where it hardened. It
was stored in deer bladders (paunches ?).

White paint was sometimes put in the
part of the hair (by men ?). It was not used

on the hair itself. 302

Combs were made of eight to twelve pieces of dogwood or willow, twined together at one end with Indian hemp or buckskin. The spread of the prongs made a comb about five inches wide and the same in length. The points were sharp and close together. The comb shown in Figure 15, which is four inches long, is cased in deer hide. Combs were undecorated and there was no difference between those used by men and by women. another type of comb consisted of a number of little willow sticks arranged between the prongs of a forked stick, with a transverse piece bound across them to hold them in place. Such combs were only three or four inches long.

Hair and body were washed with the soapy leaves of dogwood. These were picked in early August, stored for winter use, and when wanted soaked in cold water for an hour to produce a lather. Another soap was provided by the "alkaline" deposit scraped up in certain dry lake beds. 515 314 317

Men plucked out their facial hair. 302

Face and body painting was used only on special occasions, such as dances. It was said to have been performed according to instructions from the individual's power. On the other hand we were told that one might paint as he pleased. Red, yellow, and white clay mixed with grease were used as paints. Alder (?) wood furnished a dark red, charcoal a black; both with a grease base. One informant (Michel) denied the use of black paint. The paint was applied with a tiny stick over a base of deer grease. Sometimes the entire face was colored red and a yellow design applied, or vice versa. Women never painted about the mouth or chin, and never used white. Some typical designs are shown in Figure 14. At puberty girls painted their faces red and yellow except for chin and mouth. A boy on his puberty quest painted himself red (?). Painting was naturally more common when work was light, but was practised chiefly on special occasions such as dances.

Both men and women pierced the upper lip from side to side just below the nose and inserted a shell or string with a bead on each end. This custom was obtained from the Moses-Columbia after they came to Nespelem. A very few wealthy people also pierced the nasal septum and wore a shell through it. 171 304

When girls were two or three years old their ear-lobes were rubbed numb and pierced with a bone awl. The hole was salved with deer fat and first a greased thread, then a stick inserted and worked back and forth frequently for three or four weeks until it was healed. Imported oyster shells or local mussel shells were made into rings and tied to the ears by buckskin thongs. Shells obtained from a small lake, called tsiapū'stEn at the head of the Methow River, were ground on a flat stone. Bone ear ornaments and 301 304 852

flattened gold nuggets were also worn. The ears of boys were pierced too, but not as commonly as girls. As many as six earrings have been reported worn on each ear, a custom learned from the Moses-Columbia at Nespolem. One old Okanagon man repeatedly pierced his ear lobes as the holes were torn out by heavy ornaments. There was no esoteric reason for piercing the ears. 301 304 852

302

Fig. 16. Typical face painting designs (from native drawings).

Tattooing seems to have been more characteristic of the Northern Okanagon than of the Southern. (Lucy Joe stated that she had never seen a tattooed Wenatchi.) Both men and women tattooed their faces, wrists and the backs of the hands. Mary Carden asserted that women's faces were not tattooed, but that they had a band of decoration around the wrist. Tattooing was done with a sliver of bone or a beaver tooth, inserted into the skin by pushing and twisting, after the skin had been rubbed numb and coated with grease as a body for the pigment. The sliver of bone used as a tattooing needle was scraped to a very sharp point and polished with horsetail (Equisetum). A small groove encircled it near the point to carry the pigment, which was thus deposited when the needle was withdrawn. The pigments were red ochre, yellow ochre and charcoal. The designs were circles and lines of dots. "A circle of dots was sometimes made on each 171 304 304 [386]

304 cheek. There was no sex difference. A shaman
[791] capable of drawing blood from wounds might
tattoo a line of dots from each corner of
his mouth to his chin. Otherwise it is not
clear whether the designs had any connection
with the power animal or other significance.
[681] (Mary Carden had never hear of tattooing a
person because he was a murderer or thief, as
Suszon reported.)

CRADLES

854 The cradles of the Southern Okanagon
were of the flat board type, fashioned of a
single broad piece of wood, common to all the
southern Plateau tribes. Two cradles were
used for each infant; that used while it was
very young was hardly more than a pouch with
a board inside to stiffen it; the other, a
much larger cradle, used when the baby was
three months old, was a pouch fastened to the
front of a large board.

Three forms of this second cradle were
in use, but were not of equal antiquity. The
form which is certainly oldest was trapezoid-
al or keystone-like in shape and had an ex-
tension at the top to serve as a handle. A
pouch to hold the infant was usually, but
apparently not always, attached to its face.
This pouch fell far short of reaching the
edges of the board. A second type had a
pouch similarly arranged, but the board was
oval. In neither of these types was the
board wholly covered with skin. In the third
type an oval board was entirely encased in
skin, this casing itself served as the pouch.
This third type is clearly of more recent in-
troduction than the first. It was said to
have been made in imitation of the Nez Perce
now resident on the reservation. There is
some question with regard to the age of the
second type, but it probably resolves it-
self into the attached pouch being ancient,
the oval board modern. This type was said
to have been derived from the Moses-Columbia
at Nespelem.

Lucy Joe stated that the skin-encased
oval cradle was copied from the Nez Percé,
while the trapezoidal form was old. Both
were in use when she was a little girl (1860-
70), but the trapezoidal form predominated.
According to Mary Carden, too, the third
type, oval and skin-encased, was learned
from the Nez Percé. She also stated that a
specimen of the second type, oval with at-
tached pouch (illustrated in Figure 17, c,d),
made seventeen years ago, was in imitation
of the Moses-Columbia at Nespelem. Cecile
alone said that the covered oval board (type
three) was older than the trapezoidal (type
one), but either she was mistaken or we mis-
understood her. Both were in use when she,
a Kalispel, joined the Southern Okanagon
about 1890 (?).

The Kalispel used only the encased oval
cradle according to Cecile. Margaret Felix

171 854 said that the Lkaomin band of the Northern Okanagon used the second type (an oval board with square-cut bottom and with attached plank). She was using this type for a very young infant for her own six-months old baby and affirmed she had invented it herself!

Cradles made of bark were not used by the Southern Okanagon, but were known as in use by the Thompson. However, bark cradles of some sort were made locally by little girls for their dolls.

354 462 The labor of constructing a cradle was apportioned between the sexes: men prepared the wooden board from a dry pine, women made the skin pouch and other parts and put the cradle together.

354 [843] 281 The baby's first cradle was prepared before the child was born. This was a buckskin sack within which a board was placed for stiffening. Figure 1a.[1] This wooden board, an inch thick, was oval with rather straight sides. Four holes were bored in it (a weave was used as a boring tool), one pair near the top and the other at the bottom, but all four near the edge of the board (Figure 1a, a, 1, 1). The buckskin intended for the pouch was cut as in Figure 1b, a, 2, with slits at the top and bottom reaching nearly to the board. The two upper extensions of this skin were then lapped and sewn, and the two lower ones likewise, thus forming a pouch. This was fastened to the board, which was placed inside it, by a thong passing through the upper set of holes and another through the lower set. These thongs thus passed outside the buckskin at the back of the cradle and were knotted on the inner face of the pouch.

854 The mattress .nkEkE e kEtEn, "pad for the back" was a buckskin sack exactly the size of the board, stuffed with feathers. Two smaller sacks were made to serve as pillows, one under the head at the very top of the board, the other under the knees (?) where the lower set of holes was placed. Buckskin thongs ran through each of these pillows, through the mattress beneath, and passed under the thongs which held the pouch to the board. As the thongs were soft skin strips, the knots caused no annoyance to the baby. Loops of buckskin were fashioned of a single thong along the opposing edges of the opening of the pouch. The lacing thong was then passed through these. It would seem that these cradles were hardly larger than the baby so that the pouch fitted snugly.

The older type of child's second cradle was an elongated trapezoid. Like all second cradles it was almost twice as long as the first cradle just described. An extension of the board at the middle of its upper edge, some three inches long and also of trapezoidal shape, served as a handle. Ordinarily, it was reported, the corners of these trapezoids

[1] [For footnote, see p. 50 (C), category "w." -- Analyst]

854 ÷ [For context of this footnote, see p. 50(B), category 116. -- Analyst]

17 Specimens in Washington State Museum: Figure 18, No. 2-262; Figure 20, No. 2-263. 1/A

854
281

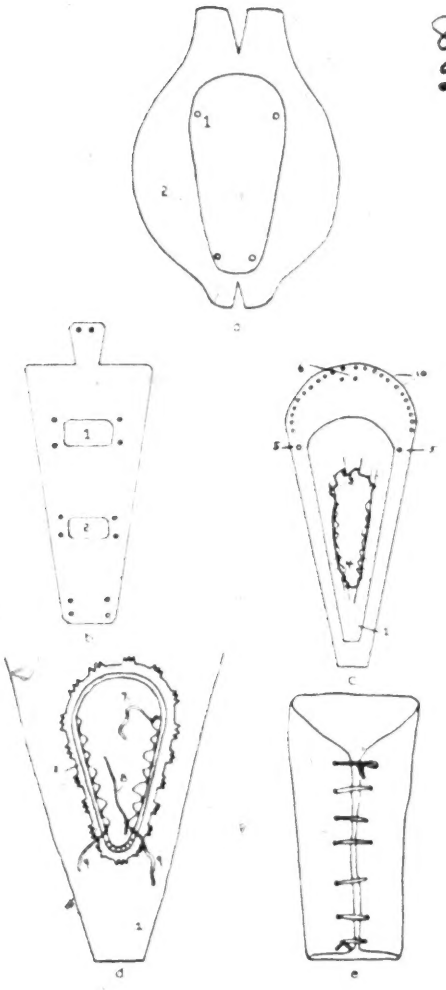


Fig. 17. Cradle types and patterns (a, infant's first cradle; b, old trapezoidal type; c, recent oval type with pouch; d, detail of the pouch shown in c; e, sack for use at night).

854

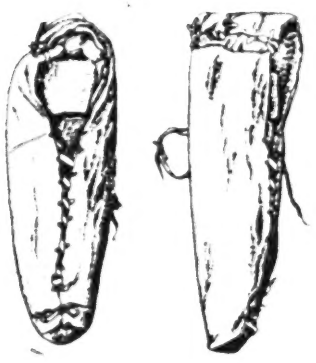


Fig. 18. Infant's first cradle (from a model).

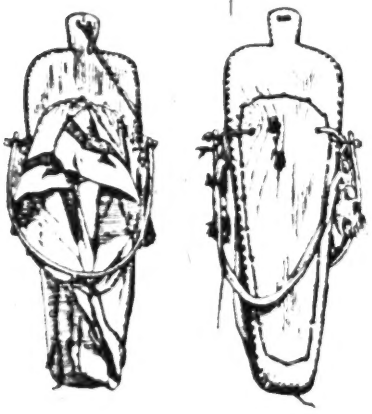


Fig. 19. Trapezoidal type of second cradle.

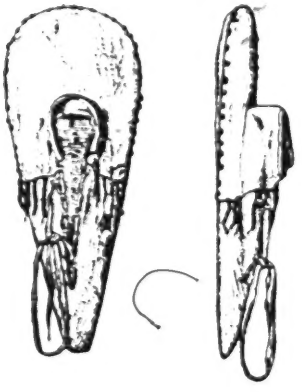


Fig. 20. Oval type of second cradle (from a model).

p. 51 (B)

854 were sharp, but in a specimen seen in the field (Figure 19) they were somewhat rounded. Six holes, in pairs, were bored down each side of the cradle to receive the loops necessary to lace the bedded infant to the cradle if the board was to have no pouch attached (Figure 17,b). Three loops on each side were then formed of a cord (thong ?) which passed in and out of the pairs of holes, beginning from the under face of the board. A willow bark pad was tied between the uppermost pairs of loop holes to lie under the child's neck; a second similar pad was tied between the middle pairs of holes to rest under its knees (Figure 17, b,1,2). Baby and bedding were laced in by a buckskin thong passing through the three pairs of loops. This thong was permanently tied to the lower left loop (that is, on the baby's right side and was carried first to the opposite lower loop, thence to the left and right middle loops, thence to the upper left loop, and was finally tied at the upper right by a simple knot followed by a half-loop.

When a pouch was to be attached to the trapezoidal board a row of holes was bored around the periphery (to judge by the specimen shown in Figure 19; there being no other data . The pouch itself was evidently shaped much like that of the baby's first cradle.

In all trapezoidal boards a hole was bored in each upper corner to receive loops to which the tump line was attached. These loops were of tanned skin from the neck of a deer, which is tough; the tump line was bearskin, worn with the fur side next the carrier's head. The ends of the broad tump strap were brought through each loop, lapped back, and sewn with buckskin thongs. A shade bow was also previded to hold a covering away from the baby's face, so that it might at once allow plenty of air, yet keep off the flies. This arch was a green service berry or willow branch, trimmed to a half-inch thickness and fastened in the proper shape until it dried. It was tied to the tump line loops at each side and was of such a size as to stand ten inches above the baby's face. The arch was adjustable: it could be laid flat or raised as desired. When travelling the arch was held erect by two strings tied in grooves at the top of the arch; one end of each thong extended to a hole in the handle extension at the top of the board, the other to the middle lacing loops. A mattress just the length of the child was made for use with at least the pouched variety of this cradle, together with pillows for head and knees. These pillows were somewhat smaller (?) than those provided for the baby's first cradle.

854 These boards were not decorated: "the
531 board was so small that there was no room
left for painting." Strings of dentalium
[846] shells were hung from the shade bow for the baby to play with. As in all other cradles, the baby's umbilical cord, tied in a buckskin, and sometimes a fool-hen's heart, were attached to one side of the cradle near the top.

354

In more recent types of cradles the board was oval with a flattened base. As noted above, there were two different ways of providing a pouch for the baby: either the pouch was fastened to the face of the board well within its margin (a type derived from Moses-Columbia), or the board was entirely encased in a skin cover which fitted snugly except where it touched to receive the infant (derived from the Nez Percé).

The oval board, in an example of the first mentioned variety made by Mary Carden, measured thirty-one inches in length, thirteen and a half inches in greatest width. A flattened base was provided so that the cradle could be stood on the ground leaning against some convenient upright. The board as a whole was not covered with skin, but a skin pouch (Figure 17, c,1) was fastened to it through a series of holes arranged in appropriate positions well within the margin of the board. In the specimen examined this pouch was twenty-three inches long by nine and a half broad, and conformed to the contour of the board. A strip of cloth (Figure 17, c,2) was sewn around the opening of the sack; at intervals three angular pieces had been clipped out by way of decoration. Two cloth pillows (Figure 17, c,3,4) were fastened in place within the sack. The carrying band or tump line was fastened to two holes (c, 5) on either side of the sack. The same holes also served for tying the ends of the shade bow, which could be held upright by cords to two holes at the top of the board (c, 6). A series of loops were provided on each side of the opening of the sack so that it might be laced up. The lacing thongs were two (d, 7, 8); one fastened to the uppermost loop on the right, the other to the lowest loop on the same side. To lace the infant in, these were put through successive loops to meet at the middle, where they could be tied together. The lower margin of the opening could be drawn up over its feet by a pucker-string (d, 9) which ran under the stitching; the ends of the pucker-string could be tied together. This string was permanently attached to the lowest loop on the right. By way of decoration twenty-two brass pins were set along the upper margin of the board (c, 10). Such boards were said also to be decorated with bead work, but probably the following variety was meant.

In the second or Nez Percé variety of the oval board (Figure 20) the buckskin covering was stretched tightly over the board, leaving an opening, that is, a pocket, to be laced as high as the breast of the child. A second piece of buckskin was cut to fit the upper part of the board (a dark cloth in the model illustrated) and sewn down smoothly, covering the seams in the piece underneath. A hood which stood out from the board a few inches beyond the baby's head, was made of two straight pieces of buckskin sewn together. The two thicknesses of skin were sufficiently stiff to stand out at right angles to the board. This was sewn around the upper edge of the opening of the pouch. A mattress just the length of the child and two smaller pillows were provided for this

cradle. The edges of the buckskin-covered board were decorated with a continuous line of dentalium or other shells if the family was wealthy; poor people embroidered the edges with porcupine quills. 854 [531]

There was nothing in the shape or decoration of any of these cradles to indicate the sex of the child.

A sack to hold the child at night, a sort of soft cradle (Figure 17,e), and the method of bedding the infant are described elsewhere.[18]

WEAPONS

Both self and sinew-backed bows were in use. The former was considered superior to the sinew-backed bow for distance shooting. We have no information as to which predominated in use. Both were four to five feet long; the sinew-backed bow perhaps the shorter. The self-bow was made of cedar, the sinew-backed of bluewood, dogwood, or maple.[1/2] The sinew-backed bow had recurving ends; the self-bow seems to have been a simple arc, but our information on this type is quite inadequate. It took considerable strength to pull either one.[18] 411 1/2

The self-bow was broad, flat on the inside, convex on the outside, narrower and thicker in the middle for convenience in grasping. For the sinew-backed bow the selected piece of wood was decorticated, split in half and the heartwood removed, except for a narrow strip which was said to prevent the bow from cracking when it dried. It was then dried for about four days, held by seven or more stakes driven into the ground to give it the proper shape. The flat side became the inner or string face of the weapon. Several layers of thin deer leg sinew were applied on the back or convex side of the bow to a thickness perhaps of a quarter inch. These were made to adhere by layers of glue obtained by boiling salmon skins. The sinew was pounded and twisted until it was loose and stringy, then extended on the bow to about four inches from the ends. Sometimes a rattlesnake skin was glued to the back of the bow if the owner had rattlesnake power. Cedar root was wrapped for six or seven inches about the middle and near each end, both for support and to prevent the glue from melting from the heat of the hand. The ends of the bow were so cut that the shoulder of the nock was at right angles to the median line of the bow; beyond this the tips were diamond-shaped. 237 322 411

Horn bows were known only by reference in tales. [321]

Bow-strings were made of deer leg sinew. 000

18 See Individual Life Cycle.

1/2 [For footnotes, see p. 53 (A), category 116. -- Analyst]

Bow-strings were made of deer leg sinew 283
or of Indian hemp, the latter two ply, rolled [237]
on the thigh by women. One end of the 411
string formed a loose loop, the other was
lashed to the opposite nock. When the bow
was not in use the loop end was loosen-
ed and slipped down the bow. Great
care had to be taken that the string be new
and strong, for if it should break, the bow
would snap from the tension of the sinew.

Arrows for hunting were about three and 411
a half feet long, while war arrows were per- 322
haps a foot shorter. Service berry wood was
used for arrows, as the pliability of this
wood when moist permitted easy straightening,
and its stiffness and elasticity when dry
made it admirable for shooting. A fairly
straight piece of wood was selected, stripped
of its bark and bent straight while heating
it before a fire. The teeth were used as a
vice, or a perforated piece of wood (about
five inches by three) as an arrow-wrench.
Wrenches were also made of bone and horn.
Stone straighteners were not used. Sometimes
arrows were straightened by weighting with
flat stones. They were smoothed by rubbing
with a handful of service berry shavings or
tough grass; never with a stone. Just below
the nock the arrow was made thin to provide
a better finger hold.

It was feathered with three vanes of ea- [237]
gle, grouse, or hawk feathers. These vanes
were always parallel to the axis of the
shaft. Each feather was split and the wider
half discarded. The quill of the narrow and
stiffer half was shaved as thin as possible,
while being held between teeth and hand. The
vanes were bound on at both ends with sinew
from the back of a deer. One end of the
chewed and shredded sinew was held in the
teeth while the other was started around the
arrow about three quarters of an inch below
the nock, after pine pitch had been applied.
The vanes were fastened by inserting a tuft
at one end under the sinew with the left
and while the arrow was rotated with the
right, thus rolling the sinew around the
shaft. When the vanes were neatly in place
the arrow was rotated until enough sinew had
been wrapped on. The forward ends of the
vanes were fastened in the same way. There
were no grooves into which the quills were
set; neither were they bound in the middle,
but fastened merely by the sticky gum and the
binding at both ends. Arrows for small game [211
were often decorated with paint to facili- 531]
tate finding them in the bush and probably
also for identification.

Before the feathers were put on, a strip 411
of sinew was wrapped spirally, or in a double 531
spiral, about that portion of the shaft
where the vanes were to be. Pine pitch was
smeared over this section and charcoal, red
ochre, or the yellow pigment inside cotton-

411
137

18 See Individual Life Cycle.
19 Ironwood, used by tribes on the Columbia, does not grow in this region. ^1
20 Modern examples made for casual hunting of small game are quite short. A specimen in the Washington State Museum (no. 2-271) is thirty-two inches in length. ^1

^1 [For context of these footnotes, see p. 53 (A), category 116. -- Analyst]

411 wood buds was rubbed in. The sinew was then
531 unwrapped, leaving a spiral negative design in natural color on pigment."

411 Arrows for shooting small game were not
321 provided with stone heads but were simply
324 sharpened to a point. War arrows and those designed for large game were fitted with bone (but not horn) or flint heads shaped by pressure with a deer horn flaker. These were either lozenge-shaped or barbed and stemmed. The stem was inserted into a slit in the arrow, which was then whittled thin and sinew wrapped around the joint over an application of pine pitch. The head of the arrow was in
[463 the same plane as the nock. Stone arrow-
778] heads could be made only by a man with proper power. The first time he used this power to made arrowheads he sang his power song.

411 When the arrow was finished the edges of the feathers were trimmed with a hot coal and the shaft polished with wood shavings or with "macaroni weed" (its'istin).

Sometimes arrows were provided with detachable foreshafts of wood or bone. The shaft was inserted into a socket in the end of this foreshaft. When the arrow struck, the shaft came loose. This device may have been limited to war arrows.

411 Arrows for both war and the chase were
278 sometimes poisoned with a concoction of rat-
789 tlesnake heads, or yellow jacket nest boiled with wood from a tree struck by lightning. The efficacy of the latter was probably en-
[821] tirely psychological and its use was connected with the belief that contact with a lightning struck tree would prove fatal. According to Michel, the Southern Okanagon did not use rattlesnake poison for arrows, though the Colville did. The distinction is doubtful.
[825] A rattlesnake's poison was believed to be in its blood. The root of a nettle plant called sisátsɛxunt was also boiled with arrows to poison them. (A gun which failed to kill was sometimes washed out with boiled yellow
[754] jacket nest. Women sometimes poisoned each other by concealing rattlesnake skin or part of a bullfrog, of which the oil was the toxic element, in food. This caused slow consumption.) No song or spells were known to help the poison do its work. Poisoned arrows were kept in separate quivers, but were not protected otherwise.

411 In use the bow was held vertically with the arrow to the left, occasionally horizontally. (The Wenatchi held the bow horizontally with upturned fist, the arrow resting between the first and second fingers of the bow hand.) The arrow was grasped between the thumb and the second joint of the bent index finger (primary release), although the third finger was sometimes hooked about the string for added strength (secondary release). Both the stricture below the nock and the sinew which held the vanes furnished a firm grip.

p.54(4)

21 Specimens in Washington State Museum, Nos. 2-271, 2-273.

411 Arrows were carried in a quiver of hard rawhide slung over the right shoulder by a strap, so that it hung under the left armpit. The quiver was somewhat shorter than the arrows, so that their feathered ends protruded. Bows were also carried in quivers. Some quivers were made with a wooden bottom and had a wooden or buckskin cover. Quivers did not have a stiffening rod. Decorations were of beadwork and fringes. Both men and women made quivers.

Wrist guards were worn on the inside of the left wrist: a triangular piece of thick

[412]

Fig. 21. Stone scraper or knife.

buckskin, one apex directed forwards and the other two connected by a thong passing around the wrist. The hide was sometimes stiff enough not to require a tie at the forward point. They may have been used only by small boys.

War clubs of the "slave-killer type were made of a stone called sqēa sxEn. A piece of stone about two feet long and three inches thick was ground down with another stone to about the shape of the human forearm. A buckskin loop, fastened to the handle, slipped over the wrist. The club had no covering of skin or other material.

[321] A deer-horn club was made of a horn from which the tines had been cut. The horn was scraped smooth and polished with horsetail (Equisetum). The handle was somewhat thinned. This was first covered with pitch, a circular piece of buckskin wrapped over it, and bound with sinew. Pictures inspired by the owner's power were incised or painted on the club. A similar club made of deer horn

[531]

had a strip of rawhide hanging from one end, and a hole at the other to which a wrist loop was attached. This club was used mainly as a quirt. 411

Moveable heads were reported on clubs two feet long, perhaps of the type used in the Great Basin.

Little information was obtained concerning stone knives, which have long been out of use. A single type of knife served all purposes (Figure 21). It was of flint, shaped by pressure-flaking along one edge only with a deer-horn implement, and smoothed by rubbing on a whetstone. The horn flaker was rubbed on a rough stone to make it blunt. The pressure was down and away from the body. Flint was obtained from McLaughlin's Canyon. Flint or obsidian was also shaped by heating and then touching with a wet stick along the line to be chipped. Only one edge of the knife was sharpened. The handle might be left unworked and wrapped with buckskin. Mary Carden reported that knives to be used in warfare were provided with short stout handles so that one stabbed downward. The handle was of peeled service berry wood, two inches in thickness, dried over the fire if wanted immediately, but otherwise set aside to season. At one end a flat place was whittled so that the blade could be set against it. This was joined with pine pitch and a wrapping of a narrow strip of wet buckskin. Pictures of the power animal were incised in the handle, the fine lines being filled with clay or charcoal. 412 324 [411]

Spears of various lengths were used in warfare and to a very limited extent in deer hunting. A spear about ten feet long with a bone head was reported by Suszen. The shaft was made of any straight wood, preferably fir, which was peeled and straightened with a large wrench like that used for arrows. The head was either inserted in a socket in the shaft (?) or was inserted in a groove and bound with rawhide. The shaft was decorated with feathers and beads. A shorter spear, from five and a half to six feet long, was reported by Michel. This spear is substantially the same as that just described. The head, of flint, was inserted in a slot in the end of the shaft and wrapped with sinew. Heads of horn, lozenge-shaped or deeply barbed, were also reported. 411 [224]

Spears were not thrown: all were thrust, held at the end of the shaft with the thumb back and the knuckles up, the hand moving forward from over the shoulder. The spear thrower was unknown.

Shields of varied shape and construction were used in warfare to parry arrows and spear thrusts. One type was circular (about three feet in diameter) and convex. It was made of rawhide from the neck of an elk, deer, or horse, or when obtainable from buffalo or grizzly bear hide. The hide was stretched and sewn over a hoop of blue wood, to which a cross of wood was bound. David Isaac, of northern affiliation, reported that 713 411

both of the cross-sticks bowed outward so that the shield was convex. The shield was held by the horizontal cross-stick or by a cross-piece of buckskin. Round shields of wood were reported by Suszen as the common type, but no details were obtained. 713 411

Square shields were made of hide or sticks. The hide shields were often bent along the vertical axis so as to present a prow-shaped front, which would more easily deflect arrows. A long stick was built into the vertical crease and the shield was held by a rawhide handle. Whether this shield was fastened to a frame was not reported. The square slat shields were made of sticks "braided" closely together in a checker (?) weave.

Shields were used mainly as parrying instruments, and held in the left hand by a man armed with a club. They could be dispensed with by an agile man. The ability to dodge arrows depended on one's power. Boys played at war with shields and blunt arrows. [524]

Skin armor was made of thick deer and elk rawhide among the southerly bands. One type was a poncho: a single piece of rawhide reaching below the hips with a hole cut for the head to pass through. This was laced together on each side with thongs. The hide was soaked in water to loosen the hair; then it was shaped and allowed to dry stiff. Another type of armor was made of two pieces, also from the neck region where the hide is thickest. These were sewed or tied together over the shoulders and tied at the sides, being appropriately cut out to fit shoulders and neck. This type reached to the waist or lower. Neither type was decorated. Both were worn next to the skin under the clothes. They could not stop an arrow at close range, however. 292 713 411

Among the northern bands armor was made of eight (?) thicknesses of tanned moose hide. This reached below the hips. Back and front pieces were joined by two ties over each shoulder and four on each side. The ties were strips of skin sewed to the front and back pieces. The informant (David Isaac) did not remember whether there was any decoration.

Both the southern and northern groups had rod armor. This was made of blue wood sticks after the pattern of the moose hide armor. The sticks ran vertically and were probably twined together at short intervals with Indian hemp cords. The rods on the sides, naturally, reached only to the armpits. This armor was not so long as to prevent the wearer sitting down. The shoulder ties were fastened to the twining elements; the side straps to the rods. Both the skin and the rod armor were put on over the head, indicating that the shoulder straps were permanently fastened.

Armor was not common, as it was customary to enter battle wearing only a breechclout and with the body painted. 726 411

p. 55(B)

411
713 There was no helmet or other protection for the head.

411 It was reported by the chief Suszen
463 that in the manufacture of weapons and other implements, individuals who were particularly adept were often commissioned by the chief to make a number of shields, snowshoes or whatever the artisan's specialty might be, and these were loaned by the chief to those who needed them. This statement is probably colored by the informant's habitual overemphasis on chiefly authority; further, it is doubtful that such specialization in manufacture ever obtained among the Southern Okanagon.

CANOES

171 Dugout canoes were used to some extent
501 by the Southern Okanagon, but were scarce. Bark canoes were altogether absent, but were common among the Northern Okanagon (that is, from Oroville northward, and on the Similkameen . Rafts, made of logs tied together with service berry or other withes, were also used to some extent by the Northern Okanagon. When the Kartar people went to the Okanogan River for torch fishing, they borrowed canoes from the residents there.

504 The dugouts of the Southern Okanagon were made chiefly of yellow pine; also of cedar or cottonwood. Large cedar trees were scarce, and from them only small canoes could be fashioned. Cottonwood was considered inferior because it warped in drying and fir was too heavy. Canoes varied in length from twelve to thirty feet and were about two feet wide. A large boat held ten to twelve people including paddlers. The canoes were flattened on the bottom. The ends, which were alike, rose upward from the keel line to gunwale at an angle of about thirty degrees. These sloping ends were flat planes which helped to keep the canoe from rolling. The sides were about two and one half inches thick; the gunwales slightly higher at each end than amidships. They were undecorated and no stem or stern pieces were added. In constructing the canoe a log was first roughly hollowed with fire and flint or horn chisels; then it was burned smooth with fire and the charcoal scraped out with the same chisel. Holes were not bored in the sides to ascertain the thickness; this was accomplished by thumping. The canoe was put into still water and balanced by hewing down the heavier side. Two men required about two months of
[46] continuous work to complete a good-sized canoe. This was a summer task.

The paddle had a total length of four to five feet, the blade being two feet long by six inches wide, thickened at the center, sharp around the edges, and rounded at the lower end. These were of cedar because it was light. (Double paddles and double-pointed paddles were unknown.) Punt poles were

1/A [For context of this footnote, see p. 56(B), category 116.-- Analyst]

1/A Curtis, North American Indian, VIII, 71. 1/A

501 used along the shore, especially on lakes. Paddlers usually knelt on grass in the bottom of the canoe. The steersman at the stern paddled mostly on one side, but the others paddled on both sides, shifting after every two or three strokes, according to Curtis.[1] Since the gunwale of the canoe was only a few inches above the surface the canoe often shipped water. This was emptied by tilting the canoe to one side and scooping out the water with the paddle.

171 501 Among the Northern Okanagon spruce bark canoes were abundant, some families owning two. (David Isaac stated that dugout canoes were unknown until after the advent of the whites.) Their maximum length was fourteen feet, the maximum load four persons, but usually three. Both ends were rounded (David said sharp) and "turned down" for strength (i.e., the bark turned down inside ?). This canoe was made of a single piece of inner bark of the spruce, with ribs of bluewood, about six inches apart, whittled flat on the side next the bark shell and sewed with cedar root. A central longitudinal bar was put on the bottom over the ribs. The gunwale was reinforced by a rim of bluewood fastened with pitch and sewed to the inside of the shell. A single piece was used for each side if long enough; otherwise lengths were fitted together. In sewing on the various pieces, an awl of bluewood, fire hardened, was used. The outside of the canoe was coated from time to time with pine pitch spread with a firebrand. A coat lasted about ten days if the canoe was used frequently. A single strip of wild cherry root, which turned yellow, was sewed around the canoe (gunwale ?) for decoration. There were no inwarts. Men knelt in the bottom, using a paddle four feet long, its blade thickened down the middle, and without a cross-grip to the handle. Paddles were neither painted nor carved. About three days were required by two men to complete a bark canoe. (David said the last of these was made sixty or seventy years ago.)

The Lakes (Sensaxtee) were said to use white fir bark for canoes.

VARIOUS IMPLEMENTS

Salmon Spears

227 One and two-pronged spears with detachable heads, and one, two, three and four-pronged spears with non-detachable heads were used for spearing salmon. The commonest was the two-pronged type with detachable heads. Shafts were of fir, from sixteen to twenty feet long, shaped to a uniform thickness. Fir was chosen because it was not only naturally straight, but would not warp nor become heavy when wet. The forward end was beveled to receive two foreshafts about eighteen inches long, of any kind of wood such as service berry, bound to the shaft

[1] [For footnote, see p. 56 (A), category 116. -- Analyst]

at a slightly diverging angle (Figure 22)." 227
Each foreshaft bore a head, made of two pieces of split deer horn or bone, sharpened at the point and bound together. Each head was attached to the shaft by a slack line. At their midpoints the foreshafts were connected by a fine line to prevent them from spreading when thrust into a salmon. All points of binding were first covered with melted pine pitch and then wrapped with Indian hemp cords. When casting or thrusting this spear, it was held horizontally above the right shoulder, the right hand grasping it with the thumb toward the butt end, so as to deliver a stabbing stroke downward. The left hand merely guided the shaft.

Nets

A conical dip net was used for chub, eels, squawfish, and small salmon trout. Its handle was a long peeled willow limb bearing a fork. The ends of the fork were lapped and lashed together to form the ring carrying the net. The net was laced to this ring with Indian hemp cord. The net itself was deep and conical. It was made with the aid of several gauges of cedar wood, whittled and rubbed very smooth (Figure 23). The description obtained is not wholly clear but seems to be as follows. Meshes were made in a continuous spiral around the net, working from left to right, and turning the fabric face for face with each new row of meshes added. To start the first row, which would form the apex of the net, a series of loops were made over a net guage. For the second row, the fabric was turned over so that the meshes now added faced in the same direction. Square knots were used throughout. The netting needle, or more properly reel, was 227 286

23 Washington State Museum, No. 2-327 a-c.

p.57(A)

formed of two small sticks crossed at the middle and lashed. The cordage was wound on this figure-eight fashion. 227 286

Deer nets were made of hemp string by hand, with no shuttle. They were about eight feet high and as long as four hundred yards, but were made in sections large enough for one man to carry. Women made the hemp string, men the net. 224 286 [462]

Snowshoes

These were of two kinds in the southern part of the territory: a long narrow type and a short broad one. Suszen stated that the long shoe was more difficult to make and use, the broader kind being used more by women and unskillful men. (Wenatchi snowshoes were said to have been longer and narrower, and to turn up at the toes.) The long shoe was turned up at the toe, otherwise the construction was the same for both. The frame consisted of two pieces of maple wood, which were bent in hot water while still green and lashed together before and behind. Thongs of thick skin (such as bear skin) were woven across the frame with a checker weave. The weave differed in the several sections of the shoe. A loop across the instep and another across the heel kept the snowshoe on the foot. A hole was left for the toes to pass through when raising the foot to take a step. The snowshoes varied according to the size of the user, the long type being about half of the owner's height in length. The long type may have been borrowed from the Wenatchi, since it resembles the Wenatchi type and was not reported for the region near Omak. On the other hand, the snowshoes said to have been used in the northern part of the territory were about three feet long for 481

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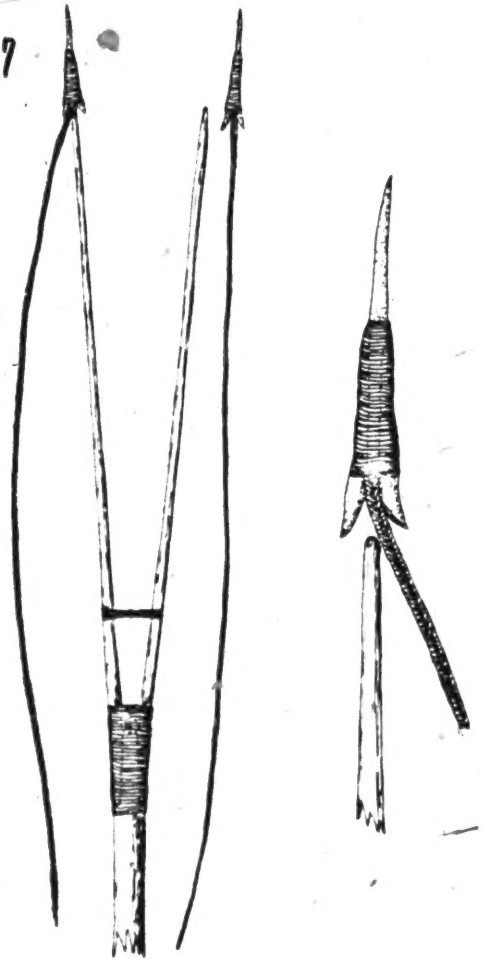

Fig. 22. Fishing spear (showing foreshafts and detail of head).

481 the women and from four to five feet for men. Beside this there were no sex differences in use or manufacture. Only a few people could make them, but these were both men and women. A pair would last a man for two or three years and was worth from one to three deer skins.

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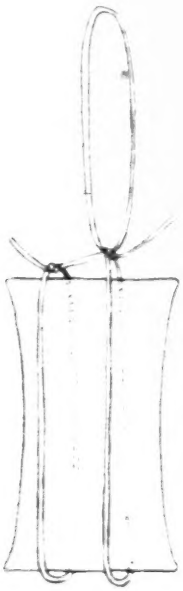

Fig. 23. Net guage (after native sketch).

Digging Stick

222 This was about two and a half feet long
412 but depended on the stature of the woman using it. It was made of service berry or arrow wood and was fitted with a deer or elk horn cross-handle. The stick was stripped of its bark and shaped by heating (soaking in hot water ?) and bending over the knee, or by laying it across two sticks on the ground between which it was weighted down with a stone. Presumably the stick was curved somewhat throughout its length. Both ends were sharpened so that the stick could be reversed in its handle when one end dulled. The horn handle was rubbed into shape and a hole was bored in the middle, through which the stick was inserted. Women setting off on a trip to gather camas took eight or ten such sticks with them. Iron bars now replace the wooden sticks.

Seed Beater

This was a wooden frame covered with buckskin; in effect two oval surfaces, the beating surface six inches in length, the smaller portion, which served as a handle, four inches long. A peeled stick of service berry wood about three-fourths inch thick was bent into a figure-eight and the ends,

222 which lay at the point of crossing, were lashed together with the inner bark of service berry (Figure 14). A piece of buckskin
412 the shape of the beater (a) was sewed on the larger loop. A second piece (b) was sewed on the opposite face of the smaller loop so that this, the handle, was covered on both

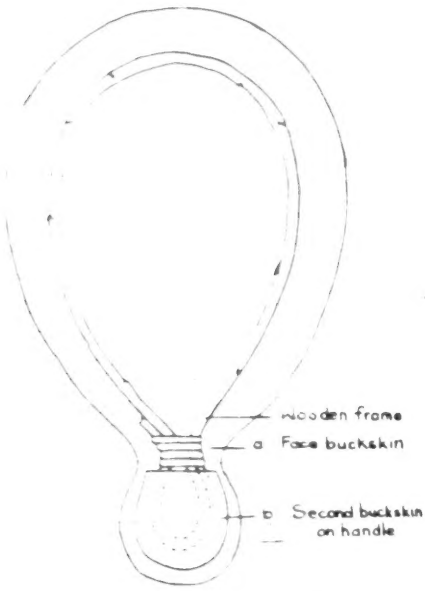

Fig. 14. Seed beater (drawn from description).

faces. The first piece of skin (a) overlapped the second. The sewing on both loops began and ended at the point of crossing. The stitches were on the back, the smooth side being down when in use. The fastening of the sewing element was a simple knot. After the beater had been in use, the buckskin on the beating surface stretched and was less taut, which was not considered desirable. A skilled woman could cause an almost constant rain of seeds to fall into the funnel-shaped birch bark bucket held in the left hand. The bucket was held by the rim with its loop handle resting on the back of the hand, or it was simply held by the loop. Basketry beaters were unknown to the Southern Okanagon.

Mortar and Pestle

412 For a mortar a rather shallow, twined Indian hemp basket was lined with the heavy
285 neck portion of a deerskin and placed inside a slight cavity, naturally or artificially hollowed in a stone.

Methow and Chelan were reported also to use this form of mortar and pestle (see below). The Yakima, Wenatchi, and "Ellensburg" (Northern Wenatchi ?) used a coiled cedar root basket with a pestle of similar shape but of a blue-black stone.

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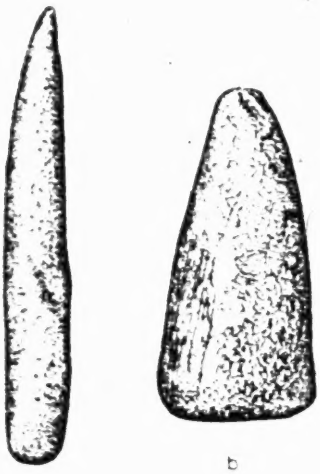
By a pounding sack was made from a disk of hide about a foot in diameter, to which extensions or sides of skin about four inches high were sewed with buckskin.

[324 462]

Pestles were made by men of a white or gray stone called squëasxEn. by chipping a naturally well-shaped piece to the proper form. The pestle was three or four inches in diameter and about nine inches long (Figure 25).[1] Pestles had no knots at the up-



a b

Fig. 25. Stone pestles.

per end as in neighboring areas. Usually only one or two old men were proficient at chipping them: they were sold for a deerskin.

Spoons

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Elk or mountain sheep horn spoons were made from horns traded from the Similkameen River (Figure 26). The horn was soaked in water overnight to loosen the core, which was removed by tapping gently on the outside. The horn was then cut open along one side and whittled to the proper outline, after which it was soaked in hot water for an hour until soft. The bowl was then shaped with the hands. Two crossed sticks were placed in the bowl and Indian hemp was wrapped around the circumference to maintain the shape until the spoon was dry. It was then polished with horse tail (Equisetum). The handle was decorated with a series of notches, or might bear the same decoration of fine lines as the sticks for handling coals described below. These spoons were fairly rare; no more than one to a family in early times. A sheep horn spoon was worth a deer hide.

[435]

[1] [For footnote, see p. 59 (c), category 11b. -- Analyst]

p. 59 (A)

Stone Adzes

These were used for hollowing out dug-out canoes and wooden storage tubs. They were easily made from a stone knife hafted to one of the branches of a forked stick, the other branch serving as the handle. At the hafting the branch was whittled thin to the same size as the blade. No gum was used, only a deerskin thong, since this was only a temporary tool. The wood was from certain thorn bushes, which are not apt to split. Mary Carden stated that the adze scraper used in tanning bear hides was never used for trimming wood. 412

Fig. 26. Horn spoon.

Fire-Drill

The drill, made from wood taken from the topmost twig of a dead pine tree and well dried, was sharply pointed. The hearth was a board about one foot by six inches, of either dry pine or cottonwood root, shaped either flat or convex transversely on the upper face. In the convex type the hole in which the vertical drill was rotated was on the center line and the tinder, dry grass or shredded dry willow bark, was placed around it. In the flat hearth the hole was near the edge and was connected with the edge by a shallow groove. The tinder was placed beside the board so that the ignited dust would fall on it by way of the grooves. While one man held down the hearth, the drill was rotated rapidly between the palms by one, two, or even three others, taking turns without letting the drill stop. When the glowing dust appeared, they cried in unison, "There they come; there they come." If one man alone drilled for fire, he held the bark tinder ready under his armpit. Sometimes green birch was used for the base and dry sagebrush bark fiber as tinder. The drill was designated as male, the hearth as female. 372

Fire was also produced by striking together two pieces of flint. This was said to be pre-white.

Only one fire was started in camp in

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24 That shown in Figure 25, a is fifteen and a half inches long; in b six and a half inches. Specimens in the Washington State Museum numbered as follows: Figure 25, a, 2-285, b, 2-284; Figure 26, 2-274.

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1/ [For context of this footnote, see p. 59(A), category 116. -- Analyst]

p. 59 (C)

372 this fashion, which was then distributed. At night logs were left to smoulder, turned over in the morning, and blown into flame.

Fire was carried on journeys in a fuse of sage brush bark bound with Indian hemp into a tight bundle two inches in diameter. These might be very long when new; perhaps thirty feet. About seven inches of its length burned away in twelve hours.

Cooking and Household Accessories

252 412 A piece of dried cedar wood, about twelve inches long, whittled flat at one end for half its length, served as food stirrer when cooking. A makeshift spoon or stirrer was made in summer by twisting and knotting a willow twig on itself to form a racquet (Figure 27). The tip was passed alternately over and under each successive coil encountered an indefinite number of times. The twig might be split in two for the purpose, or a forked twig used.

Meat was served by spearing with a pointed service berry or arrowwood stick about a foot long. Spits for roasting meat were made of cedar or arrowroot. They varied from two to four feet in length, and were sharpened at both ends. The meat was put on one end, while the other was stuck into the ground. Every woman had three or four roasting sticks of various sizes at hand. After meals, women rolled roasting sticks, stirrers, and the sticks used for serving meat in the mat on which the meal had been served.

412 356 Brooms were made by tying the stems of several branches together, such as white sagebrush. The dried wing of a large bird (goose, owl, eagle, etc.) was used to brush clothing, mats, and the like.

Mops used for beating up foam-berries were made by tying dried "pine grass" to the end of a service berry handle about a foot long and an inch thick. The bundle of grass, which was about ten inches long, was placed around the handle so that the ends of the grass were flush with the end of the handle. This was then bound, near the end of the stick, with Indian hemp cord. The free ends of the grass were then allowed to fall back over the end of the handle and again bound while in this position.

252 354 Cooking stones were smooth, about fist-size, and were heated on a crib of sticks which was fired from below.

[531] Sticks for handling hot coals, stones, and the like were made of a hard, relatively noninflamable wood, such as dogwood. A pair were whittled spatula-shape at one end; their round handles being about three quarters of an inch through. The handle was decorated with incised lines filled with red or yellow clay. The designs were simple spirals around the shaft for its whole length, paralleled by dots, or a similar arrangement with spirals in opposite directions and thus crossing. The Chelan used the same kind of

252 fire sticks.

354 A stick for use with the roasting pit was sometimes specially prepared. This was of service berry wood, twelve to fourteen inches long, sharpened but not otherwise finished. The steam was allowed to escape by punching a hole near the edge of the earth covering, never at the middle.

When a hunter had no other cooking utensil, he used a deer paunch set in a hole in the ground.

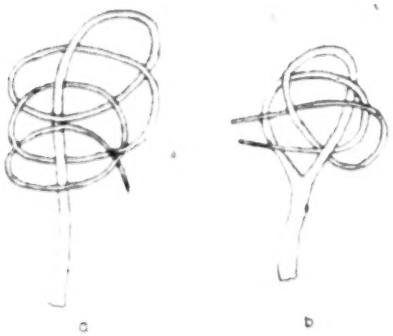

Fig. 27. Types of makeshift stirrer.

Awls

412 Those for sewing hides and baskets were made sometimes of deer horn, sometimes from three bones of the bear: the radius, ulna, or os penis. The bear bones were slender, naturally pointed, and the opinion was universal that they were tougher than other bones. Awls five or six inches long fashioned from deer ribs were reported; sometimes provided with a buckskin wrapping as a handle. All were made by men.

Needles

A needle for sewing tule mats was six or seven inches long, made of deer bone, thinned down, and with an inch-long eye at the top. It had no ridge or groove. No creaser was used with it as on Puget Sound. Needles were also used in sewing skins. These were of bone or wood provided with a round eye. Needles made of quills were also used for sewing; they could only be inserted after holes had been punched by an awl.

Tump Lines

482 A tump line or pack strap consisted of a single thong of tanned deer skin, from three to six feet long, depending on the use, with a broader section (two and one-half or three inches across in the center) where it passed over the upper part of the forehead and hair. Deerskin from the neck region was preferred since this is thicker. Tump lines of Indian hemp were reported: the central

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Sinkaietk

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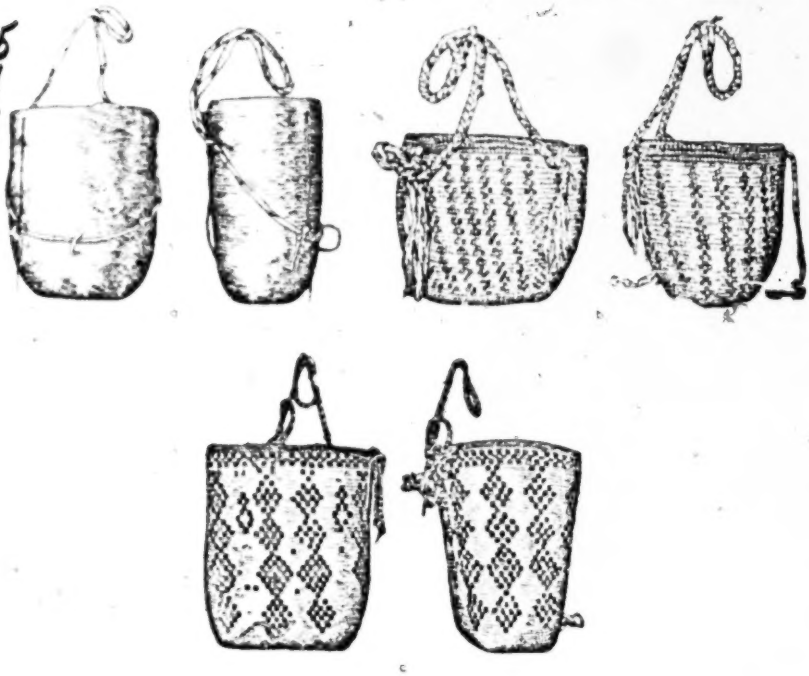

Fig. 28. Coiled baskets (front and side views).

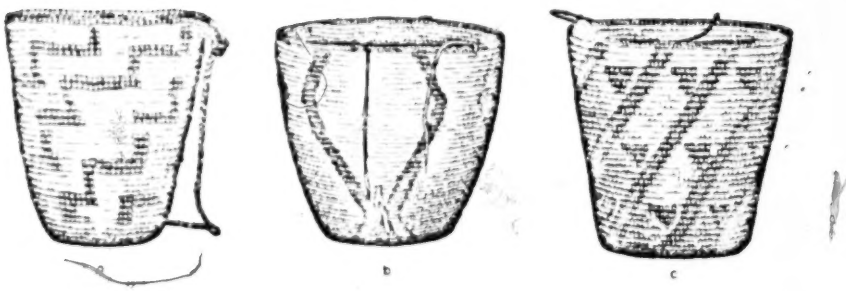

Fig. 29. Coiled baskets (a, c, Southern Okanagon; b, Wenatchi).

p.61

482 portion of these was nine by three inches; the lines were braided. Although the weight could be shifted to the small of the back by bending forward, almost the entire burden was borne by the lines. One informant said the half-bow knot was used universally. Women carried bundles of wood, blankets, tule, and the like with such lines.

Parfleches

415 281 These (called pEnpEnaʔ, "it folds back") were made of buffalo or horsehide and were laced with rawhide. There is obscurity in the statements that the "parfleche was of Nez Percé type," and again that they "were exactly like those of the Nez Percé." At least they were made by Southern Okanagon.[27]

BASKETS, BAGS, AND BUCKETS

[462] All such containers were made by women. Sometimes these were exchanged among themselves for similar products or for food.

285 415 Coiled baskets made of cedar root bark were used for storage, cooking, berry gathering and other purposes, as among all the interior Salish tribes. They would stand much rougher treatment for cooking than birch buckets. A basket of this sort would last for ten years. Apparently they were formerly made in a variety of sizes and shapes, but those seen were used only for berrying and were about a foot deep, tapering slightly at the bottom and sometimes flattened on one side (Figures 28 and 29)." Hill-Tout" states that "a well-made cedar root basket often outlasts the generation which first saw it: some specimens are known to have been in use close upon half a century."

[For footnotes, see p. 62 (D). Category 116 -- Analysis]

27 Hill-Tout, British North America, 113.

Sinkaietk

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The coiling is counterclockwise, the work proceeding from left to right on the edge of the basket nearest the worker, the inside of the basket being uppermost. The strips of bark used for sewing, eighteen inches or more long, are soaked in water while the work is in progress, and occasionally the whole top of the basket is dipped into water. Such strips are split to proper thickness and width while one end is held between the teeth. The foundation of the coil is a bundle of strips of bark (sometimes strips of the root itself are included) about a quarter of an inch in diameter when compressed. In splitting the cedar roots many splints are short: these are used in the foundation. The foundation bundles are sewed with a somewhat longer and strong strip of cedar root bark, pointed at one end so it can be passed through each stitch in the course below. A hole is made with an awl for each stitch, which passes inwards from the outside, up and over the bundle of strips, then is pulled downwards with considerable force before being pushed in through the next hole. The stitches are spaced equidistantly in round baskets, but in rectangular baskets they are more frequent near the corners. As the work proceeds new strips of bark are inserted into the end of the foundation bundle to give a continuous coil. To add to the sewing element, the remnant of that already in use is brought into the foundation bundle. The new sewing element is stitched twice through the same hole, the short free end being left in front and covered with the second of the stitches. The edge of the basket is finished with stitches making a criss-cross pattern: apparently each stitch pierces the second stitch beyond of the course beneath, is then carried back

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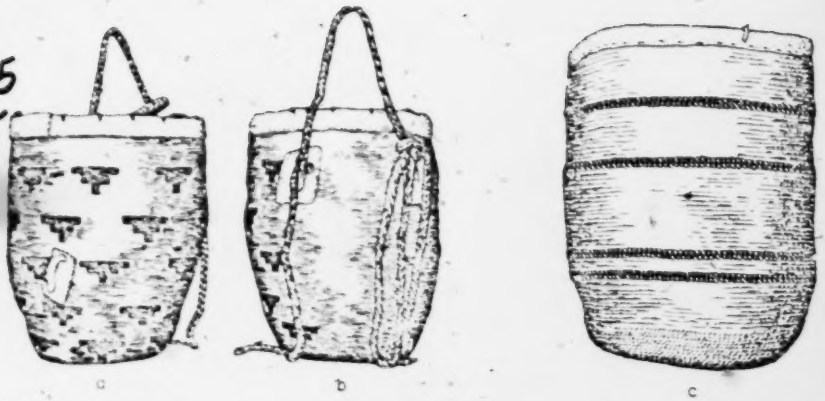

Fig. 30. Round twined bags (showing two sides in a and b).

p. 62 (c)

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25 An Okanogan specimen is figured in Spier, Plains Indian Parfleche Designs, 322.
26 Catalog numbers (Washington State Museum) and dimensions of baskets illustrated: Figure 28,a (2-253) depth 12" x length 9" x width 7"; b (2-257) 8" x 9" x 7"; c (2-255) 14" x 12" x 9½"; Figure 29, a (2-256) 10" x 8½" x 7".>4
27 Hill-Tout, British North America, 115.

>1 [For context of these footnotes, see p. 62 (A), category 116. -- Analyst]

p. 62 (D)

over the rim from the inside, and pierces (from the outside) the stitch that has been skipped. The elements of the foundation bundle are cut off one by one at the rim so that the foundation coil tapers to an end and the edge of the basket is even. 285 415

Imbrication was the only mode of decoration. This was done with a kind of grass called slEkē'stĭa, which was picked in the Pend D'Oreille country in midsummer. This was sometimes colored with vegetable dye. According to Boas[28] the home of imbrication 171 415 285 531

seems to have been somewhere in the Cascade region, the Okanagon having received the trait about the time of the coming of the whites.

Cooking baskets were always set into the ground for stone boiling. They were not washed out but scraped with the fingers, which were promptly licked. 252

Twined bags with round bottoms resembled baskets in shape (Figure 30).[29] ¼ These were made of Indian hemp, of wild hop vine bark (qētsiasEnĭ'm), or with tule warps and willow bark wefts. The tule-willow bark bag was described as follows. The bottom was first twined, working in a clockwise direction, new warp elements being added as the work proceeded. This was begun by wrapping the weft once around the warps where they crossed at the center. The tule warp elements were then bent up to form the sides. Loops of tule were put around the rim of the bag, by which it could be tightly laced when 285 415

28 Boas, Coiled Basketry, 139-140.

¼ [For footnote, see p. 63(D), category 116. -- Ansl, st]

p. 63(A)

filled. Bags of other materials were apparently made in an identical way. These had handles of buckskin, with little buckskin reinforcements. A hop vine cord specimen seen had its base in simple twining, its sides in diagonal twine. They were decorated by false embroidery in red and black, worked with the inner bark of a plant called pō'qwé. This plant was brought by the Similkameen in bundles about five inches thick, three of which were worth a blanket. The bark was dyed in a concoction of Oregon grape root boiled in water. The lacing was always done with a

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two-strand Indian hemp cord. If the bag was to be carried any distance, the top was stopped with grass and leaves before it was laced. The tump line was then tied around it. Such bags were used to transport anything that was not fragile, such as dried meat, berries, or pine cones.

Flat twined bags of Indian hemp were used for carrying roots and berries, or for supplies taken on a hunting trip. They were about twelve inches wide and eighteen inches deep (Figure 31).[1/] Such a bag was woven as a flat fabric, then doubled, and sewed along the sides. A buckskin handle was fastened on each side at the opening. An Indian hemp rope fastened to the handles was slung over the shoulders for carrying. As in the specimen illustrated, the two faces might bear different designs. The making of corn husk sacks of Nez Percé type was derived from the Wenatchi (?) within the last two or three decades.

[531]

1/ [For footnote, see p. 63(D), category 1161 -- Analyst]

3 Cline E-S (1938) 1938 NR13 Southeast Salish NR14
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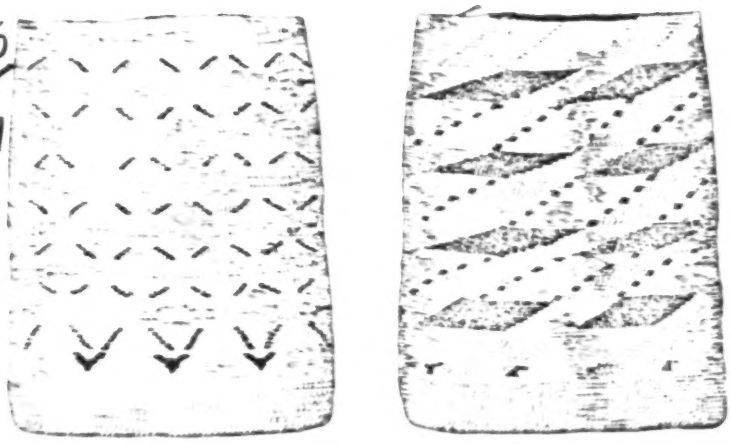

a b

Fig. 71 Flat twined bag (showing unlike designs on two sides).

p 63 (c)

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28 Bone, Coiled Basketry, 139-140.
29 Specimens in Washington State Museum: Figure 30, a, b, no. 2-254, 13½" deep, 9" diameter; c, no. 2-
258, 7½" deep, 5½" diameter.
30 This specimen (no. 2-259) is 20" deep by 16" wide.

1 [For context of these footnotes, see pp. 63(A), 63 (B), category 116. -- Analyst]

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415 Bags similar to the flat bags above were also twined of green willow bark. A mat with single or multiple warps about four feet square was twined, doubled over, and sewed up the sides. The rows of twining were about three inches apart. This bag was filled with meat for storage, the opening laced through loops along its edge. Willow bark wears better than similar bags of tule.

314
415 Birch bark buckets were made of a single rectangular piece of bark (Figure 32).[1]

Green bark was used and could be secured at any season. Two diverging cuts were made at the middle of each end (Figure 33, a), the size and angle depending on the width of the bucket. The sides (c) were folded and the flaps at the ends (d) folded and lapped. Sewing began at the rim, proceeding until the points at the ends of the bottom (b) were folded up and sewed. The sewing element was Indian hemp or willow bark. The rim was reinforced by a green willow twig sewed inside. The ends of this twig were shaved to overlap. The rim of the bucket was folded down over the twig; the sewing, starting from the end seam, was a plain over-and-over stitch, proceeding in a counter-clockwise direction. The Indian hemp twine was poked through all holes from the outside, pulled up, over, and down on the outside, then poked through the next hole, as in coiled basketry. The termination of this sewing strand was a simple knot on the outside. A characteristic of this binding is the decorative effect produced by lengthening the stitches at intervals: this also prevented the bark from splitting due to too great strain on any single line of grain. A handle of buckskin was sewed to the rim at the seam (?). Bark baskets varied in size with the material avail-

[531]

[1] [For footnote, see p. 64(D), category IIIc. -- Analyst]

p 64(A)

314 able and the need. Few were over two feet
415 high. Such buckets were used for fetching water, [illegible]ering sunflower seed, etc.

A pine bark cooking bucket made exactly like this was reported by Mary Carden. Such buckets are known from adjacent tribes. Yet it was said that pine was avoided for such purposes on account of its disagreeable odor which would affect the food. The pine bark could be gotten at any season. The outer rough bark was scraped from the strip.

A cottonwood bark bucket was made in the same fashion (see Food Quest).

415 In general, all buckets, tubs, and the
251 like were used for storing berries, etc., and were kept under the storage arbors. They were set up on sticks so that their bottoms would not rot from the dampness. On the other hand bags, envelopes, etc., containing meat and fish were kept on the platform of the arbor.

171 Vessels of clay, such as were made by
415 the neighboring Sanpoil, were unknown here.
323

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

534 Flageolets were used principally in
[832] courtship by men, but on other occasions were played by women also. They were made of elderberry wood, the leg or wing bone of an eagle, or the leg bone of any long-legged bird. The elderberry flageolet was about ten inches long and had from six to ten stops. The pith was pushed out by means of a stick. Near the mouth end was an oblong longitudinal slot into which a piece of chewed tree gum was inserted to serve as a reed. Two strips of buckskin were wrapped transversely

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415

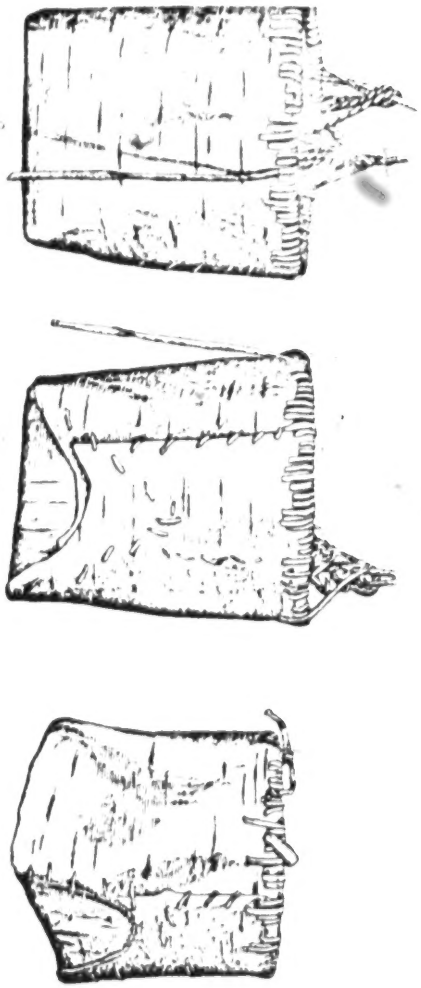

Fig. 32. Birch bark buckets (showing two sides in a and b).

p. 64 (c)

314
415

31 Numbers and dimensions are: a, b, no. 2-265, 8½" deep, 8" diameter; c, no. 2-264, 7" deep, 7" diameter.

1 [For context of this footnote, see p.64 (A), category 11b. -- Analyst]

P. 64 (D)

534 [463] [533]

over this hole so as to leave a narrow opening between them. Both ends of the flageolet were open. A young man who made good flutes would be hired to make them by others. Flute tunes had no words and were freely learned and played.

Drums were not used by Southern Okanagon, but the Northern Okanagon were said to have had square as well as round drums. The latter were one and a half to two feet in diameter by six inches deep. Square drums

[314 415]

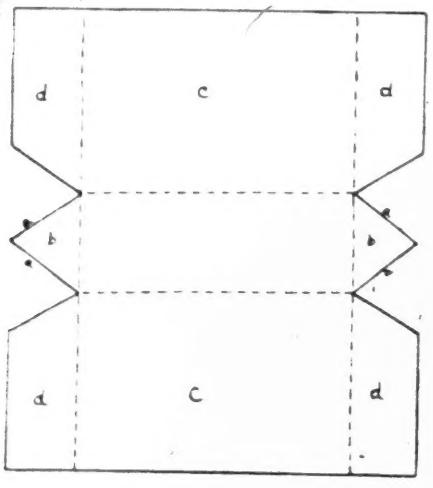

Fig. 33. Pattern of birch bark bucket.

were about the same size. The wooden frame was a pine board softened by soaking in water, bent into cylindrical shape and sewed together at the ends. On this a head of deer hide was laced. Two buckskin thongs crossing at right angles on the bottom of the drum served as a handle. The drum was always beaten while held in the hand, and always with a drumstick which had a knob of buckskin wrapping at one end.

A double-headed drum, about three feet in diameter, was made of cowhide stretched over a section of a hollow pine trunk, the two heads laced together. It is doubtful that this drum is aboriginal.

Deerhoof rattles were tied to the pole used in the winter ceremonial dance. These were made of the dew claws of the deer. The musical rasp (notched stick rattle) and a drum made by swinging a suspended horizontal pole against an upright, such as is known to the Wishram, were absent here. The only approach to drumming employed by the Southern Okanagon was the time-beating with short sticks on a long pole during the hand game.

p. 65 (A)

PIPES AND TOBACCO

Various types of pipe were in use. These include the elbow pipe, the tubular pipe, a square block pipe, and variants of the tomahawk pipe (Figures 34 and 35). Women's pipes were like men's but smaller: they were made for them by the men. No woman could smoke a man's pipe. 276 [562]

Pipes were made of soapstone, clay, and a red stone, probably red catlinite. Red catlinite pipes were traded ready-made from the Shuswap, since the Okanagon did not know how to work this stone. A red stone was obtained on the Methow River, a dark blue-green soapstone from the Wenatchi, and black soapstone from the Similkameen River. A light green, soft stone (soapstone ?), which was considered superior to other materials, was also gotten from the Similkameen River. To obtain it a man had to be let down the bluff by means of a rope to the water's edge, where he crawled back under the shelving rocks and took the stone from under water. The stone was immediately cut into pipes while still wet and soft. Stone for pipes was also traded from the Thompson for Indian hemp. Clay was also used when stone was lacking, according to Suszen, although he had never seen clay pipes, but Billie Joe denied this. The Methow used a blue translucent stone (soapstone ?). 276 316 439

To manufacture a pipe, the shape marked on the stone was cut out with a flint or obsidian knife. The stem and bowl were bored with a flint or obsidian drill. The bowl was smoothed and polished with horse tail (Equisetum). The short stems of stone pipes were sometimes lengthened by inserting a hollow willow stem. The tubular type (Figure 34, b) rarely needed such a stem. Pictures of birds and animals or straight lines were incised on the stone stem of the pipe with an obsidian flake and filled with red paint made of red clay (ochre ?) mixed with pine pitch and grease. Those who were too poor to own a pipe or who were on a hunting trip without one, would make a hollow in the mud for a bowl and insert a wooden stem at one side. This makeshift had to be smoked in a prone position. Women's pipes were similar to men's but somewhat smaller. All pipes were formerly made by men, but are now made by women also. Pipes were never sold. 276 324 [531] [462]

There was apparently a tribal pipe (i.e., group or band pipe) in the custody of the chief of the band. This pipe was passed around the council circle to the right, starting with the chief, before the discussion began, each man taking two or three puffs. The heads of winter houses were also said to have large pipes for formal gatherings like those of the chiefs. 276 623

Tobacco was not cultivated, not even by weeding the wild plants, but was gathered along creeks and in moist places. This plant was said to be a yard tall. The leaves were stripped off and spread on rocks to dry for about two days. The dry leaves were then 314 [137] 276

314 put into buckskin bags and pulverized by rubbing the sides of the bag together. The tobacco was then stored in another bag. One
276 informant, Suszen Timentwa, stated that the tobacco was pulled up by the roots, dried for ten to fifteen minutes over a fire, then stored in tight cedar-root baskets. He also stated that it was kept moist by putting in the basket fresh roots or grass, but on another occasion denied this. It seems improbable that the tobacco plant was rooted up, as this would destroy the supply, but it

Fig. 34. Types of pipes.

was said to keep better intact. (This was in fact contradicted by other informants.)

"Kinikinik," properly bear berry (Arctostaphyllos uva-ursi [L.])[1] was mixed with tobacco just before being put into the pipe in the ratio of two parts of kinikinik (skūlsū - ɪmEn) to one of tobacco. Sunflower leaves were substituted for tobacco, as also a plant called cqElūxcma'nūc (which grows by streams) and the dried pulverized root of xa'cxa'c.
[278] (The last named was also used to revive unconscious persons.) All three were mixed with kinikinik. Not so sman'xū, a "grass" growing near Riverside, which was smoked alone.

276 Formerly the pipe, tobacco, and kinikinik were carried in two separate bags worn at the waist. These bags were made by women for their husbands according to the latter's

p. 66 (A)
1 [For footnote, see p. 66 (C), category 116. -- Analyst]

276 specifications. They were about six inches wide by nine inches long, but varied greatly in size. They were sewed up on one side, perhaps fringed at the seam, and were closed by a draw-string at the top. They were decorated with porcupine quills. A shaman's pouch was painted on both sides. In more recent times they used a single long bag, about the length of a stocking, open at both ends, and separated into two parts by a seam across the middle. Tobacco and pipe were kept in one compartment, kinikinik in the other. A Wenatchi woman shaman was seen with a cloth bag of this type knotted several times in the middle to keep the compartments separete. One informant stated

Fig. 35. Stone pipe.

that the bag was sewn down the middle: whether this means longitudinally or transversel is not clear. These bags were fringed and decorated with quill work, though modern cloth bags were undecorated. Tobacco bags were made of ground-hog skin, buckskin, and, in later days, other materials. Otter hide was used by chiefs and other wealthy men, "strong men" who were able to (permitted to ?) make fire with the fire drill.

276 In former days the only women who smok-
791 ed were shamans. Smoking always accompanied a shamanistic curing ceremony. A man shaman had a special ceremonial pipe decorated with his power animal, in addition to his ordinary or secular pipe. No other person was permitted to smoke the shaman's ceremonial pipe.

PREPARATION OF MATERIALS

Tanning

281 Deer skins were tanned by women. If the skin was not to be prepared immediately it was hung, hair side under, over a pole tied between two trees until dry, then stored away. When ready for dressing the skin was soaked in a stream for several days. The wet skin was then laid over a log leaned against a tree and the hair scraped off. This log, prepared by a man, was about six inches in diameter and about five or six feet long.

276 1 [For context of this footnote, see
314 p. 66 (A), category 116. -- Analyst]

32 Identified by Mrs. Martha Flahaut of the Washington State Museum. 1

p. 66 (C)

The bark was removed and the log beveled at the upper end to rest flat against the tree. After the neck of the deerskin had been scraped, it was tucked in between the end of the log and the tree so that the skin was draped over the log with the legs hanging. The hair was then scraped from the rest of the skin with a downward motion always in the direction the hair lay. Women made their own scrapers of the fibula (?) of a deer, naturally sharpened on one edge, but further sharpened with a stone knife. The articulations at the ends of the bone were not removed but were wrapped with buckskin or sinew where it was grasped. The parts of the skin were scraped in the following order: the neck, forelegs, back, and finally the hind legs. On a large buckskin a thin layer immediately under the hair, probably the pigment layer, had to be removed to leave the hide smooth. The long hair of a hide taken in fall or winter was often cut short before scraping. After the hair had been removed, blood was washed from the skin in clear water until it was white. The skin was then hung up to dry with the hair side down. A woman who wanted to prepare her buckskin quickly would scrape off the hair while the skin was still fresh. This was more difficult than after the skin had been dried and soaked.

After drying, the skin was soaked for one or two days in a basket containing a mixture of water and deer brains. The brains had been previously buried in the ground until decomposed; which took over a week. One brain was sufficient to tan two skins. While soaking, the skin was worked from time to time with an edged stone and rubbed between the hands to aid the softening process. The skin was then wrung nearly dry. For this process the neck end was wrapped around a post or a small tree and turned back so that the end was caught in the folds of the skin. The skin was then twisted once counter-clockwise and the hind legs similarly wrapped around a stick. Holding the stick in both hands and pulling, the tanner then twisted the skin counter-clockwise as far as possible, until it knotted itself up against the tree. After being left for a few minutes until all the water had dripped out, it was untwisted and tied on the stretching frame with cords of braided Indian hemp about one-quarter inch thick.

The stretching rack consisted of a pole tied near the ground between two saplings about six feet apart, and another pole tied about five feet above it, thus making a parallelogram about six feet wide and five feet high. If a small skin was to be dried the frame was shortened by tying a vertical pole to the horizontals to give the desired length.

Holes for a cord to pass through were made with an awl about two inches apart all around the edge of the skin. Any tears in the skin were tightly sewed up before stretching. The skin was always stretched with the flesh side toward the operator and

the neck toward the right. The two corners of the neck and the ends of the hind legs were tied tightly to the four corners of the frame. The ends of the forelegs were tied to the upper and lower bars and the tail to one upright. Then a long length of quarter-inch Indian hemp rope was tied to the upper horizontal with a half bow knot and passed alternately through a hole in the skin and over the bar until the skin was tightly laced to the frame all around. As the skin stretched during the scraping, the rope was tightened. The edges of the skin were scraped with a stone scraper held in the hand, for the larger surface the scraper was attached to an eighteen-inch handle. The operator held the scraper in both hands and, standing sideways facing either the neck or the tail of the hide, scraped toward herself. The scraping process was continued until all the flesh was removed and the skin left soft and white. This required several hours.

The final step in the tanning process was the smoking of the hide. A circular pit about eighteen inches in diameter was dug in the ground and a fire of two or three heavy sticks was built in it. When this had burned to coals, pine cones, rotten fir wood, and dry willow broken into small splinters were put on the coals to produce a dense smoke over which the skin was left all day. This gave the buckskin a strong yellow tinge, desirable for moccasins. For gloves and other articles calling for a white skin, only dry willow splinters were used in the smoking. Formerly the skin was laid over a dome of green poles, like a sweat house frame, built over the fire pit. Three skins were smoked at once so as to cover the entire dome. This method was replaced at least forty years ago by another. In the modern method the softened skin is trimmed all around to an even edge, folded along its longitudinal axis with the flesh side in, and sewed up from the neck to the end of the hind legs, thus making a sort of bag with the opening at the hind end between the tail and the hind feet. The skin is then hung, opening down, from a horizontal pole tied between two trees, directly over the smoke hole. A broad band of cloth sewed to the open end of the skin and fitted to the edge of the fire pit caught all the smoke and directed it into the skin.

Skins to be tanned with the hair on were stretched tightly about three inches above the ground by stakes driven through holes in the edges of the skin. The skin was moistened with water and the upturned flesh side was scraped with a handleless stone scraper. As the skin became loose the pegs were moved so as to tighten it. No deer brains were used in this process.

The implement used for scraping the flesh from the drying skin was a flat rounded stone. Figure 21 shows the outline as traced from a specimen: only one edge was prepared for scraping, that to the left. A flat weathered slab taken from the river, perhaps an eighth-inch (?) thick, was laid on coals until the heat split it along its lines

281 of cleavage. One of the thin segments was then laid on a rock where the nearer edge was struck off with any convenient stone. The strokes were toward the worker. When flaking had brought the edge to the desired shape, this was further ground smooth on a rock.

Sewing

This process was accomplished by lacing a sinew or buckskin thong, etc., through holes punched with an awl. Sinew was preferred to buckskin, since it was stronger, but it was harder to obtain for there was only a small amount in a deer. The sinews along the deer's backbone and legs were used. Customarily sewing proceeded from the top of the garment downward; a right-handed person working from right to left. Holes were bored away from the body. As each hole was punched the sinew strand was inserted and drawn taut.

Bark Fibers

314 Willow bark prepared for such articles as a women's skirt was the outer bark of the tree. This was stretched while still green, hung up for a day and then softened by rubbing a stone scraper across it many times. The scraper was that used for dressing hides.

Cordage

283 314 Cords and ropes were made of Indian hemp (spēi tsEn). Among other places, this grew along the Okanogan River and at the southern end of Omak Lake. Whole families would move to the hemp fields to camp while the women gathered it. The harvest lasted about two weeks. During this period, women would gather enough for five bundles at a time (each bundle five inches thick, three to four feet long) which took two or three days. After preparing fibers from this, they went to gather it again. Some of the hemp was reserved for their own use, but the bulk was sold to the Thompson. [439]

283 The plants were soaked in water and the bark stripped away. The decorticated part was then separated into fibers by rubbing between the fists. The fibers were made into two long bundles, each half the thickness of the cord desired. These were rolled with the palm on the bare right thigh: the two bundles, separated by about an inch, were rolled toward the body; then by a sharp reverse movement without lifting the palm, they were made to twist about each other. Rolled with the right hand, the finished cord fell away to the right, while the left hand fed in new bundles of fiber.

Various sizes of cords and rope were made for different uses. For most purposes, two strand cords were used.

1/ [For context of this footnote, see p. 68 (B), category 116. -- Analyst]

33 Teit, Salishan Tribes, 66, 219, 231. 1/

p. 68 (A)

283 Three strand braided ropes were made of willow bark. The bark was kept in water until it was needed, and the braided portion of the rope was continually laid back in the water while the length of rope was being completed. Lengths of three to four hundred (?) feet were made in this fashion, strong enough to lower a man down the face of a cliff when hunting for eagles.

Mountain goat hair was twisted into cords according to Chilowhist Jim (an informant from the southern end of the territory). The longer hair, six to eight inches in length, was shaved from the skin with a knife. A pile of this hair was moistened, matted together, and roughly twisted. To twist this, a lithe stick provided at one end with a right-angled hook was used. One end of the bundle of hair was engaged in the hook while the longer arm of this stick was rolled between palm and thigh, or between the palms, to twist the hairs into a cord. Two persons engaged in the task; one spinning the wooden hook as he pulled on the cord, the other holding the free end and adding hairs to lengthen it. This cordage was made of ten or twelve strands of hair. Horsehair was spun in the same way to make rope, which was valuable because it withstood wetting.

Weaving

286 It is doubtful if the Southern Okanagon wove, or at least that the southern bands did. (Chilowhist Jim, whose information may refer to the Methow, implied that his people wove mountain goat yarn.) Teit states that the Lake (Sinajextee) alone of all the interior Salish tribes wove. "It is said that the Lake tribe made woven rabbit skin blankets and that also goat hair blankets were woven on a loom." Again, "Woven goat's-wool robes were known [by the Coeur d'Alêne] to be made by tribes living west in the Cascade Mountains, but not elsewhere."[1] Andrew Tillson, whose affiliations were with the northerly groups, stated that blankets were woven of goat's hair. The hair was twisted on the thigh and woven apparently without the use of any sort of loom. On the other hand, the Inkamip band of Northern Okanagon, according to Tom Martin, had no woven blankets of mountain goat hair. Cecile, a Kalispel brought up among the central groups of Southern Okanagon, had never heard of blankets woven of goat hair or rabbit skin. They may have traded for them.

Wood and Bone Working

313 Trees were felled by chiseling away chips around the circumference near the base with a deer horn wedge and a wooden maul. The procedure was to drive in the wedge and pull it up to pry off a chunk of wood. An alternative method with a dry tree was to chip out several pits at the base with the horn wedges. Fires were set in these pits to burn

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1 [For footnote, see P. 68(A), category 116. -- Analyst]

through the trunk. These were carefully watched to keep the flames from spreading; in winter snow was banked against the trunk for this purpose. As a rule only leaning trees were felled, since the weight of the tree lessened the labor by cracking it off. Several men might work together on this task in order to obtain boards by their joint labor. 313

To manufacture boards from such a straight-grained tree as a pine, its outer portion was removed from one side with wedge and maul until a flat surface of the necessary breadth was obtained. Then a board of required thickness was pried off, four wedges being inserted in line and struck one after the other in series. As this section slit off, the four were moved along the log. Individual boards might be thinned further in the same manner. 322

Wedges for wood working were made from the base of a deer horn, which was cut flat and sharpened at one end. It was said that the naturally pointed tines were also used. The maul was an unshaped cylinder of half-dried pine or birch, slightly smaller at the handle. Stone mauls could not be used since they shattered the wedges.

A stout stick was split lengthwise by first starting the split at one end with a knife. This end was forced against a convenient stone on which only one split half rested. As the stick bent, the split extended further along the stick. It was then reversed so that the other half of the split end rested against the stone, and the process repeated. This is a well-known method.

Wood was heated to bend it, not steamed as on the coast.

Dry trees desired for firewood were simply burned down. [372]

There were no carved or painted wooden images. Nor were wooden boxes made, as on the coast. One informant had heard of large lidded wooden boxes used to cache food, but these may have been trade articles. [532] [415]

Bone intended to be cut into implements was soaked in water until soft. 321

Dyes and Paints

Vegetable dyes for coloring fibers used in basketry decoration were made of a plant called kal'lEqwe·istEn, "all colors." This was a plant about a foot high, sometimes with a single stalk, and bearing small flowers. It grew profusely along creek bottoms. Dark red, light red, and blue dyes were obtained from its roots by boiling them in water. Michel, who described this dye, declared that these different colors could all be obtained from the same plant. 386

Mineral paints were obtained from a place in Canada where the men and women used to go especially for it. Red, bright red, orange, black, and yellow paints were obtain-

ed there. Each color was wrapped in a separate buckskin bundle. These paints were sometimes traded from the north; a fistful being worth a robe or a blanket. The paint was mixed with water in the bowl of a mountain sheep horn spoon and applied with the thumb. According to Mary Carden, of the most southerly group, clays were bought from the Spokan. About two tablespoons of clay dust were gotten for a gallon measure of camas; a small sack of the dust was worth a deer hide. Clay paints were carried in buckskin bags about four inches square. She named the following paints obtained from them: Enaqa'lsp-EmEnú'laû, "Kal'spel earth," chocolate red; tû'l'man, dull light red; Enkw'Rêôlaû', "yellow earth"; Enp'ômûlaû', "brown earth." Other clays obtained at Keller on the Sanpoil River, "were not so pretty," since the colors were duller. Here there was a dull red and a yellow brown, duller than Spokan yellow, known by the names for light red and yellow above.

Black paint was made of charcoal and grease. A white was obtained from a lake above Riverside (?). This, called q'êlô'q'-êtc, was presumably a diatomaceous earth, since it was said also to have been applied to buckskin clothing to render it clean.

Porcupine quills were dyed yellow with Oregon grape. The quills were placed in the boiling concoction until soft, when they were run between the fingers to press them flat. In sewing, the quills were bent over the sewing sinew.

MENSURATION AND TIME COUNTS

Some information was obtained on standards of measurement. These were all based on parts of the body.

Measurement by the arm:

- pîtoqwî ôci'kst, from closed fist to inside of the elbow;
- ntla'pa'cxEn, from closed fist to shoulder of the same arm;
- ntqô'cElaq, from closed fist to the pit of the throat (the arm extended to the side);
- kêaqôsa'xEn, the same to the opposite shoulder;
- nikôcwhêpkst, the same to the wrist (?) of the opposite extended arm;
- kEmixq!ô'tsEnikst, from the tip of the middle finger across the palm to the wrist.

Measurements by span of thumb and first finger:

- nâq!ôtEqêôcEmîn, one span;
- acî'ltEqêôcEmîn, two spans;
- katEltEqêôcEmîn, three spans.

The stem, tEqêôcEmîn, was said to mean a central transverse stick or part, e.g., of an H-shaped object.

Measurement by thumb's breadth:

- nâkeqê'nigst, one thumb broad;
- acîlqê'nigst, two thumbs broad.

P.69(B)

804 The common word for thumb was ctō nigst.

296 804 A woman measured the length of buckskin needed for a moccasin as the span from thumb tip to t[illegible] of middle finger plus the length of the back of the middle finger to the knuckle. She might measure this with the material lying flat, or having measured the span bring the material over the back of the fingers to the middle knuckle. (The terminology for this was unknown to the male informants.)

171 804 Measurements were never made between tattooed marks as among the Yurok.

805 Michel reported knotted strings for keeping track of time. One knot was tied in the string for each day, two knots close

p. 70 (A)

805 together for two hundred, three for three hundred, etc., and a small extra piece tied on to represent a thousand days. While the device is indiginous, being known also to neighboring peoples, we may doubt the earlier existence of the higher counts (see also
[843] Religion). It was also said that women kept track of the passage of the nine lunar months of pregnancy by making a knot for each month, counting from the first failure to menstruate until one month after the birth
[765] of the child. Old people were said to keep track of how long their children had been dead in similar fashion, but we may doubt this. Knotted string records were called catca sq!. They were not used as memor-
[211] anda sent with messengers who carried invitations.

p. 70 (B)

[illegible] Southeast Salish NR19
[illegible]

SOCIAL STRUCTURE

By L. V. W. WALTERS

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3 Clinc E-5 (1930) 1938 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
Sinkaietk

SOCIAL STRUCTURE

By L. V. W. WALTERS

TRIBAL NAME

101 The Sinkaietk or Southern Okanagon, occupying the Okanagon River valley in eastern Washington, have been referred to in all past written records as the Okanagon, thus grouping them with the British Columbia Okanagon as one tribe.

Teit calls the Sinkaietk the "American Okanagon" and treats them as one with the British Columbia Okanagon when discussing pre-white customs. To explain their different entities in historic times, he says, while recording autobiographical material about Nicholas (1780-1865), head chief of the Okanagon tribe

"He was sorry that the country of the Spokan had come under the control of the Americans. It seems this attitude of Nicholas and the fact that the southern part of the Okanagon country became American territory and the northern part Canadian (the international boundary passing through it a little south of the middle) brought it about that the American Okanagon, after Nicholas's death, recognized a different head chief."

621 The Sinkaietk have only band chiefs and
622 deny that any man was ever head chief over their entire tribe. Taking into consideration that each band is autonomous, it is not possible to speak of the Sinkaietk as a tribe, if tribe be interpreted to mean a group functioning as a unified political
619 whole. Any unity that the Sinkaietk possess may be explained as due to dialectic identity, close geographical association, similar customs and friendly relations which have been maintained by constant intermarriage.

The Sinkaietk deny identity with the Northern Okanagon on the basis of political differences, although they speak an identical dialect. They deny identity with the Chilowhist band of Methow on the basis of dialectic differences, although this band is located on the Okanogan river between two Sinkaietk bands and possesses similar customs.

101 The term "tribe" is loosely used in anthropological literature. Within the Plateau culture area, the interior Salish linguistic stock may be analyzed into a number of dialectic types, one of which is the Okanagon speaking peoples, who speak a mutually understandable language and possess many culture traits in common. The Okanagon

1 Teit, Salishan Tribes, 269.

101 linguistic branch may again be analyzed into six known functional units: the Okanagon proper, the Sinkaietk, the Lakes (Sinajextee), the Colville, the Nespelem and the Sanpoil. I shall refer to these units, as determined by native sentiment, as tribes.

101 With this terminology in mind and in order to prevent future confusion of geo-
619 graphical groupings, it seems advisable to call the Indians south of Tonasket, Washington, Sinkaietk, an anglicized form of their own name. They declare complete independence, deny that there was ever an historical affiliation of a political nature with the Okanagon proper in the past, and designate themselves by a different name, sinEqáie tkū, "people of the water that does not freeze."

101 Comparison of the culture traits of the
171 Okanagon of British Columbia and the so-called Okanagon of the United States strengthens the necessity for recognizing them as two separate tribes. There is as much dissimilarity between Sinkaietk and Northern Okanagon culture as there is between Sinkaietk and Sanpoil or Sinkaietk and Colville. Even within the Sinkaietk, there are local variations in culture from band to band.

101 The misnomenclature was effected apparently with the coming of the whites. All Indians living in the environs of the Okanogan River were called Okanagon Indians. Prior to this period the river had two names by the Indians, it was called nūqaié tkū ("water that does not freeze") from its mouth to Tonasket, and wEkanaqa in from there to its headwaters. Nowhere in the early literature have I found a reference to the nūqaie tkū river. The history of the adoption of the name of Okanogan for the whole river, I do not know.

TERRITORY AND POPULATION

131 The Sinkaietk, whose number has probably never much exceeded three hundred since the fur traders came into this country, formerly occupied the entire territory from about six miles east of Condon's Ferry on the Columbia River, down that river to the mouth of the Okanogan River and up the Okanogan River to Tonasket.

161 "The population of this section was
164 probably at its highest about the year 1780. ... About 1782-3 the whole region was swept by the great smallpox epidemic which had

161 started on the Missouri a year earlier and extended from Lake Superior to the Pacific
164 and northward to Great Slave Lake.... From all accounts it destroyed from one-third to one-half of the Indians within its area....

"The beginning of regular trade with ocean vessels at the mouth of the Columbia in 1788 marked the introduction of sexual diseases from sailors and traders which soon poisoned the blood of practically all the Indians west of the Cascades...."[2]

In 1846, the interior Plateau suffered from another smallpox epidemic. In 1847, numbers died with the measles, contracted from contact with the whites. In 1852-3, another destructive smallpox epidemic starting in the Makah tribe on the coast, swept across the state of Washington and into Idaho. Thus, the population of the Sinkaietk, as well as that of all other interior tribes, was greatly decimated.[3] The following is a
161 table of estimated populations of the Okanagon in the United States, obtained from old sources.

Mooney[2]	Okinagan	1780	1,000
Wilkes[3]	Okinakane	1841	300
Warre and Vavasour[3]	Okinakane	1849	300
Dart[3]	Okinakane	1851	250
Gibbs[3]	Pisquouse and Okinakanes	1853	550
Ross[4]	Okanagans	1870	340
Mooney[5]	Okinagan	1907	348

101 Now a few remaining families are found on government allotments scattered in the vicinity of the Okanogan River on the Colville reservation in eastern Washington.

173 These people believe that they have always lived in their present habitat. They have no migration tales concerning themselves, and no memory of a former close relationship to the Okanagon proper, such as is recorded by Teit.

174 "It seems that there had been a gradual extension of the Okanagon northward and northeastward during the last two centuries. The original home of the tribe is said to have been the Okanagon River in Washington (according to some, near Okanagon Falls)."[5]

EXTRA-TRIBAL RELATIONS

619 A very close relationship is felt to the other Okanagon speaking groups in the
574 area, the Nespelem, the Sanpoil, the Colville and the Northern Okanagon. Berry and hunting

2 Mooney, Aboriginal Population, 13, 14, 16.
3 Gibbs, Report on the Indian Tribes, 417-18.

5 Teit, Salishan Tribes, 213.

[illegible] 74 ([illegible]), category 116, [illegible]

p. 74 (A)

619 territories and fishing sites are shared in
common by the Okanagon linguistic group. In
574 fact, most Salish-speaking people in the
Plateau are treated as friends. At food
gathering seasons, members of different
bands meet in one place, but camp separately.
Each chief or headman keeps order in his own
camp. After fishing all day, the men gather
socially in the evening for gambling, trad-
ing, wrestling and foot racing. There is
much smoking, chiefs and old men passing
their pipes around so that everyone present
may have a turn. There is also extensive in-
tertribal visiting during the season of win-
ter dances. Instances of marriages of Sin-
582 kaietk peoples with adjacent friendly tribes
619 are not unusual, but in the records of
specific marriages obtained,[1] it is noted
that the majority of known cases for each
band are marriages within the band. Out-
marriages seem to be determined by geograph-
ical contiguity; the Tukoratum band has es-
tablished friendly relations with the Chelan,
Methow and Wenatchi tribes to the south; the
Nartar and Konkonelp bands marry extensively
with the Nespelem, while the more northerly
Nonasket band is on a friendly basis with
the Colville and Northern Okanagon tribes.
Other out-marriages were cited with Yakima,
Coeur d'Alene, Nez Perce, Moses Columbia, and
Thompson. These friendly affiliations may
also be cited regarding trade relations.
Lucy Joe says that it is only since the sev-
eral tribes have all been placed on the same
reservation that the Sinkaietk have married
other than Okanagon-speaking people. This
is doubtful, since genealogical records give
information to the contrary.

The Inkami p group of Northern Okanagon
married with Thompson, Colville, Shuswap,
Lillooet, and Lakes, but never with Kutenai,
Columbia, or Wenatchi, according to Tom
Martin.

TRADE

439 Most trade routes followed the rivers
487 prior to the coming of the horse.[1] The
Sinkaietk went south as far as Walluła and
north into Thompson country to trade, their
routes closely following the rivers, whether
they travelled by foot or by canoe.

The Sinkaietk also crossed the Cascades
to the coast, where they traded wild hemp
for valued sea shells. Red Fox, "the head
chief of the Okanagan nation," who fre-
quently conducted such trading excursions at
the beginning of the nineteenth century,
crossed the Okanogan River, followed the west
bank of the Columbia River to the mouth of

[1] [For footnote, see p. 74(c), category
-- Analyst]

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2 Mooney, Aboriginal Population, 13, 14, 16.
3 Gibbs, Report on the Indian Tribes, 417-18.
4 Ross, Samuel, in Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs ... for year 1870, 26.↩
5 Teit, Salishan Tribes, 213.
6 See succession of chiefs; see also Individual Life Cycle.↩
7 Walters, Moses-Columbia field notes.↩
8 Teit, Salishan Tribes, 250.↩
9 Ross, Alexander, The Adventurers, I, 43-44.↩

1↩ [For context of these footnotes, see pp. 74(A), 74(B), category 116. -- Analyst]

p. 74 (C)

the Methow River, ascended the south bank a short distance and then took a course due west to the coast. Since acquiring the horse the Sinkaietk have sometimes crossed the Rockies in search of buffalo. 439 487 [177]

In proximity to the Sinkaietk there are three large trading points: Big Bend on the Columbia River, the mouth of the Okanogan River, and Kettle Falls. During the salmon seasons, tribes from great distances congregate at these places for fishing, trading and gambling. 439 574 441

If few salmon are being caught in the home territory, any band is welcome to fish in friendly territory. Young men, in any case, are apt to fish in friendly territory in order to see the girls of other places. Many marriages take place at salmon fishing time. 226 574 584

Trading is a complement of food gathering. Trade in food is carried on entirely by the women, since the stored food belongs to them. (Husbands, if questioned concerning the food supply, answer, "I don't know. That is not my business.") 462 441

Sinkaietk people travel quite some distance from their own territory to hunt, fish and trade, as is evidenced in the following accounts. 484 439

Mary Garden, when sixteen (approximately 1870), went with Tukoratum people to trade in Ellensburg. The group started from the mouth of the Okanogan River, crossed the Columbia there and went across country. They crossed the Columbia again below Wenatchee and went over the mountains to Ellensburg. They had money and horses then, and went to purchase a winter food supply, blankets and yardage for clothing. In the old days, Mary's people went to Spokan, Kalispel, Colville, Moses Columbia and snkama pElEks (a band of Northern Okanagon) territory to trade.

According to Chilowist Jim, who is of Methow descent, although there have always been canoes,* travel by water is infrequent. In early days, however, they travelled all the way to the Wenatchi, sometimes twenty boats going at a time. It took four days to get back, using long poles to go upstream. They went to collect tules for housemaking and to catch salmon which they dried there for food. Trading took place at the mouth of the npEsqwE Qs creek which enters the Columbia River at Wenatchee. Trade in Wenatchi territory had to be with a certain man, a trading friend (sE xqOl)." If an individual's trading friend was not present, that person would have to return without making any trade. This seldom happened, since the trips would be made at times when many Indians gathered from everywhere, and all who were interested in trading would be certain to be present. If a man's trading friend died, friends would assist him in 484 439 437

* For other data, see Individual Life Cycle.

developing friendship with another. One man never had more than one of these in a trading place, but the latter might have several to deal with if Indians from many places came at once. This trade relationship was not reported in connection with any other tribe than the Wenatchi. In Wenatchi country, people from the coast came to trade with the people of the interior. Whether this Wenatchi trading friend acted as an interpreter, middleman, or did direct business with his interior friend is not known. In October, the Wenatchi people came to the mouth of the Okanogan River to get salmon and to trade. 484 439 437

Andrew Tillson went to the coast at the time of the Nez Percé war. He started at about haying time and went alone by horse. He went from Loomis (tū'tckūlaxū) to the country around Oroville. Then he went across to Rock Creek (sxa'iaqEn, White Owl), thence to Curlew (nsīsqEtcī'n) and across the hills to Kettle Falls (cxōne'tkū). Then he went to kawī'la and Loon Lake (nowemeʻtaqū) in Spokan country. From there to Walla Walla the country was uninhabited so that he travelled for two days without meeting anyone. When he reached the Palouse River, he crossed on a ferry (stēqa'weł), run by a white man. It took him two days from here to reach Walla Walla, where there were many other Indians working, but no Okanagon. Then he went to Wallula where there were friendly Nez Percé (naī'aqūtsEn) and sold his horse for a good price, four dollars. A horse might be traded for a tanned buckskin, which might itself bring twenty dollars, or for good blankets that were worth a hide. Large parties of Okanagon sometimes went to Wallula. They camped alone while there and never intermarried with the Nez Percé. From Wallula Andrew took the steamboat to Portland, but as he was warned by white people that he might be killed by the other Indians, he returned to Wallula after two weeks. After remaining in Wallula three years because of the fighting, in which he did not participate, he bought a horse and returned to Loomis. 484 [435]

Susan Timentwa says that the Sinkaietk infrequently go to Blackfoot country (ctqwéxōnū la, ctqwēō'lēxūn, Blackfoot). They go down the Okanogan River, south on the west side of the Columbia to Nez Percé country and across to the Blackfoot country. Sometimes the Moses Columbia, Spokan, Flathead, and Nez Percé accompany them. Runners carry news all the time between these tribes; thus they arrange meeting places on the way to the buffalo country. Poor men with nothing to trade go also to assist with the horses: they receive food and clothing for their services. Salmon, mountain goat hides, berries, grizzly bear hides, and deer hides are taken along to trade for buffalo hides and meat. The Blackfoot and the Plateau people are always ready to fight. A smoke is motioned for in sign language and a truce 484 439

484 holds while trading. The Plateau people have learned sign language at these meetings.
439 Some of the Blackfoot are anxious to get salmon in trade, while others object to the Plateau people hunting buffalo and fight about it. Healthy women and children are taken on these trips. The women trade with women, camas for buckskin clothes and leggings that are beaded with bone. All trading is individual. The trip takes three months each way.

484 Sulktaskosem, Suszen's great grandfather, a Moses chief, was said by him to have been the first Plateau man to lead a party to the Blackfoot country. Margaret Sersepkin, whose narrative follows, said that her husband was the only Sinkaietk who took parties to the Plains in the middle of the last century, and that in her father's youth no one went to the buffalo country.

Margaret and her husband, Sersepkin, chief of the Kartar band, started from Loomis for the plains in July, six years after a great earthquake. Margaret is now about ninety-two. She was seventeen or eighteen at the time of the trip. Sersepkin's party consisted of two boys hired to kill buffalo, his own two sons and Margaret, with thirty horses, some of which he intended to trade with the Plains people. A good horse was worth five or six buffalo hides.

After travelling all summer, they reached Montana where they rested five days at the home of Angus Macdonald, who was the brother of George Tillson's wife. They travelled eastward from here seven weeks before coming to good buffalo country. On their way they came down to a town, either Helena or Missoula, and followed a lake for two days before crossing the Rockies. Then they came to a big bluff with a little narrow trail. When they got on top of this rocky mountain and camped, at midnight they heard a roaring like a thunderstorm. Margaret was frightened and thought the mountain was going to cave in, but experienced travellers with her said that the mountain made this noise because she and her companions were strangers, and when they had travelled over this mountain two or three times, it would not make this noise. At the foot of this mountain, miles away, they looked back and could see Indians going single file up the rocky trail

On the other side of the mountains there were nothing but plains. People from many different tribes were wintering there in buckskin, buffalo skin, or canvas tipis. Yakima, Spokan and Nespelem Indians were there. The only food was buffalo meat. There was no wood, no rocks, no long grass; the grass was short and thick and the ground so hard that horses left no tracks. They camped at small lakes where the drinking water was filthy from the buffalo. The Blackfoot danced every night with many drums, but the Plateau people did not join them. The Plains and Plateau people talked to each other and told stories in the sign language.

484 439 Horses were traded to the Plains people, fast horses brought good prices because they could catch buffalo. Margaret tanned the hides of buffalo that they killed there. She did not trade with the Plains people for buckskin clothing and feather headgear, because Sersepkin was not interested in these articles.

186 648 829 The Blackfoot had ceased fighting with the Plateau hunters a few years before Margaret's trip. After the whites came, the Indians saw that the whites were a common enemy. Before leaving the Plains, the chiefs had a meeting with Sersepkin and agreed that the Indians should not fight among themselves, for they had together many enemies. "We talk different, and we cannot understand one another, but we have the same ways and the same kind of skin; therefore we should not fight among ourselves. So whenever you people come over here to hunt buffalo, you can have our hunting grounds. We will all be like brothers." Sersepkin gave a speech of approval. They agreed to divide what they had in common, however little, and said that in time they might all come to talk the same language. The Blackfoot explained that they had fought for their hunting grounds in the past because they lived entirely on the buffalo.

484 439 On the return, a baby of Margaret's died, one who had been born during the trip. They brought back about twenty horses transporting tanned skins, and gave many of the skins to old men and women who needed them. They arrived in Loomis during the first part of July, the trip having taken a year.

439 The Thompson are the only people to whom the Sinkaietk sold hemp. About every other year the Thompson come down to Kartar territory in the fall to buy hemp, bringing salmon and skins. Lucy Joe's mother and aunts stayed up at night getting the hemp ready when the Thompson were coming. After pulling and bundling the hemp they left it in the branches of a certain tree in hills near Kartar creek until the Thompson came. Then all went to the tree and traded. Recently Kartar people would go on occasion to Thompson country to trade for salmon. Formerly they were enemies.

484 439 [782] Cecile has gone with two Kartar trading parties to Thompson country. The trip takes six days on horseback. They crossed from Kartar to Tonasket, then to Loomis and up the Similkameen River to t'sa'we, where they brushed themselves with fir boughs, casting these on the large pile that was there, before turning north. They asked the place to protect them that they might return to it alive and make another offering. They believe that a person who ignores this custom will sicken and die. In Thompson country, the men discover those people who have salmon to trade. Then the women bargain their bitter-root, hemp, blankets and robes to the Thompson men for salmon. The Thompson, who have three kinds of salmon to trade (a large

red salmon, a smaller red salmon, and a white salmon) especially prize the bitter-root of the Kartar. 484 439

Before they had horses, Kartar people walked to Kettle Falls to trade, taking about four days to get there. Arm-length bunches of raw hemp, about six inches thick, and buckskin were traded by the women for salmon. A large bunch of hemp was worth a horse. From Kettle Falls, the Colville and occasionally the Sinkaietk went to Blackfoot country after they obtained horses. A Colville expedition of ninety years ago was cited by Johnnie Louie.

Sea shells and dentalium are obtained in trade from coast people. One buckskin buys sufficient to trim one dress. The shells are assorted according to size and color so that bundles are uniform, but all sizes are of equal value. The Sinkaietk drill the holes for stringing the shells after purchasing them. They are used only as decoration on garments and are never used as a medium of exchange. 321 439

The Inkamip, the most southerly Northern Okanagon band, occupied territory directly north of and contiguous to Sinkaietk territory. Their trade relations are predominately to the north. They go up the Okanogan River beyond Lake Okanogan, about two miles from Enderby, to trade for salmon with the Shuswap. The Sinkaietk have never traded with the Shuswap, for they are enemies. The Inkamip go in August, taking about four days on horses. Since the white traders came, the Shuswap have planted potatoes for which the Inkamip also trade. 171 439 [186]

The Inkamip go to the mouth of the Kamloops to trade with the Thompson every August. They go from Lake Osoyoos to the Similkameen River, up the river on the east side by Princeton to the head of the river, and cross to the Kamloops River. They take raw hemp, gathered in Similkameen country, tied in hanks about three inches thick and ten hanks in a bunch, tanned deerskins and dried huckleberries, and bring back only salmon. Tom Martin, my informant, asked, "How should I know the value of things? The old women do the trading."

The Inkamip dig camas at Kettle Falls and trade for fish there. They never go to Blackfoot country, but trade for buffalo skins with the Colville. They never trade with the Kutenai or Lillooet.

The Chelan visited the country of the Skagit west of the Cascades. When Mary was about ten, a Chelan woman was married to a man from Puget Sound. She, a consumptive, died on the trip across the mountains. They wrapped her body in a blanket and tied it to a tree to await their return the following year. The body had dried, so that they "had to cut her up" and bring back the remains in a box. [764]

DRUM DANCE

In recent times, a new pattern for trading, the summer drum dance (stia'ien has been introduced to the Northern Okanagon, coming from the Thompson by way of the Similkameen. The Sinkaietk have never had a secular form of dance; their only dances being those in connection with power, which are danced only during the winter period, and the Dream dance. The Sinkaietk have never given a drum dance in their own territory, but they have participated in Northern Okanagon territory as guests. In many respects the Drum dance suggests the potlatch, and probably traces its origin to the Northwest Coast potlatch. 535 171 796 439

When a tribe wishes to give a Drum dance they collect many horses, blankets and food. Then they send a messenger, carrying tobacco and clad in good clothes, to invite another tribe to be guests. The messenger always arrives at the guest camp in the evening, presents the invitation and the tobacco to some wealthy or prominent man who divides the tobacco among his people. The messenger is then lifted from his horse to a spread blanket and is stripped naked by men and women. If he covers his penis with his hand the women slap his hand away. Then the women dress him in different clothes; they give him a new horse and saddle, thus replacing all of his possessions. Then he is presented with a return gift of tobacco of value equal to that received and sent home. 439 431 527 [834]

At the end of a month, which the guests are given for preparation, the messenger returns with gifts of blankets and tobacco. From this time on, a messenger arrives each evening that the guests are on the march, bringing food and gifts. Every messenger is re-outfitted and sent back. The host tribe beats a drum during the whole period of the guests' journey. The guests beat a drum and sing all during the march; young men and women dance at their camps on the way.

When the guests are in sight, and again when they are about one hundred yards distant, the hosts send two well-dressed men outfitted with new blankets and riding good horses to meet the guests. The latter form in a circle around the men and reoutfit them, while both sides are beating their drums.

The guests stay in a camp prepared by the hosts, provided with tents, blankets and necessities, facing the host's camp, with a street left between. Two headmen of the guests are lifted from their horses and led by the hosts over a long wide roll of broadcloth to their tipis, followed by the whole guest tribe. Then the broadcloth is presented to the guests.

Trading is started immediately, accompanied by drumming and dancing. The guests settle themselves in camp, then they lead their trade horses out all equipped and saddled. The hosts, beating drums, meet the guests and take the horses away, returning 527 439

527 574 439 others. Then the hosts beat their drums until their gifts are all given away, while men and women dance up and down in place in the street between the camps. Guests then beat their drums and send their presents. When everything is given away, both sides beat their drums while the property is divided among the members who have contributed, each man getting the same amount of property that he had given. The young people are all dancing but each party keeps separate. Then the guests leave without ceremony or drumming.

171 The Thompson, Shuswap and Northern Okanagon give such dances. The following have never given them: Chelan, Colville, Nez Perce Sinkaietk, Spokan and Wenatchi.

KNOWLEDGE OF SURROUNDING TRIBES

439 [726] 619 The Lower Fraser Salish (tlEmsiú'ûˣ) were bad raiders. They usually set fire to the camps attacked and ran. For this they were considered cowards, not brave enough to stay and fight. At the beginning of the nineteenth century the Sinkaietk and Lower Fraser people became friends and traded. The Lower Fraser people now bring European food to trade for salmon and berries at the mouth of the Okanogan River. Now Tukoratum people also go to Lower Fraser country to trade.

619 726 The Sinkaietk are much afraid of the Thompson (nEkwEtEmi'ˣû) because they raid at night, looting and burning tipis. They fight only when the Sinkaietk surprise them in their attacks.

173 619 There is a tradition of the migration of a branch of the Thompson southward through Sinkaietk territory. The division was caused by a quarrel over a dog. Some went back north, but others went south, where in their new habitat they are called wicxam (Wishram). This is undoubtedly the tradition recorded by Teit." Curiously enough this detached group was called by our informants "Apaches"; in connection with this it is well to recall that Athapascan peoples (Stuwi'ˣ), who later mixed with the Thompson, inhabited the Nicola-Similkameen district not long prior to the advent of the whites. It was also stated that people on the Similkameen long ago, in the days of David Isaac's great-grandfather, spoke a language unintelligible to the Northern Okanagon."

619 [439] SúqwEtl'kEn, "half and half people," is a general name for all people living to the west of the Cascade mountains. Some of these people made red pipes and brought them to the mouth of the Okanogan River to trade for salmon before the whites came. These

[For context of footnote, see p. 78 (B), category 116. -- Analyst]

11 Teit, Middle Columbia Salish, 96f.
12 Teit, Salishan Tribes, 204 f.
13 The above information is all from Mary Carden, Tukoratum.
14 According to David Isaac, Tonasket.
15 Informant, Michel Brooks, Kartar.

619 people have always been friends. (Michel, however, said that formerly they were fought.) Mary Carden thinks they intermarried with the Tukoratum in the old days, because Tukoratum here have relatives there. The Tukoratum cross the mountains some years. The coast people have strange kinds of fish for sale. The specific people to whom Mary is referring here are probably Skagit, for the neighboring Chelan and Skagit intermarry and are friendly, making annual visits across the mountains by way of Cascade Pass.

The Wenatchi are called npEsqwē ūs or sinqwī la. The Columbia (i.e., Teit's Middle Columbia Salish) are called "big river people" (sinselōxwī'ī tkwūx), while the Moses Columbia are known by their band name, skūwa xqtsīn, "build on edge of the river." The Upper Kutenai are skalsī'ūīk.

The sinkaqaī'ī ūs "between people," are a group composed largely of Tukoratum and Moses Columbia people who have intermarried and live around Coulee City. It is a small group with one chief, and does not belong to the Sinkaietk tribe.

The naī aqūtcEn live on the Columbia River below Wenatchee "around Ellensburg and Yakima." The Cayuse, Umatilla and Wallawalla are all known as either the skaī.ūū's or sEnīyē l.m n. The Coeur d'Alene are known as the skī tsōxū. People around the Dalles in general are called swaī.ya'mpáx, and the Chinook are stcEnū k. The Snake are called sinxaxō'ō laūxtEn; the Blackfoot stEqwa ī'ixEn.

[726] During the days of Mary's grandfather, the Spokan (spōka'īnxū) attacked the Sinkaietk across from the island just below the town of Okanogan. All the Spokan were killed but one, who swam the river and died on the edge of the island. Since then the island has been called stEpōkanExī'kEn.[13] 1

The Lakes (cinnaī'tckst) still use bark canoes. After the Colville got horses, they traded horses to the Lakes for bark canoes, but the Lakes could not use horses because the mountains in their country are too steep. The Tonasket make their own bark canoes, because it is too far to trade them from the Lakes.[4] 1

The Similkameen (similkamī xū), who now speak the Okanagon language, live around Penticton and at Princeton, B. C.

619 The Sinkaietk and Shuswap made a treaty at Konkonelp before 1800 and have never
728 fought since.[5] 1 The two tribes are apparently old enemies for Teit mentions "the Okanagon, of Okanogan River and south, who occasionally

1 [For context of these footnotes, see p. 78(A), category 116. -- Analyst]

p. 78 (B)

attacked the Shuswap Lake and North Thompson people."[16] 619 728

WARFARE

The Sinkaietk have evidently been a peaceful people for at least several centuries. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, Cox describes them as such. 181 724

"The natives of the Okinagan [Sinkaietk] are an honest, quiet tribe. They do not muster more than two hundred warriors; but as they are on terms of friendship with the Kamloops, Sinapoils, and other small tribes in their rear; and as the Columbia in front forms an impassable barrier against any surprise from their old enemies the Nez Percés, they have in a great degree forgotten the practice of 'glorious war,' and are now settled down into a peaceful and rather slothful tribe."[17]

They fought to protect themselves in case of attack by other tribes, and the only recorded instances of warfare outside their immediate territory were those in which the Sinkaietk pursued a raiding party of enemy warriors. On one such occasion the Konkonelp band pursued a Thompson party across the Canadian line. 721

The last time the Thompson came to skUnqwUntep where Okanogan town now is, they stole everything they could and then set fire to all the tipis and burned a lot of old people and children. Next morning the Konkonelp went after them and followed them across the line to somewhere near lake Okanogan. They found the Thompson in camp, just before dawn. So the Konkonelp started murdering them. One man was left who said he was a relation who had been captured, but the Konkonelp were so mad that they killed him anyway. They cut off their heads but did not bring them home."[18]

Teit mentions a skirmish that is probably the same.

"At one time a party of Lower Okanagon from the American side, south of the Columbia River, lay concealed for two days in order to attack a band of Spences Bridge Indians; but so watchful were the latter, that the Okanagon returned without striking a blow."[19]

The above story is an exceptional instance. They did not usually go to attack in enemy territory even for revenge, but contented themselves with killing as many as possible during the next raid that they suffered. Since raiding seems to have been a chronic misfortune to cope with, the Sin-

16 Teit, Shuswap, 542.
17 Cox, Adventures on the Columbia River, 206
18 Information from Mary Carden.
19 Teit, Thompson Indians, 269.
20 Information from Michel Brooks, Kartar.

skaietk were vigilant and constantly prepared for an attack. 721

The settlements at the mouth of the Okanogan were known to Mary Carden to have been attacked by the following: Blackfoot(?), Spokan, Moses Columbia, Nez Percé, Yakima, and Coast people (stl'wat'l'kEmx). There may be some doubt as to Moses Columbia and Yakima, for on another occasion she stated that the former were always friendly allies and that the Yakima never came so far north.

Captives to be held as slaves were never deliberately sought by the Sinkaietk. A wounded enemy might be cared for by the chief and in time be identified with his captors. (On slaves see below.) 727

War Leader

A man with power from a strong animal such as cougar or eagle may be the war leader (snkEc'lc). He was considered immune to wounds and directed the tactics of all his men. Such an individual is supposed to be able to dream of an approaching enemy attack so it is always desirable to winter with him. He is urged to stay at the regular winter villages with the chief. He has no proper title or position, but is much respected as a strong fighter and a man who has saved his people. Ixwaski nt, a Karter, was such a man. 701 624 [787] 791

The Sinkaietk used to have an old camp on Salmon Creek at Okanogan a long time ago, a summer camp. They had a trench there to defend it. In July they would be camping up there. They used to pick berries below Okanogan, below that island where the eddy is, on the east side of the river. They had a watchman on the hill there watching for strangers. When the women saw any strangers they would let out a whoop and scatter and run away. They had canoes there to cross the river. When the other Indians used to come, they came on that hill, and the Sinkaietk used to cross the river and get back to their camp. When they had that fight with the Blackfoot, everyone picking berries except one woman was killed. She got back to camp. Those in camp got their bows and arrows and stopped the enemies before they got to the camp. Ixwaski nt was the war leader of the Sinkaietk. He drove the Blackfoot below Okanogan and killed all except two who swam the river but were captured before they got across. Only one of the enemy was allowed to return to his tribe. Ixwaski nt told him to tell the Blackfoot that he, Ixwaski nt, had won the fight."[1] 721 729 173

The Nonkonelp people sent word to the Karter band that the Spokan were coming to

[1] [For this footnote, see p. 79 (A), category 116. -- Analyst.]

721 fight them, so the people from Kartar went
173 to skunowhatap to camp with them. One of the
Kartar men went to see where the enemy was.
791 The enemy saw him and were going to shoot,
but he turned into a wolf. His name was
Ixwaski nt. That night when they went to
sleep, Ixwaski nt went over to the Spokan
camp and killed all but one. He told him,
"I will leave you, so you can go back and
tell the other people." This time, none of
the Konkonelp or Kartar people were killed,
because they never had a chance to fight.

Another time, Ixwaski nt was chased by
the Blackfoot until he was so tired he could
not run any more. Then he jumped into a
creek and turned into a frog. When the enemy
came, all they could hear was a frog."

Tactics

721 There are no prayers for war. A shaman
with war power may sing all night and tell
791 what he had dreamed and what to do to win
the fight. There may be power contests in
advance of a fight between two warriors or
between two medicine men. There are no sex
[834] taboos before fighting, but there is some
feeling that sexual abstinence helps, however,
and that a man whose wife is menstruating is
not very fit to fight. The Sinkaietk had no
war dance, neither before nor after battle.
[727] The only strongly formalized pattern in con-
nection with war seems to be that of sending
one or two enemy warriors back to their own
people, as messengers, to carry the news of
their defeat at the hands of the Sinkaietk.
Equally important in their war tales is the
firm belief that in times of great danger it
is possible to assume the shape of one's pow-
er animal and thus escape.

714 Warriors in dressing for battle usually
paint their whole bodies with red clay and
[302] wear only a breecholoth. Only the best
fighters and war leaders wear their power em-
blems in battle, for the emblem of a man
726 killed in battle is always kept by his vic-
tor.

726 At the summer camps, while the women
are picking berries or the men fishing, the
chief appoints a guard or sentinel, who
watches from some high point for the ap-
proach of an enemy group. So stated Cecile,
but Lucy Joe denied it. At Okanogan in
Konkonelp territory, the lookout is always
stationed on the high tableland behind the
camp. Since attacks usually come after dark
it is his duty to keep awake to watch for
scouts sent out by enemy raiders. Sometimes
these sentinels fail their duty, fall asleep
and permit surprise attacks. In giving a
warning, these sentinels have no special in-
struments of alarm or signal calls; they
merely shout to the people, so that the wo-
men may hurry to shelter and the men gather
up their weapons. Sentinels are not formally
paid, but they receive a share in the pro-

21 Information from Cecile Brooks, Kartar.

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children were killed, except one girl who had the feathers of a swift bird tied in the shoulder-lacings of her dress. As she ran away from the enemy she threw the feathers behind her, and this made her run so swiftly that she seemed to fly two feet above the ground. She passed the sleeping guard and ran to the summer camp where all the men were. The men took their bows and arrows and rushed to the berry fields, too late to save the women, but they killed all the enemy except two.[22] 173 726

In the second version, the locale has moved down the river thirty miles and the participants have changed identities. The reference to boats of the enemy suggests Kutenai, rather than Blackfoot:

In the old days the Tukoratum people camped at sxa kalatEn, one mile north of Monse. In September, the men were fishing for salmon and the women were drying them. Some women were going to the Columbia to pick thorn berries; they had a watchman along. Late in the day the watchman left. The Blackfoot were there; they had hidden their boats by the island two miles down from the mouth of the Okanogan. The Blackfoot hid in the bushes there. Some scouts saw the Tukoratum women and signalled for the rest of the group. The Blackfoot attacked the women, who started back for camp. The last girl had much power; she wore eagle feathers inside her dress. Her mother had power too, deer power. The old woman pulled up her dress over her head and ran naked, like a deer. The girl put feathers on her head and flew.

The men at camp heard them and came to help. The Tukoratum killed all the Blackfoot men on the flat, but two, and four more that had been left with the boats. At the river, they killed the four men at the boats. The two remaining Blackfoot jumped into the Columbia River and the Tukoratum pursued them in canoes. One Blackfoot finally called, "I am of your own people. I was captured when I was a little boy." So the Tukoratum did not kill these two, but sent them back to the Blackfoot chief to tell him, "Even if you send one hundred men here, just two Okanagon men could kill all of them."[23]

During the days of Mary Carden's grandfather (that is, possibly early in the last century), the Spokan attacked the settlement opposite the island below the present town of Okanogan.

The Nez Percé are traditional enemies of the Sinkaietk. Mrs. Johnnie Louie, after interpreting the following story, said, "The Nez Perce have always been cruel. Even now they think they are better than the Sinkaietk." 186 721

22 Information from Cecile Brooks, Kartar.
23 Informant, Mary Carden, Tukoratum.
24 Informant, Cecile Brooks, Kartar.

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There was an old woman gathering wood. She looked up and saw a man standing right there. He was a Nez Percé come to spy on the Konkonelp. He stood there and the old woman was afraid to run for fear he would kill her. So she made believe that she did not see him and went on gathering her wood.

Then she went back to the village and told the people, "I saw our enemy. I guess they have come to see what you are doing." And they told her, "Oh, we don't believe you." And they did not believe her. She said, "Yes, I saw him. He had mud all over his head and all over his clothes. He was the same color as the ground, and I could hardly see him."

She had three grandchildren, two girls and one boy. She told them, "We will get ready to leave here." It was about evening. So they left and went far off and sat down. They did not go to sleep. They just sat there.

About morning, all at once the people in the village all went to sleep. The enemy came there and killed everyone. All the women, men, boys and girls; they were asleep when they were killed. The Nez Percé took all the little children, stuck a stick through their throats and strung them up on a pole. They took some food and blankets and left."[1/A]

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The following tales are of battles participated in by neighboring tribes.

One time the Shuswap came down toward Osoyoos.

Two Northern Okanagon boys and their mother had gone from Oroville to Osoyoos on a ridge and camped there to keep away from the mosquitoes. One of the boys was sick and could hardly move. He was paralyzed; sick for a long time.

In the night the old lady got up to urinate and saw people lying all around watching her. She got up, raised her dress, and scratched herself as if she did not see them. She thought that if she acted afraid they would kill her, and she wanted to warn her son.

She told her boy that the Shuswap had surrounded them. So the boy got ready to fight. As soon as morning came, he jumped out of the tipi and started to shoot the Shuswap and they started to shoot at him.

The sick brother did his best and started to walk away to escape. His mother walked behind him. He tried to climb a hill, but fell back. His warrior brother turned around and started to fight again. Again the sick boy tried to climb the hill, but fell back.

1/A [For footnote, see p. 81 (A), category 116. -- Analyst]

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His mother was quite helpless, too.

The Shuswap saw how helpless they were. The Shuswap wanted to scare the boy that was fighting. They hallooed at him and blew their flutes [illegible]. The sick boy still tried to climb the hill, and the Shuswap made all kinds of strange noises to frighten the one that was fighting them. The Shuswap made a noise like the sick boy's power, and it livened him. He ran up the hill very fast, and his brother ran after him. The old woman had some fine swan's feathers sewed onto the sleeves and shoulders of her dress. When the Shuswap caught her and were going to kill her, she tore the feathers out and threw them behind her. Then she ran and escaped from the Shuswap.

They came down the hill toward Oroville. The Okanagon, who were facing that way, saw them coming and said, "Enemies have attacked the boys and old woman, and are chasing them. [illegible] the men got their weapons and went over there. They asked the old lady, and she said that the boy had fought and saved all three. So the Okanagon retreated fighting and went back across the river to their camp.

The Shuswap followed them. When they came to the fish trap, they saw some salmon in the river. The Okanagon started to get salmon from the traps on one side of the river, and the Shuswap from the trap on the other side. The Shuswap started to roast fish right there. So the Okanagon went back to their camps and cooked fish and ate also. After everyone got through eating, one of the Okanagon went over and asked the Shuswap, "[illegible] side of the river shall we play?" The Shuswap said, "We will go up the river [illegible] cross and we will come together and play."

They fought and fought. Finally the Okanagon killed the chief Shuswap warrior. There was still another fierce Shuswap warrior, so they fought until they came to Okanagon with Ranch above Oroville, where they killed the other big Shuswap warrior. The Okanagon had not lost a man. There were only four Shuswap left. The Okanagon chased them all the way up Dry Gulch, up the mountain toward Osoyoos. As soon as the Shuswap reached the top of the hill, they fell down weary. So the Okanagon said, "We will just let those four go to tell the tale."

The Shuswap waited for the Okanagon to come. One said, "You had better look over the hill and see where they are." Another looked over the hill and said, "Well, I guess we are saved." They saw the Okanagon already going back down the hill.[25]

Some Okanagon warriors from Oroville and Penticton, with a certain fierce warrior

25 Narrated by David Isaac, Northern Okanagon.
26 Narrated by Billie Joe, Northern Okanagon
27 Told by David Isaac, Northern Okanagon.

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173 named CirmEntcō't went to fight the Shuswap, who have dugout houses.

721 The Shuswap went way up the river to fish for salmon by torchlight. They came
726 down the river with all their torches, spearing salmon as they were coming along. The Okanagon were near the Shuswap's earth-covered houses. They were sitting on the bank while the Shuswap torch-fishers were going along the river in their canoes.

One of the Shuswap hallooed, "Maybe you are around here getting cold, CirmEntcō't!" He was just joking, not knowing that CirmEntcō't was really near. CirmEntcō't was listening and heard this. The Shuswap started laughing after he had said that.

When the Shuswap returned to camp with their fish, they cooked and ate, and went to bed in the earth-covered houses. There were many of these houses.

The Okanagon waited until three or four in the morning. Then they began pulling the ladders out of the houses. Around these houses there was grass. They set fire to the grass all around. They killed all those Shuswap. So after they killed them all, they came back and stopped fighting" (David Isaac).

One time the Shuswap planned to attack the Okanagon at Inkamip on the Similkameen. The party of Shuswap came along. They saw the Okanagon fires down below them and thought they were at the foot of a hill. They were walking along single file in the dark. Really, they were at the top of a great rock cliff. One by one the Shuswap stepped over the edge. The last Shuswap was a blind man who walked with a stick. He felt ahead and knew it was a cliff. When he knew that his companions had gone over the edge, he returned home.

That night some Okanagon had a dream that the Shuswap had come. They all went to the foot of the cliff and there they found the dead Shuswap warriors." 1

Many generations ago the Northern Okanagon and the Shuswap fought over a nqō-ltstEn, a woman inherited through the levirate. Both tribes were hunting about Okanogan Lake when they met in friendship at its head. Two Okanagon men had with them their dead brother's wife, with whom two Shuswap ran off. The Okanagon brothers killed these Shuswap and fled toward Oroville. The Shuswap pursued them and killed one. Then in turn an Okanagon party chased the Shuswap and killed one of them. When the Shuswap then threatened to annihilate the Okanagon, the latter withdrew and gathered at Oroville. The Shuswap returned north, the enmity persisting. 1

1 [For footnote, see p. 82 (A), category 116. -- Analyst]

p. 82 (B)

[Northern Okanagon War Dance] Northeast Salish NE12 Northern Okanagon

The Sinkaietk take no scalps and have no war dance. Mary Cardon states that the Blackfoot, who were met when buffalo hunting, were the only people who scalped. S 726

The Northern Okanagon, however, have a dance preparatory to war and a scalp dance on their return. A warrior keeps scalps with his power emblem in a medicine bundle; they are kept for display. The scalps are decorated with feathers and porcupine quills strung on the hair. They do not take heads of the slain as trophies. N 726 778

For the preparatory war dance, warriors paint their bodies solid red without designs and wear a small breechcloth. All trophies from former skirmishes are brought out. Garments and ornaments from slain enemies are worn at this time. A war leader with an enemy scalp on a short stick starts the dance by stamping the lower end of the stick on the ground when the drum begins to beat. Then all the men, and as many women as choose, dance with the war leader. At intervals during the dancing and singing, each warrior describes his war power, states what his power has told him to do and how many times he has saved his people. At this time power songs are never sung; only war songs are used. Great warriors ask their people to test them for war. These men have so much power that arrows and bullets cannot penetrate them when their people shoot at them. The war dance continues until the last warrior has told his story. N 726 535 796

There is no dancing in camp while the men are away fighting, but when they return they hold a scalp dance. People from many neighboring villages come to dance with the returned warriors. At this time, the warriors one by one relate their deeds in the last fight. N [722] 727 535 796

Lovid says that the Shuswap are the greatest enemy of the Northern Okanagon. Whereas the Shuswap come down to fight the Northern Okanagon every spring, taking advantage of the high water to float their bark canoes, the Northern Okanagon go to Shuswap country to fight every fall. This would indicate a degree of formalization. N 721

RELATIONS WITH THE WHITES S

The Sinkaietk tribe was well disposed to the whites in their first contacts, according to the accounts of white men as well as their own. Ross Cox found them friendly at the beginning of the last century. Wilkes,[28] in 1845, says, "The Okonagan tribe of Indians are supposed to number about two hundred, and are represented as quiet and 177 181

[For context of these footnotes, see p. 83 (B), category 116. -- Analyst]

28 Wilkes, Narrative, IV, 434.

29 Lane, in Message from the President, 170.

30 Shaw, Estimates for Indian Service, 113.

31 Craig, in Indian Affairs on the Pacific, 171.

peaceably disposed." In 1850, Lane[1] reports, "The Okinegans inhabit the country north of Fort Colville; are well-armed, and number about 700. They are well disposed toward the whites." 177 181

The Sinkaietk deny that they ever participated in battle with the whites, but in the governmental reports concerning the difficulties in Yakima country in February, 1856 the Sinkaietk are mentioned. At this time, Major Haller took one hundred infantrymen to punish the murderer of a Mr. Bolon. The party was defeated by the Yakima and some ten persons were killed. 177 648

"The result of the blunder on the part of the military was instantly heralded to all the tribes west [east] of the mountains, inviting them to join and exterminate the Americans. This message took like wildfire with all the Indians, and immediately after the following tribes decided to go to war: The Cayuses, Walla-Wallas, Umatillas, Des Chutes, Tigh, John Day's River, Pelouse, Isle-de-Pierre, O-kin-i-kaines [Sinkaietk]; and on the east [west] of the Cascade mountains, Nesqually, White River, Dewamish, and Washington Lake Indians....

"The defeat of Major Haller by the Yakima caused these tribes to commence hostilities sooner than they intended."[30] 1

In May, the Sinkaietk still took part in the general unrest, according to Craig, at the Lapwai agency (May 27, 1856).

"... There is a cloud of Indians collected in the Spokane country, they say to rub out the few whites and Nez Percés that are here.

"There is very little doubt that the Indians in the direction of the upper Columbia have joined the war party, as they have received their horses as pay for so doing. There are now Cayuses, Pelouses, Spokanes, Okin-e-Kanes [Sinkaietk], Coeur d'Alene, and Colville Indians, a part of each of which are now on this side of the Spokane prairie. They say they have made all the whites run out of their country and will now make all the friendly Indians do the same. They have sent to the Snakes, and a party has already joined them."[31] 1

In the same year, Stevens reports,

"The whole interior is ripe for war. One-half of the Nez Percés are about to join the war party. The Spokanes, Coeur d'Alenes, Colvilles, and Oki[n]akanes [Sinkaietk] have accepted horses as the price of their service. They say to the friendly Nez Percés, join us in the war against the whites or we

1 [For footnote, see p. 83 (A), category 116. -- Analyst]

p. 83 (B)

177 will rub you out. A portion of the Snakes
648 have joined them."[32] 1

Here we find that traditional enemies have aligned themselves together to make common cause against the whites.

177 The relations of Tonasket with the
622 whites illustrates how the whites even in the early days affected Indian political regimes.
619 In the 1850's, Tonasket was a warrior of great repute, and Sersepkin was chief of the
648 Kartar band.

These two men while in Oroville talked war against the white people and sent to all the people to gather. The southern Sinkaietk, Nespelem and Sanpoil said, "No." The two warriors called these people "old ladies, but the Sinkaietk did not want things to be changed. They said, "Don't bother us. Don't draw our people into your fight." This must have been 113 or 112 years ago.[33] 1 Those two men fought about one day at McLaughlin's Canyon. The Konkonelp traded horses with the soldiers as they passed.

In 1858, Tonasket fought with the Okanagon who were protecting their territory from the invasion of the many white miners who were searching for gold in the newly reported fields in British Columbia. On one occasion when the Indians were greatly outnumbered, Tonasket employed an old military ruse. Scattering his men to give an appearance of strength, he called upon the whites to be friends and pay tribute, claiming himself to be the chief. The gullible whites paid the tribute, and from that time the whites in the country recognized him as chief of all the Sinkaietk and gave him presents.

The Indians were not so agreeable. Tonasket was not of chief's descent, and the independent people of the autonomous Sinkaietk bands had never accorded authority to any other than their own band chiefs. But through his influence with the whites and the Indians' belief in his possession of great power, he was able to establish himself as chief of a band, which from that time was called after him, the Tonasket band. Although his people disliked him, they obeyed him.

"... They are peaceable among themselves and friendly to the whites.

"To-was-kut, the head chief, has always been a friend to the whites. When his tribe, in 1858, attacked the miners, he was not at home; as soon as he heard of it he returned and stopped the fighting, espousing the cause of the whites against the wish of his tribe, and protecting them in his country."[34] 1

1 [For footnote, see p. 84 (c), cate 116.,-- Analyst]

p. 84 (A)

177 Cecile Brooks' statement concerning Tonasket is similar to that of all the other 622 Sinkaietk informants. She said,
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648 "Tonasket was never chief of anybody except his own band. He was a mean man who beat his children to death, drank and had many women. He under-fed his people who worked for him, but they continued to recognize him as chief."

TRIBAL SUBDIVISIONS AND SETTLEMENTS

101 The Sinkaietk tribe is composed of four
361 autonomous groups, which have come to be
619 known by the following anglicized forms of
621 their own names: the Tukoretum, Konkonelp, Kartar and Tonasket bands.

In 1854, Stevens wrote,

"The Okin-a-kanes' comprise the bands lying on the river of that name, as far north as the foot of the great lake. They are six in number, viz: the Te-kunr-a-tum, at the mouth; Kone-konep, on the creek of that name; Kluck-hait-kwee, at the falls; Kin-a-kanes, near the forks; and Mil-a-ket-kun, on the west fork."[1]

The last three bands named belong to the Northern Okanagon tribe. Stevens does not mention a band occupying the territory of the present Tonasket band. It may be possible that no band used that specific territory for winter residence in 1854. Tonasket did not become chief of his band until 1858. Perhaps at this time, he acquired followers from other groups and established himself as chief over a newly organized band. Adequate information on this subject is not at hand.

Since the political bond is very loose, the greatest factor in maintaining an attitude of tribal unity is probably that of blood relationship. Responsibilities toward members of the family through both maternal and paternal lines are keenly felt. Due to constant intermarriage, and the practise of polygyny, most Sinkaietk people have relatives in each of the four bands.

103 Following is a list of desirable sites
361 which may be chosen for winter habitation.
619 In the summer, band organization breaks up, Thus, summer camps at good fishing stations and food sites are composed indiscriminately of people from any of the four bands and from neighboring tribes. In contrast the winter settlements are semi-permanent, band organization is in effect, and the range of each band is normally limited to its own territory.

[1] [For footnote, see p. 84 (c), category 116. -- Analyst]

p. 84 (B)

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Sherar, in Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs ... for the Year 1856, 190.

Susan Tiemsten, informant, has grossly overestimated the time, but this manner of expressing the time element is interesting.

Ross, Samuel, in Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs ... for the Year 1870, 36.

Stevens, in Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs ... for the Year 1854, 446.

[For context of these footnotes, see pp. 84(A), 84(B), category 116. -- Analyst]

S Clne E-5 (1930) 1938 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
Sinkaietk

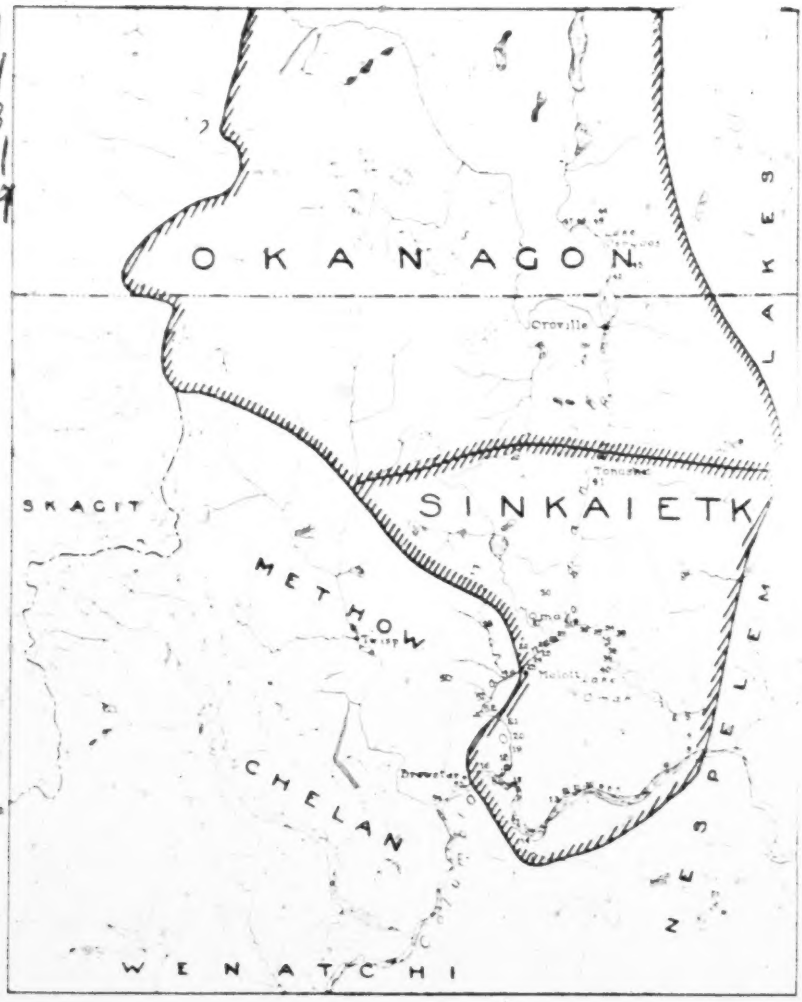

Fig. 36. Map of Sinkaietk and Northern Okanogan territory.

103 The Tukoratum (stEkōra´´tūx) have winter sites from Condon's Ferry on the Columbia River to the mouth of the Okanogan River and up the Okanogan River to about four miles above Monse, Washington. This band is sometimes called the snEkEkūm'tcī´naūx, "people at the mouth of the river."
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6. ¼ Enkukcī´ptEn (Wenatchi word), "driftwood in the water."
7. akītātqwEtá´n, "tules by the mouth of the creek."
8. sqe´tastūm, "rocks ready for a tipi."
9. nitá´p, "driftwood around the rocks."
10. tuxtiatá´ks, "rocky point."
11. kalī´tsman.
12. ya´kiámalámō´l´xū, "brush at the mouth of the creek."
13. eiūxtī´na, "below the cliffs."
14. spūkpūkōmī´n, "scattered rocks."
15. tūkōra´´tūm.
16. Enīōxtcī´n, "below the mouth of the river."
17. nEkEkūm'tcī´n, "mouth of the river." This village is divided and built on both sides of the river.
18. sīnkáspi´tlūxtEn, "old camp sites." This is one of the best winter sites belonging to the Tukoratum band. It is very old.
19. stsōsīxūwē´x´ūx, "fish hawk." This site is so named because birds called tsī´ōūk catch fish there.
20. sxa´īxkalūktEn.
21. skūpkūpū´naūxū, "sand point."

The Kartar (skata´rEx) band have winter sites from the foot of Lake Omak to the Columbia River.[1]

1. ya´akspī´tsEn, "place where Indian hemp grows."
2. kata´rūx, "strip of brush."
3. kalEtEu´l´t, "trail between the cliff and the brush."
4. Ensūpsūpōxwe´nkū, "holes in the cliff."
5. Enákaka´iūxstámxōlaū, "between two rocky points."

The Konkonelp (skū´nqwūnīEp) band have winter sites from about three miles above Malott to the turn of the Okanogan River at Omak.

22. Enxasxasī´tkū, "good water."
23. Name forgotten.
24. kaūōqánī´txū, "snowdrift marks."
25. nixwītī´tkūx, "little creeks."
26. qō´nqōnīp or skū´nqwūnīEp.
27. paka´ūōtsī´st, "white rock."
28. smōqátcī´n, "swallows."

[1] [For footnote, see p. 86 (C), category 116. -- Analyst]

p. 86 (A)

Sinkaietk; Methow
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Northern Okanagon

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29. xaté xtâk, "little rows of brush off the hill."
30. katômə ux^{q}, "one hill on the flat."
31. ŧâámí na, "against the hill."
32. EnstEpí'tsa.
33. Enaʒetxá'tEnEtk, "cache in rocks."
34. nxuxall nak, "putting sticks up against the bluff."
35. akcaca'ktku^{t}p, "little pine trees."
36. EnsEsa'tqtp, "a lot of pines."
37. sqwi nt.
38. sûmûkwe'aqa in, "snow on the brush."
39. nê'aômEn.
40. sînal aleqwpI'l'p, "edge of the water."

The Tonasket or sqwaûxôlô's band occupy the territory from Riverside upstream to Tonasket. Whereas the first three bands are commonly known by the names of their largest winter villages, this band is commonly known by the name of a famous former chief. However, the name of its most important village is sometimes used.

41. qwaûxôlô's.

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The Inkamip band of Northern Okanagon winter at the head of end on the eastern shore of Lake Osoyoos in British Columbia. Their territory is directly north of that of the Tonasket band of Sinkaietk. Tom Martin says that they numbered about two hundred people in 1870. They live in one group in the winter, staying at a different site each year in order not to exhaust the wood supply of any one site.

42. ttatsEnI'tk^{ux}, "flat place where brush comes to the shore."
43. nEwnI e'nIk^{ux}, "smooth rock with creek running down to it."
44. intaqamxûwI'ltEn, "to cross creek there."
45. intEl'tamKltsI'n', "level place with hills behind."
46. inkamI'p, "at head of the lake."
47. pûstintsê'ntEn.

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[101]
[197]
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A group of Methow (smê'txaq^{w}ix) people winter on the Okanogan River between Sand Point and Malott, Washington. They are called the Chilowhist (ci'lôxwist) band, taking their name from the principal creek in their territory. These people speak a variety of the Okanagon language that is more similar to the Chelan dialect than to Sinkaietk. For this reason the Sinkaietk consider them members of another tribe, although they are wedged geographically between two Sinkaietk bands, possess similar customs, and intermarry with the Sinkaietk.

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36 Numbers refer to sites indicated on the map (Figure 36).[1]

37 In 1853 Gibbs mentioned the Saht-lil-kwu band as though resident at the lake between Fort Okanogan and Fort Colville (Gibbs, in Stevens, Report of Explorations, 413). This must be Omak or Goose Lake and the band the Kartar people. Teit lists a Southern Okanagon village Sāłī'lx̣ᵘ ("heaped house") situated "near the mouth of Similkameen River," according to his Northern Okanagon informant. The informant may very well have said "near the mouth of the river," meaning the Okanogan River, but which Teit took to mean the Similkameen. Immediately following he gives another village "TEkwora'tEm - On Okanagon River, close to .sāłī'lx̣ᵘ" (our no. 15) Teit, Salishan Tribes, 208). Sāłī'lx̣ᵘ must be a Kartar village and the same as Gibbs' Saht-lil-kwu. —L.S.[1]

[1] [For context of these footnotes, see p. 86(A), category 116. -- Analyst]

p. 86(c)

48. carī'pa.
49. lū'plūp, "salmon in little pools." 103
50. EnūkEnī'kEpūtEn, "cutting down tules." 361
51. ci'lōxwist.
52. ēnlāxūlāxswa'tkū, "rocks in the river." 619

The band affiliations of the two following Methow villages are not known.

53. lalae'lā'x.
54. snxEncī'naūx.

VILLAGE LIFE

There is no feeling of class distinction among these people. Every individual is free to make his own decisions and to choose his own manner of existence within the limitations of the culture pattern of the group. Thus, a man may fish, hunt or gamble when and where he chooses. He may establish himself and his family in any one of the village sites belonging to his immediate band or to a friendly band. Wherever he resides he must recognize the chief of that area as leader, but if the methods of a specific chief are displeasing, he may always move elsewhere. 181 571 565

An individual receives his nationality, not from the place of his nativity, but from the place where he resides the greater portion of his life. Thus, a Sinkaietk child captured and raised by the Blackfoot becomes, to a Sinkaietk mind, a Blackfoot of Sinkaietk parentage. 186 619 571 641

Actually, being free to go, they choose to stay. Family ties are very strong. The same group often winters at the same site year after year. The wealthy are respected and residence in their proximity is desirable, for practical reasons. In case of famine and extreme conditions, the wealthy assist the poor. Even a man who is poor because of laziness is not permitted to starve. He is cared for by his more enterprising and therefore more affluent relatives. 166 361 571

The power concept is a potent force in Sinkaietk social organization. Since power is not esoteric, every individual obtains some power, to a greater or lesser degree. The whole phenomenon makes for specialization. Thus, the leaders of group activities are chosen because of their abilities derived from specific powers. As a result, positions such as war leader, dance leader and house leader, hunting leader and curing doctor, are never hereditary and are not necessarily permanent during an individual's lifetime. 554 622 778

At all seasons of the year some families live in the hills. Single families are moving throughout the year, but at all times the villages along the rivers have the densest population, more so in winter than at any other season. A small group wintering apart from the main body of the band has no chief and sometimes does not even appoint a temporary headman, but the chief always knows where they are. For any specific acti- 361 621

For any specific activity like hunting, all group projects have a recognized head whose authorization is from his spirit power. 361 621 622.

After the fall hunt the chief announces his choice of a winter site at a meeting, and all who choose, follow him. Relatives like to winter together. Four or five sites are inhabited simultaneously by the band, each group moving as wood or hunting gives out. The quantity of available firewood at any given site determines its desirability as a winter camp. Two or three houses are always built together, a family never attempting to winter in isolation.

The mat houses are built in a single row along a creek or river (sometimes there is more than one row), their long axes running parallel to the stream, north and south, in order to afford the greatest security from the strong north winds. (The winter winds blow only from the north.) Beside these there are a few tule mat tipis and one or two underground lodges. Winter mat lodges had twenty to thirty occupants, thought Chilcwist Jim; some up to fifty. Ten or twelve such lodges were found in each winter village. Michel gave the size of a winter village as one long house holding three to six families, with one or two tipis, or a larger village as three or four long houses with five or six tipis. 342 361

All working together, they build first the chief's house, which is the largest, and then the others. There is some question as to whether others than those who are to occupy a dwelling feel called on to assist. Yet cooperation is essential for the efforts of several people are necessary in preparing the structure and setting the heavy poles in position. 342 476 622

In each house live a number of people who are not necessarily related but who are congenial. The house group is not formed casually, but by special invitation. Actually, the winter house is composed predominately of the same group from year to year, stability of the house and village group depending to a great extent upon the compatibility of personalities and the manner in which individuals treat each other's children. Laziness is tolerated but disapproved. A man too indolent to assist in keeping the snow scraped away from the house is not apt to be invited to share a winter house. Lazy, improvident and unfortunate people are cared for, however. They are provided with food without expectation of return, as such people are usually in continuously impoverished circumstances. 342 592 621

When all the houses are finished, and then only, individuals move into their private dwellings and store their provisions. The following day the chief's wife selects women to prepare food for a feast to be eaten in the middle of the day. The chief (without the assistance of a speaker) makes a speech and then the men eat. There is no singing or festivity. In earlier days, in- 342 574 796

342 stead of a feast, the women passed salmon
and bitter-root in a wooden dish to everyone.
574 As Lucy Joe said, "This was to pay for the
house, so that everyone would live all
796 winter."

That evening everyone returns to the
342 chief's house for "the washing of the house,"
a ceremony at which all adolescent children
852 are whipped ceremonially by a chosen man to
strengthen them. It is believed that if a
[761] child cries, it will not live long. Small
groups away from the chief's village hold
861 the ceremony in the largest house of the
group. A blanket is spread on the floor on
which each child, fully clad, lies in turn,
to receive about five strokes of the whip.
Smaller children are given fewer lashes, and
if a father thinks his child too little he
takes the blows himself, but the following
year the child will have to undergo the or-
deal. Each child is whipped in this fashion
once a year between the ages of five and
eleven. Cecile explained the ceremony: "It
is just like cleaning the house to do this."*

All members of the house eat together.
592 Each family keeps its supplies separately on
an outside platform. If married children
422 are living with the parents, their supplies
are kept together. The women cook together.
Each person has a regular sleeping place
along the wall and here near his bedding, he
keeps his personal possessions. Bow and
arrows are hung on a loop fixed to one of the
house posts to keep them from being knocked
about.

One of the oldest men who is known to
592 have much wisdom is usually looked up to as
a house leader. Billy Joe asserted that he
554 was one with considerable spirit power. If a
man is of good character (xast) he will take
the advice of an older man even though he is
not closely related, although it is not ob-
ligatory. A man who does not have this type
[578] of respect for his elders is called qast, as
would a disobedient child. There is no auth-
ority who determines where in the chosen vil-
[361] lage site a particular family is to set up
its house, or where in the house the beds
are to be. These matters are settled by
592 mutual consent without any discussion. Three
women in the same house may share one fire-

*38 See also Individual Life Cycle.

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Northeast Salish NE12
Northern Okanagon

place, but each family eats its own food. Parents may eat with married children, but the families of two brothers living in the same house eat separately.

Members of the winter village usually disperse to different food gathering sites in the summer. The village breaks up casually. There is no formal proclamation like the one which organizes it. Families leave one by one, taking the children along, particularly the girls. A boy may be allowed to stop away from the family if he wishes. If a group of brothers are living together, they usually move together.

Michel traced the movement of a winter village when he was about ten years old (circa 1885). The village site was a little above the present town of Okanogan on the river. The village broke up to go to set a big fishnet (weir?) at the waterfall on Omak Creek at sq!Ent, a few miles to the east. A man with salmon power had announced at the winter dance that he would place a net at sq!Ent at the proper time. The villagers reached there in the afternoon, most riding, but some walking when their horses were needed for packing. In this season the weather was still chilly, so that fires were laid inside the mat-covered tipis.

The summer camps are set up without any special organization. They are always near water, but houses may be on either side of the stream, and members of different bands may all camp in one place while gathering food. When a large group is camped together and all are members of one band, there is no reflections of their winter affiliations in the arrangement of the camp.

KINSHIP TERMS

Kinship terminology was obtained from both Sinkaietk and Northern Okanagon informants. It is clear from the following lists that the two systems are identical. It is impossible to judge whether phonetic differences are in all cases due to inexpert recording or represent in some instances functional phonetic differences between Okanagon proper and Sinkaietk dialects of the Okanagon language.

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5 NZ 601

Sinkaietk Northeast Salish NE12
Northern Okanagon

Tonasket[36]	Konkonelp[40]	Inkamip[41]	
yêR			the sixth generation removed and all preceding ancestors or succeeding descendants, beginning with great-great-great-great grandparents or great-great-great-great grandchildren.
tsûmí'n	cûmí'n	tsûmí'n	the fifth generation removed.
qô'psa	kô'psE	kô'pcE	the fourth generation removed.

36 See also Individual Life Cycle.
39 Informant, Andrew Tillson, Tonasket.
40 Informant, Suezen Timentwa, Konkonelp.
41 Informant, Tom Martin, Inkamip.

p. 88 (c)

3 Cline E-5 (1930) 1938 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19

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Northeast Salish NE12
Northern Okanagon

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601

Tonasket	Konkonelp	Inkemip
taEtōpa	tatō'p'	tatō'p'
sxa'xba	īcxa'p'	īcxa'p'
kiē'kiwa	kī'qwa	kī'qwa
ka'qEna'	ka'kna	ka'kēna
stEmtī'ma	tumtī'ma	tumtī'ma
snē'mat	cūnī'mat	sūnī'mat
lEī'ō	lī'ī'ūx	lī'ī'ūx
mī'stEm		mī'stūm
skiōī	kūl	kūl
tōm		tūm
sqsī		qūsī''i
stEmqEī'lt		tūmqī'ī'lt
ƒqa'ksa	ƒqa'qca	ƒEka'ksa
ƒtsī'sEnsa	sī'cēnsa	cī'sEnsa
ƒkī'kha	ƒkī'qxa	ƒEkī'qa
ƒtstsīō'ps	cEcaū'ps	sEsūō'ps
sEntxōs	cīntū's	
swawa'sa	tata'kwa''	suwa'wa'sa
skiō'qwe		
stata'kwa	cEwaūwa'ca''	sqō'kwē
sEsī'	cEcī'	sEsī'
smīƒ	camī'tƒ	sumī'ƒx
	ƒūī'ctEn	
sƒEƒEwīlt	cƒEƒūwī''lt	ƒEƒūwī'l't
cxēlūwē	xa'īlūī	xa'īlōweī
naxnūx	na'xanax	na'xōnax
	kEtūlmī'lūx	kūƒūnī'lūx
	pōcx'ī't	
	pōçaiiū'ūs	
	pōctīū'ūt	
ƒtsītsk	cītk	si'tsEkī
sxaxa	saxa'	xaxa''

[For footnote, see p. 89 (c), category 116. -- Analyst]

p. 89 (A)

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Northeast Salish NE12
Northern Okanagan

NS 601

the third generation removed. The above reciprocal terms are applied to all individuals of the specified generations, including in both maternal and paternal affiliations direct and collateral ancestors, and direct and collateral descendants of both sexes.

father's father, father's father's brother, father's mother's brother, man's son's child, man's brother's son's child, man's sister's son's child.

mother's father, mother's father's brother, mother's mother's brother, man's daughter's child, man's sister's daughter's child.

father's mother, father's mother's sister, father's father's sister, woman's son's child, woman's sister's son's child, woman's brother's son's child.

mother's mother, mother's mother's sister, mother's father's sister, woman's daughter's child, woman's sister's daughter's child, woman's brother's daughter's child.

inclusive term for all grandchildren.

father (man speaking).

father (woman speaking).

mother (man speaking).

mother (woman speaking).

son.

daughter.

elder brother.

younger brother.

elder sister.

younger sister. All cousins (both parallel and cross), including all collateral relatives of the speaker's generation, as well as step-brothers and sisters, half brothers and sisters, and adopted brothers and sisters, are called by the four terms above. Also, in speaking to unrelated people, these are often used in place of the term cEla't, "friend."

sibling.

mother's sister and her cross and parallel female cousins, both related and through marriage; step-mother and father's wife other than one's own mother.

father's sister and his cross and parallel female cousins, both related and through marriage.

mother's brother and her cross and parallel male cousins, both related and through marriage.

father's brother and his cross and parallel male cousins, both related and through marriage.

deceased parent's sibling.

inclusive term for niece and nephew, and husband's or wife's sibling's children.

husband.

wife.

first wife.

middle wife.

newest wife.

mother-in-law, mate's paternal and maternal aunts.

father-in-law, mate's paternal and maternal uncles.

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42 Duncan has evidently confused the terms for mother's sister and father's sister.

[For context of this footnote, see p. 89(A), category 116. -- Analyst]

3: Cline E-5 (1930) 1938 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
Sinkaietk
Northeast Salish NE12
Northern Okanagon

Tonasket	Konkonelp	Inkamip	
eqīī´lp			deceased mate's parents, deceased son's wife, deceased daughter's husband.
ntīmtn	ntīmtēn	ntī´mtEn	son-in-law's or daughter-in-law's parents.
cnīklū	sEnī´kEl^{xū}	sEnī´kEl^{xū}	daughter's husband.
sīpn	cī´pEn	sī´pEn	son's wife.
nkūlEmōt	nkūlEmō´t	nEkūlEmū´lt	relative-in-law living in same house.
	nata´mtEn		relative-in-law living apart.
ctsīxt	tcī´´ūxt		wife's brother, sister's husband (man speaking), wife's sister's husband, husband's sister's husband.
nEskīō	nEsqē´ō		wife's brother's wife, husband's brother's wife, husband's sister, brother's wife (woman speaking).
castEm	casta´m	cácta´m	wife's sister, sister's husband (woman speaking), husband's brother, brother's wife (man speaking).
nqō´ītstēn	nqō´ītstEn		brother's widow (man speaking), deceased husband's brother.
	nqō´ītstEm		brother's widow who has married another brother, husband's brother after the woman speaker has married deceased husband's brother.
nkūlūmtē´ōc			reciprocal. wives of cousins.

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601 Customarily, the Sinkaietk use the vocative form in direct address and the non-vocative, which is formed by the use of a personal pronoun and the kinship term, when speaking in the third person.

[71] This kinship system is characteristically Mackenzie Basin type,[43] in that all cousins, parallel and cross, are siblings, addressed as older brother, younger brother, older sister, younger sister. Parents are man's father, woman's father, man's mother, woman's mother, and children are son and daughter. Nomenclature for paternal and maternal affiliations is bifurcate collateral in the parent and grandparent generations. Maternal and paternal aunts and uncles are differentiated by four terms, which are also applied to their cross and parallel cousins and cousins-in-law. There is one general term for grandchild. Then there are four reciprocal terms used between the four classes of grandparents and grandchildren, the distinction being based on the sex of the affiliating parent.

In all other generations, the male and female relatives on either side are merged into a single reciprocal term which designates generation alone. This generation terminology with reciprocity is typically Salish.[44] There is only one term for niece and nephew. This is used also to indicate wife's and husband's siblings' children.

601 768 587 After a death, forms of address toward certain relatives change. A widow and her husband's brothers use a new reciprocal term. The parents of a deceased mate and the living spouse use a new reciprocal term, and a special term is used for a deceased parent's siblings.

43 Spier, Kinship Systems, 76.
44 Spier, idem., 74.

601 The term castēm, directly correlated
768 with the functioning of the levirate and sor-
587 orate, is applied to wife's sister, woman's
sister's husband, husband's brother, man's
brother's wife.

Parents-in-law use a reciprocal term,
601 which is also applied to the parents-in-law
of any relative. The concept of relatives-
602 in-law living in the same house and rela-
tives-in-law living apart is expressed in
592 two terms. This is a reflection in the kin-
ship system of the normal composition of the
household. Relatives-in-law are frequently
inmates of the same communal house.

VILLAGE COMPOSITION

In the village in which Lucy Joe lived,
near Kartaro, there were five house sites.
She does not remember all the inmates of the
houses, but all were in some way related to
her. KEīpūqtsī'nEkin, the head of one house-
hold, was no relation, therefore was not
called by a kinship term but his wife, who
was a Kartar woman named sōqapkEna'lūks, was
the cousin of Lucy Joe's mother, so Lucy Joe
called her aunt (swawa'sa). Lucy Joe called
this woman's daughters "sister" (īkī'ka).

In another long house lived nmaswi'st,
Michel Brooks' father, who was her first
cross cousin. He was married to tsūmatē'-
lūqs, a Konkonelp woman.

Lucy Joe's paternal grandmother, qwaīk-
Enma'lūxs, was a Konkonelp woman and her pa-
159 ternal grandfather was from Nespelem. Qwaīk-
Enma'lūxs used to give food away to all the
neighbors at the founding of the new winter
village each year. This is no longer done,
but people say to Lucy Joe, "Your name is

621 qwaikEnma lūxs. When are you going to give things away to start the village?"

159 Lucy Joe's father was a Northern Okanagon, her mother Sanpoil. She herself, having lived much of her life at Kartaro is considered a Kartar. She has lived in Konkonelp and Nespelem territory also. She was born between Kartaro and Nespelem when her family was travell'ng.

Julie Josephine and Lucy Joe are first cross cousins. Julie Josephine as a little girl lived for two winters in a village between Kartaro and Lake Omak. Then her parents decided to move to Sqwint in Konkonelp territory and lived there for two winters. Wherever they went, they stayed for several winters and then moved on. Most of their winter homes were in Kartar territory, however, so Julie Josephine is a Kartar. Her maternal grandfather, sī'pa's, was a Kartar. Her maternal grandmother was Konkonelp. Her paternal grandfather was Tukoratum, and her paternal great grandmother was Konkonelp.

At one time, Julie Josephine lived in the same village as Lucy Joe. Her family lived on the east side of the creek in a long house with three fires in it. This was next to Lucy Joe's house, but nearer the creek. On the west side was a very long house belonging to the chief swīpqe'n, where the people danced.

At this village, kEfpūqtse'nixEn was village announcer and whipped the children when the village was completed each year. He switched the children severely until they yelled, before pushing them away. Julie Josephine was never a sīsīxō mxax, that is, a girl undergoing puberty rites; girls' puberty rites have not been observed in the last eighty years, so since she did not put her hair up she was not called pu'vpu'x [?].

[221]

INHERITANCE AND PROPERTY

423 Food sites and tribal territory theoretically belong to the tribe, but all friendly tribes are welcome to share the hunting, fishing and food gathering sites at any time. All other property is strictly personal. Husband and wife do not have common possessions. Even stored food is not a common possession. It belongs to the woman and is hers to barter away as she sees fit.

[619]

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428 There are three types of inheritable properties: material possessions, personal names, and power. At death, a near relative of the deceased takes the material property and distributes it as he sees fit during the period of mourning. At the death of a married man who has a brother, the latter usually gives away the property. This may be one result of the functioning of the levirate. It was said a chief would so function for

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the widow if there was no brother. The deceased's parents and brothers and sisters get most of his property, friends share the rest. The surviving mate and children keep practically nothing. In fact, they give away part of their own personal property as well, in order to meet with social approval, although it often means severe hardship in the future. It seems probable that there is a formalized pattern for distributing the personal property of the deceased, which cannot be adequately described in this paper due to the lack of information. 428

Cecile Brooks says that the property of the deceased was not given away in the old days as it is now. Members of the immediate family continued using the property. "Families needed all they had in those days; they did not own many extra things."[45]

If the deceased person had been well-liked, or if he possessed a famous family name, some time after the death, the name will be presented to some young person at a feast held for this purpose. It is said that the same name is not found in two families. Since inheritance of names may be from either the maternal or paternal lines, it is clear that names must sometimes pass from one family to another. 428 553

Power is inherited in a dream. This seldom happens, but a person who had not been able to find power alone may dream that a dead relative appears to him and presents his power. From this time on, such a person has the right to sing the deceased's power song and use his power. 428 778 789

CRIME AND PUNISHMENT

There is practically no thievery within the tribe, since any property may be had for the asking. It is known that there are occasional kleptomaniacs who steal, not from necessity, but for the pleasure of stealing. Such persons are not ordinarily punished, but if they become too much of a public nuisance, someone may kill them in exasperation. 626 685

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, Ross Cox records that "Acts of dishonesty are of rare occurrence among either men or women.... Their principal amusement is gambling, at which they are not so quarrelsome as the Spokans and other tribes; but when any doubtful case occurs, it is referred for arbitration to one of their elders, by whose decisions the parties strictly abide."[46] 525 626

This influence of the elders is the factor in Plateau organization that keeps peace and order. No younger person of good character ever disobeys the command of any older person. 626

45 Compare Individual Life C[illegible]

46 Cox, Adventures on the Columb[illegible]
[illegible], 206-207.

p. 91 (B)

682 628 602 After a murder, the deceased's family often kills the murderer for revenge. It may, but more usually does not, develop from this point into a regular feud of years' duration, depending on whether the murderer's family thinks that the revenge is justified. If the murderer is from another village two men will usually go off to find and kill him; the revenge party is never larger. If a feud is started, the chief talks, trying to persuade his people to stop fighting, but there is nothing more effective that he can do to check the feud.

682 628 602 437 Sometimes payment is taken in compensation for the murdef of a relative. The first step is taken by the murderer to keep the others from seeking his life. He tells the chief that he is ready to make a certain payment in such things as blankets, provisions and weapons. The payment is usually so large that the murderer is impoverished for some time in the future. If the injured family accepts his offer as made through the chief, the affair is ended. Should they refuse the payment, it is clear that they intend to kill the murderer. There is no fixed valuation set on a life.

539 628 The following Colville tale, told by Johnnie Louie, illustrates the nature of a feud. While it is Colville and involves other tribes as well, there is no reason to suppose it does not also represent the situation among the Sinkaietk. Despite its supernatural elements, it was told as an historical happening of the mid-eighteenth century.

Quinmusq had a brother-in-law from Cusick, a Spokan man. They decided to go to Cusick for camas digging. Quinmusq, his sister, her husband, and baby went from Kettle Falls to Cusick. Quinmusq left them for several days. His sister went to look for him. When she found him, he had gambled away everything he had. She was angry and told him to come back to camp because they were leaving. He went with her.

Back at camp, his sister was just taking some camas from the pit. He took a hand ful to chew. His sister said, "You eat it, but you wouldn't help get it." She called him a dog and other names. He spat out the camas, threw it down and walked away. He waited around a couple of days. His brother-in-law came back and scolded his wife for scolding her brother. Then she tried to reason with her brother.

They all took packs. About two days out of Cusick they came to a river. Quinmusq told his brother-in-law, "You'd better go and get some crawfish to bake at noon." The brother-in-law went. Quinmusq waited until he was gone; then he took his brother-in-law's bow and arrows. He started after him. His sister saw him and grabbed a big knife. Quinmusq ran to the edge of the river where his brother-in-law was digging crawfish and shot him in the back. His brother-in-law looked up and saw that it was Quinmusq who

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had shot him. He leaped up the bluff, with the arrow in his back. Quinmusq shot five more arrows into him and killed him.

His sister came straight for him with the knife. He told her to stop; that he would shoot her if she did not. She said, "Shoot me if you want to," and kept coming. He shot her through the heart and shot five more arrows into her body. There he left her and ran back to camp. The baby was there on the cradle board. He took it up and smashed its head against a tree.

Then he went back to Colville. His people asked, "Where are your sister and her husband?" He told them that he had got tired of staying with them and left them; that they would be back in the fall sometime that there were lots of camas to dig there.

Just a week later, the sister's dog came back to Cusick. The Cusick people recognized it. The dog's face was all greasy. They thought he had been eating bear. Then the dog made motions as if he were going to throw up. He did and a long black braid of hair came up. The people went to see what it was, and some of the brother-in-law's relatives knew the braid was his. They thought some enemy tribe had met the four on the way home and killed them. They did not suspect Quinmusq.

Finally about fifty good fighters started out. They came to the flat where the four had camped. Pretty soon they found the baby with its head smashed by the tree. They saw the woman's body and then the man's down by the river. Now Quinmusq's big toe was crooked and turned back on his other toes. Everywhere were Quinmusq's tracks, but no enemy tracks. So they knew that he had killed the three. They followed his tracks.

The Spokan went back and told their chief. He said, "All you warriors, go and kill that fellow. He killed his own sister as well as one of our people." They knew where Quinmusq hunted every year in the fall. So the chief sent them to kill Quinmusq and all his people. He told them to wait for Quinmusq where he would go to hunt.

The Spokan started. Early in the morning they arrived and asked the people for Quinmusq. The people told them that Quinmusq with his three brothers was down by the river sweating. The leader of the warriors said, "We just want Quinmusq's people. We won't hurt anybody else. He killed his brother and sister in the summer." So they killed the mother and father of Quinmusq.

Quinmusq was way in the back of the sweat house. He was so fierce that he always had his big knife in the sweat house just inside the door. The Spokan called to them. Finally the first brother jumped out and was killed with spears and bows and arrows. The second went out and was killed. The third sang his power song. Then he went out. When they shot at him they missed. He

fell down and jumped up. They chased him but could not catch him. They drove him toward a huge fallen tree. They did not think he could jump over it. He could not. He jumped and landed on his stomach across the top of it. They shot him in the back. He fell over on the other side, jumped up and began running again. The Spokan told him, "Come back and be killed. You are shot. You will only die out there anyway." He said, "You haven't done anything to hurt me," and ran for a day until he met some Colville Indians who took the arrow out of his back. He told them the story. So these Colville turned back. 539 628

Quinmusq stayed in the sweat house while his enemies taunted him, called him a woman, told him his brothers were dead. He had forgotten about his knife being there, so he sang his power song and leaped. It did no good. His body was full of arrows and spears. When he fell near the river he was dead. They cut him all to pieces and threw him in the river.

They went back to the camp and told the rest of the Colville not to be angry. They said, "If we had killed only Quinmusq, it would have started a lot of trouble. His brothers would have fought then." So the Colville fed them deer meat. Then they packed up their arrows and went back.

Quinmusq lay in the river until everything was quiet again. All his power animals came to him then. They gathered up the parts of his body and put them together. Fishes, mud turtles, grizzlies and all kinds of power animals came and brought him back to life. But he still had the scars all over his body.

He went back to the camp, but everybody had packed up and left there. There he saw his mother dead, and his father. Two brothers were dead at the sweat house, but he could not find the other. Then he thought about his knife. He got it and started after the Spokan. Seeing them, he ran clear around them and waited by a fish trap where they would cross.

Some of them said, "Oh, what it would be if old Quinmusq were across there." They shouted this to plague the dead Quinmusq. At the very time he was opposite them in the brush. The first man started across. Quinmusq whooped and stabbed him. The others all fell in up river and came down against the trap. Quinmusq ran up and down the trap slaughtering them. He killed all but two, whom he sent back to tell their people the story. "The next time you get mad, tell all your fierce men to come to fight."

When these two got back to Ealispel [sic] and told the story, the chief said, "We might just as well make peace now. We'll be friends with the Colville. We can't do anything with Quinmusq." So they made peace.

No payment is ever accepted as compensation for adultery. If a man is sufficient- 684 626

ly annoyed to do anything about a discovered liaison of his wife, he kills the offender, thus placing himself in danger of blood revenge. 684 626

If a man kills several people, he achieves fame as a "mean" man, and the people treat him with respect because they think he has great power. Such men are not customarily punished through group action. David Isaac reports the following exception among the Northern Okanagon. 626

Two Thompson Indian brothers who lived near Lake Okanogan were always being mean to the people near them and occasionally killing someone in fierce fights. They lived entirely alone, away from the other people. Nobody liked them.

One day the younger brother was seen to go off hunting alone, so some of the people got together and decided to kill the older brother. They went to his place in a body, and the strongest men sat closest to him and told him that the people had grown lonesome for him, and wanted him to come back to live with them. Then, when he showed his meanness, they suddenly grabbed him and fought. They stabbed him again and again and finally subdued him and cut his head off.

When the younger brother came back and saw what they had done, he picked up several bows and arrows and walked over to the village. There he told the people that since they had killed his brother they might as well kill him too, that he wished it. But the people said that he must live. They had killed his brother because he was mean and had killed many people for fun, but they decided to let the younger brother live.

This was not long ago. A daughter of the older brother is still living near Oroville.

According to Suszan Timentwa, the present chief, in pre-white days the chief ordered offenders to be tattooed plainly on the body where it would show: on the forehead, cheek, arm or chest. For stealing, the tattoo was black; for adultery, yellow; and for fighting, red. It might be a circle, a streight line, a bird's foot, or a deer head. The tattoo was made by pressure pricking with a needle and rubbing paint into the wound. 681 304

For the first offense the culprit was painted with one mark. If the crime was not repeated, the chief would say, "He is a good man now, better than we are." If the crime was repeated, a second mark was put on. After the third offense, the people said, "He is no good. Send him away," and they cut off his hair before they banished him. If a foreigner committed a crime, his hair was cut off on the first offense and he was sent away.

If a chief found in the old days that Indians were killing animals for fun, or wastefully, he stopped it. The Sinkaietk

73(B)

681 say, "If you kill an animal and throw it
304 away, it dies forever. If you eat it and throw away the bones, it will come to life again. That is why things are dead forever now, because white men kill for pleasure and do not eat everything." The chief warns wasteful Indians three times. Then, if they do not improve, the chief says, "Take them over here and cut off their hair and tell them to go some place and never come back." Such culprits might come back later, declare their good intentions, and be accepted into the group again.

The above information was denied by all other informants, each declaring that the Sinkaietk never tattooed, cut hair, nor banished culprits.

681 Punishment of crime has become much
more rigid since the advent of the Catholic
693 priests. They are said to have introduced a
simple judicial system with policemen (cūlEn-
797 ka'm), trial (cqwakwa'lickīm), witnesses (sīn'mipa'l^{x}), a judge, a whipper (cō'ītsEm) and a counter of the strokes (tsEka'm).

696 The policeman, who carries a stick when
summoning a culprit, takes his prisoners to
625 the chief. For doing this work, he receives no payment. The only punishment meted out is whipping. The people all assemble in front of the village to hear the trial and to watch the whipping.

695 At the trial, the chief appoints a man as judge to determine the number of strokes to be given. Witnesses speak before the assembled people, reporting the culprit's misdemeanors.

681 From fifty to one hundred lashes are
given for the first offense of murder, adul-
696 tery, or stealing. Before the whipping begins, the chief exhorts the criminal to behave in the future, for a second offense will bring an even more severe punishment.

696 Most bands place the culprit facing a tree and tie his wrists behind it. Among the Tukoratum, the victim, with arms folded across the breast, both palms flat against the ribs, kneels with forehead touching the ground. Men with clubs stand nearby, ready to kill the culprit should he try to escape. The whipper takes his place and lifts his whip as the counter counts the strokes.

The whip used is a long leather thong with small stones and sand caught in the braids. It usually draws blood after a few lashes. If the whip should break, it is attributed to the man's power. If the whip breaks three times, the whipper will fear the man's power, so the man will be freed. If the man dies in the course of the whipping, it is considered just. If either the whipper or the counter exceeds the verdict

1 [For context of these footnotes, see p. 94 (B), category 116. -- Analyst]

47 Ross, Alexander, Adventures, 292. 1

48 Ibid., 293. 1

p. 94 (A)

696 in strokes, the one who has made the mistake is whipped himself and removed from office.

692 As part of the new system, each week the people confess their misdemeanors to the chief and are given trial for serious offenses. Backsliders in confession are reported by their neighbors.

CHIEFTAINSHIP

181 622 554 "The government, or ruling power among the Okinackens [Sinkaietk] is simple yet effective, and is little more than an ideal system of contr... The chieftainship descends from father to son: it is, however, merely a nominal superiority in most cases. Their general maxim is, that Indians were born to be free, and that no man has a natural right to the obedience of another, except he be rich in horses and has many wives; yet it is wonderful how well the government works for the general good, and without any coercive power to back the will of the chief, he is seldom disobeyed: the people submit without a murmur."[1]

622 554 In each band of the Sinkaietk chiefs are hereditary and the most important persons in the tribe in regard to moral influence. Chiefs are not necessarily the wealthiest men in the group; this is usually the case, however, because of the many gifts received from the people.

[577] A chief and his family are supposed to exemplify the virtues of the group. A chief should know no fear and should neither lie, steal, nor fight with his own people. It is his duty to exemplify the ethical standards of the social unit, to exhort the people concerning these duties, and to advise them against getting into trouble.

622 "Every morning at the dawn of day, the head chief rides or walks around the camp or village and harangues as he goes: the business of the day is then and there settled; but he never interferes with the affairs of families or individuals. All the movements of the camp, as a whole, as well as hunting and other matters of consequence, are settled by the chief's authority alone; and all weightier matters, of peace or war, are settled by the chief and council."[1]

[624] According to present informants, this morning harangue described by Ross (and another in the evening) is, and always has been, the duty of the chief's spokesman, the tribal attitude being that it is improper for the chief to address directly the people in public.

622 554 The chief's family is supposedly the best trained family of the band in moral precepts, since this ideal of Sinkaietk virtue is constantly before their attention through

[1] [For footnote, see p. 94 (A), category 116. -- Analyst]

p. 94 (B)

the duties of the chief. Michel Brooks says that a son of a chief is chosen as his successor because he knows how to be chief, having heard all that his father has said before him. Even so, the children of the chief are respected and judged according to their individual merits. 622 554

The members of a chief's family are not known by a distinctive term. Terms of a purely descriptive nature, such as, wife of the chief (pōī lmixūm), or child of the chief (nkaīelmī xūm) are used during the life of the chief. Even the eldest son, who is recognized as the one who will most certainly succeed to his father's position, is not designated by any distinctive term.

In selecting a wife, the chief need not choose a girl from a wealthy family; it is more important that she be a chaste and industrious individual. A chief's child may marry into a lazy and improvident family without disapproval. Personal compatibility is the first essential in marriage. There is no conception of good birth in any except the chief's family, and this recognition does not approximate an attitude of caste. 622 581

The wife of a chief works just as does any other woman, but her suggestions are received by the other women with respect and are usually followed. The women talk to her as they do to anyone else; some may establish a very free verbal joking relationship with her, but no woman argues with her concerning a disputed point. She attempts to prevent quarrelling among the women. If the chief has several wives, it is not the oldest, but the one who receives his greatest favor, who is most respected by the other women of the band. 622 554

Sisters of the chief are considered worthy of some respect. There is no such feeling regarding women who are particularly skillful at the tasks of women. It is said of such a woman that she is smart, but this does not mean that her suggestions are certain to be followed.

Power was not a necessary attribute for holding the office of chief. Reputation as a warrior was not considered essential. The ability to organize successful hunting, fishing, and gathering expeditions is the most important requisite of office. Mary Carden says, "A chief has to be a good manager and have good sense." 622 555

Informants from the Konkonelp and Tukoratum bands agree that ordinarily a chief does not participate in daily activities. The people say, "You be chief. You stay in one place. We will take care of you. You tell us how to get food, and take care of us in time of trouble." Then, the best of all the food gathered or killed is given to the 622

[For context of these footnotes, see p. 95(B); category 116. -- Analyst]

49 Ross, Alexander, Adventures, 293.
50 Spier and Sapir, Wishram, 212.

p. 95(A)

man and woman chiefs, divided between them. They use what they need and keep the surplus on reserve for the people until time of want. 622

Chilowhist Jim, a Methow informant, says of chiefs, "They do little work, just stay in the house all day and talk and smoke. But they care for their people well, keep track of everyone, where each person is, what he is doing and how successful he is in everything. A man, before making a trap or taking a trip of even one day, talks it over with the chief." The Kartar agree with the Northern Okanagon tribe in saying that their chiefs work just the same as ordinary people.

Suszen Timentwa insists that there may be two or three chiefs at one time in a band, each with equal authority, and that they take turns in directing tribal affairs.

"Each nation or principal tribe has generally two chiefs; one for the village, and another called the war-chief. The former is the head of the tribe; and, as already observed, holds his office by lineal descent: the latter is elective, and chosen by the voice or whim of the majority of the people." 622 624 ÷

All other informants deny that the Sinkaietk bands have more than one chief at a time. The war chief referred to here by Alexander Ross is probably only the war leader, described as an individual possessing great power and respect but having no permanent official position. Each band has one chief, who, in accordance with the loose social organization of the group, functions as a tribal manager rather than as a despot controlling life and death, as did the chiefs of the tribes to the south on the Columbia River. ÷ Even though he prove selfish and inefficient, and meet with serious disapproval on the part of some, the group will continue to respect him as chief.

According to Mary Carden, all four of the Sinkaietk bands as well as the Methow and Chelan tribes have chieftainesses (and malt, woman of great authority) as well, who serve in an advisory capacity. 622 562

The chieftainess is officially elected. She receives formal appointment at a council meeting just as the chief does. Apparently this office is hereditary through the male line; these women are always related to the chief, and at death, the office passes to another female relative, and in no recorded case from mother to daughter.

There are apparently differences in the status of such women in the several bands. In the Tukoratum band, whereas the chief served as the group manager, the woman skumalt was a consulting adviser only in cases of murder, revenge or emergencies. If her decision differed from that of the chief, the

÷ [For footnotes, see p. 95 (A), category 116. -- Analyst]

p. 95 (B)

622 people were free to follow either. Amity
might be advised but could not be enforced.
562 Suszen Timentwa, who has lived among Konkonelp and Kartar people, pictures these women chieftainesses as group managers, serving as sole chief of the band from their appointment to office until death. It is doubtful if this was ever the case in either band; for the male hereditary chiefs are remembered for five generations back in both bands, and contemporary women skū malt are recorded for the Konkonelp band. Kartar informants declare that women never had a voice in council and that there were no women chieftainesses. In consideration of their close social affiliation[1] with the Nespelem tribe, this is intelligible, since the Nespelem never vested authority in women.[52]

562 This recognition among the Sinkaietk of
the equality of women is not unexpected.
184 Ross Cox, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, comments upon the independence of the women of the lower Columbia.

"The treatment of women differs materially among the various tribes.... Among the lower tribes, however, where their exertions in collecting the Wappitoo roots contribute to the general support, they assume an air of liberty and independence quite unknown among the upper natives [Kutenai, Flathead, Spokan], and in all cases of importance the elder women, equally with the men, are consulted."[53]

Such women are also known among the Coeur d'Alêne:

"There were no female chiefs, and women had no direct voice in the elections of chiefs. However, the influence of some women was powerful in moulding public opinion. A woman who had chief-like qualities, who was good, intelligent, sagacious, and liberal, was called sq'o mâ'lt. Such women were highly respected, and their opinions treated with consideration. Some of them occasionally made speeches before the people and chiefs."[54]

There is no difference in function between the Coeur d'Alêne sq'o mâ'lt and the Sinkaietk skū malt. The latter women have greater honor, however, for their position is official while that of the Coeur d'Alêne women is not.

293 In the old days, among the Konkonelp
and Tukoratum bands, supposedly no one but a
554 chief could wear an eagle feather headdress
clear around the head. A "mean" man, that
622 is, of an aggressive, desperado disposition,
might make a headdress of eagle feathers and

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1 [For footnote, see p. 96 (c), category 116 -- Analyst]

52 Ray, Sanpoil and Nespelem.

53 Cox, Adventures on the Columbia River, 235.

54 Teit, Salishan Tribes, 154.

p. 96 (A)

293 554 622 [304] wear it in battle and at group gatherings. Such men were not criticized by the people. In later days, anyone can wear such a headdress, but the chief's is always the most ornate. The woman skú'malt has no special dress, but she is better dressed than any other woman of the band, and always wears a shell through her pierced septum, a sign of wealth.

622 "The royal insignia of an Indian king or chief is simple, and is always known in the camp. The Oakinacken [Konkonelp band in this instance] emblem is a white wolf-skin, fantastically painted with rude figures of different colours — the head and tail decorated with the higua, "bears' claws, and the teeth of different animals — suspended from a pole in a conspicuous place near the chief's lodge.

"On our first arrival among this people, the wolf-skin was always to be seen waving conspicuously from the pole; but as they began to associate and get accustomed to us, they became less particular in exhibiting the ensigns of royalty."[1]

292 622 The Kartar chief, on special occasions, wears a buckskin shirt fringed at all the seams and carries a fan made of the wing of a crane or swan. A "mean" man may possess a fringed shirt also, painted and worn for power. Such a man may wear a fringed shirt at any time without objections from the chief.

276 622 The new chief of the Kartar band is always given the tribal pipe which belonged to his predecessor. The pipe is a large one made of stone. The chief passes it around in formal gatherings. He carries this pipe in a special fringed buckskin bag, sewed with hemp or sinew and decorated with porcupine quills. This stone pipe is called sinaiostn. The chief of the neighboring Nespelem tribe also has a stone pipe called sinaiostn. This formal smoking of the pipe at special gatherings is characteristic of the Plains.

622 [165] If a chief is sick a long time before death, he may appoint his eldest son to take his place, or if a chief reaches senility, he appoints the new chief and retires. Sometimes a chief may be displeased with his children, considering them disobedient, and name instead one of his own brothers or a near male relative to take the office. When the old people's council meets, they announce the chief's wish to everyone. These forms of appointment seldom occur since most men die a violent death.

[For footnote, see p. 116 (C), category 116. — A.

p. 116 (E)

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[1] Michel Brooks says that the Kartar feel that the Nespelem belong to the Sinkaietk tribe.
[2] Hay, Carroll and Nespelem.
[3] Cox, Adventures on the Columbia River, 235.
[4] Teit, Salishan Tribes, 154.
[5] Hiaqua is the bead-like shell money wound from clam shells.
[6] Ross, Alexander, Adventures, 291.

[1] [For context of these footnote See pp. 96(A), 96(B), category 116. -- Analyst]

p. 96 (C)

Normally a new chief is appointed at the death of the old. The person selected is always a son, brother or near relative of the deceased. When the chief dies, people wait about a year, until his wife ceases mourning, before choosing another. Then the relatives of the dead chief send word to everybody in the band to come to a meeting on a certain day, usually in spring when there is plenty of food. Some relatives who live nearby arrive two or three days early to help gather food and get ready. There are no games nor dancing on this occasion. 622 765

On the appointed day, all of the old men and women form a council to decide who shall be the new chief. They always choose the dead chief's eldest son, if he is grown. The son may refuse, saying he does not feel old enough for the responsibility. Apparently it is good form to refuse and be coaxed by the people. Then the council may appoint an older man, usually the dead chief's brother, if one is living. When it is decided the new appointment is announced to all of the band. The young people present have no voice in the matter. They utilize the occasion to carry on flirtations. As a finale, everyone eats together; the food being provided by the chief's family. 623 [584]

The selection of a new chief by the Sinkaietk band offers an interesting illustration of discrepancy between theory and practice. In theory, the people choose the chief and he holds office as long as he retains their approval. Any individual may be chosen, parentage supposedly not determining the selection. In practice, chieftainship is hereditary, and there is no known instance of a chief ever having been deposed from office. The following successions of band chiefs indicate this clearly. 622

These recorded lines of succession for the Tukoratum, Konkonelp and Kartar bands of the Sinkaietk tribe and for the Chilowhist band of the Methow tribe were obtained from Mary Carden. They go back to approximately the beginning of the nineteenth century, and continue down to the break-up of the political organization of the individual bands. These records would indicate that the office of the chieftainess was not of as great import in the political organization of the bands as that of the chief, for women officials were eliminated before the latter. 173 622

Clyé qwEkEn was chief (yilemí'xüm) of the Tukoratum band during the days of Mary Carden's great-grandparents. He married a Tukoratum woman and was succeeded by keket-Emána ds, his son, who married first a Nespelem woman, and after her death, a Chelan woman. He was succeeded by küxküxta'skEt, a younger brother, who married two Tukoratum women who were not sisters. He was the last of the Tukoratum chiefs. He was killed in approximately 1860, when his sons were still too young to be chiefs. The band has been guided since by reservation chiefs appointed by the Government.

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Sī ntkū, a contemporary of cīyá qwEkEn and his cousin, was a chieftainess (skū mált) of the Tukoratum band. She was followed by klaōtsiapī tsa, a cousin. The latter was not formally appointed at sī ntkū's death, but she had much wisdom so the people called her skū mált and went to her for advice. She died a few years after the death of kūxkūxtá-skEt.

Txwista skEt was chief of the Konkonelp band and a contemporary of cīyá qwEkEn. He married two Konkonelp women who were not sisters, and was succeeded by his son, nōxtá-skEt, who married a Nespelem woman. Kūmkūmī-Epō sEmEn, a younger brother, succeeded nōxta skEt, and married a Nespelem woman. He was succeeded by his son, EntaktcEnīxū, who also married a Nespelem woman. The latter's son, EntáktcEnīxū, is Johnnie Frank who now lives at Nespelem. Johnnie Frank has been appointed chief by the Government as well as by the people.

Sqwal īpa ls was chieftainess of the Konkonelp band, contemporaneously with txwīsta skEt. She was succeeded by her niece, tcūtcūwé l ks, who was the last chieftainess of this band.

Xwīstásūmxa ī'kEn (Walking Grizzly) was chief of the Kartar band and a contemporary of cīyá qwEkEn. He married two Kartar sisters and a Nespelem woman. He was succeeded by his son, xwīstásūmxa ī'kEn, whose mother was one of the Kartar women. He married two Kartar women who were not sisters, and was succeeded by a son, sūwīpūka'īn, who married a Kartar woman, a Nespelem woman, and a Similkameen woman. He was a contemporary of Chief Moses of the Moses Columbia band, and died in 1872. Sūwīpūka'īn was succeeded by a brother's son, sōyī mēt'kEn, who married a Konkonelp woman. Suszen Timentwa, the present chief of the Kartar band, was appointed by the Government with the people's sanction. His grandmother was a sister of sōyī mēt'kEn's father. He is now living at Malott on an allotment.

Mary says that the entire Mathow tribe was under the rule of one chief only, who usually lived at ci lōxwist, on the Okanogan River. Sqalō'ska sket was a contemporary of cīyá qwEkEn. He married a Chilowhist woman, a Tukoratum woman, and a lalaē la'x woman. He is the only chief whom Mary knows about who depended on his spirit power in managing his people, rather than on "good common sense."

Of the Chelan tribe, kanī mt'kū was chieftainess during the days of cīyá qwEkEn, and was a distant cousin of the Chelan chief who was her contemporary. She was followed by an unappointed skū mált woman. "There were government laws by this time and chiefs were not necessary."

p.97(B) Mēla'īnEm was chief of the Sīnkaqaī'ī'ūs during the days of Cīyá qwEkEn.[57 ½]

½ [For footnote, see p.97(C), category 11 ½. -- Analyst]

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57 An account of the Moses Columbia chief Sulktesku'aun will be found in the section on Religion. 1/

1/ [For context of this footnote, see p. 97(B), category 116. -- Analyst]

P. 97 (c)

Headmen

622 In every village other than the village in which the chief is residing, there is a headman (xa'tū c). Should the band chief wish to use his authority, it must be followed by the headman. The headman is not appointed by the chief, and acts freely on his own judgment without consulting the chief, directing the communal hunting and fishing of the village, and the summer and winter camping. The women do not need a headwoman to direct their food gathering. The headman wears no special insignia, nor is he appointed with a formal ceremony. He holds office through his ability to have dreams telling him where to direct the group for successful hunting. He always gives winter dances in his house. He is not necessarily a good warrior. When various villages are together in the absence of the chief, the headmen decide among themselves who shall direct the communal fishing or hunting.[58]

[555 787]

Chief's Helpers

624 701 The chief appoints, without any particular public announcement, promising young men as his aides (skōlsti'ckūm), and in recompense for their work, he treats them as sons. They retain their position as long as they are efficient. Of these, some as sentinels (cūxkwitiatiacūmi ct) are kept on the hills day and night, presumably only at the time an attack is expected. When they see enemies approaching, they warn the villagers.

624 [202] The chief never addresses the people publicly himself. He has a spokesman (cūxwawa m) who delivers his message in a loud voice. Other duties of the cūxwawa'm are to carry messages to scattered members of the band, to carry food from the chief to hungry families early in the spring and to report to him on their condition, to awaken the people early in the morning before a hunt, to tell people what they are to do for the day, to exhort them concerning their morals, telling them not to be ungracious, lazy, or thieves, and to announce a death, or the break-up of the camp. As Lucy Joe so picturesquely said, "All around the village, one spring morning, the crier would halloo 'These people are going to move to Nespelem! These people are going to move somewhere else! We are all going to move, to go get berries,' and so we moved."

The chief has a second public spokesman (cōxqōlqwe ilt) who enunciates his speech slowly and softly. He functions only at indoor gatherings, such as a name-changing ceremony after a death, or for the shaman at the winter dances. He repeats exactly what he is told to say. For this he receives payment in blankets or horses.

According to Suszen, all of the chief's

1/A [For context of this footnote, see p. 98(B), category 11b. -- Analyst]

58 Compare the house leaders

59 Ross, Alexander, Adventures, 293. 1/A

624 helpers tie one or two eagle feathers to their back hair to indicate their position. All other informants deny that the chief's helpers have ever used feathers or any other objects as insignia of their position.

COUNCIL

623 Matters of great weight such as revenge, personal disputes and starvation are referred for consideration to a group meeting, composed of the chief, the chieftainess, and a council of all the old people of the band. Group meetings are never held concerning everyday routine, such as moving, hunting or food gathering. Such work is directed by the chief alone.

Ross, in his description, does not mention the inclusion of women in the council. Further, he stresses worthy personal achievement rather than age as the basis for membership in the council. The present Sinkaietk retain no memory of this earlier form in composing the council.

"On all state occasions, of peace or war, the chief has the assistance of a council; that is, he calls all the great men together, they form a ring, sometimes in the chief's lodge, sometimes in the open air. No one is admitted into the council, except he can show some marks or trophy of war, or has performed some praiseworthy deed, according to their ideas, or else he must be rich in horses or have many wives; or, lastly, he may be called by the chief, and that entitles him to a seat without any other qualification. The council being seated, and the ceremonial pipe smoked, the chief, in his usual sitting posture, holds down his head, as if looking to the ground, then opens the business of the meeting by a speech, closing every sentence with great emphasis, the other councilors vociferating approbation. As soon as the chief is done speechifying, others harangue also; but only one at a time. The decision of the council is sure to be zealously carried into effect; but, in all ordinary matters, the chief is not more conspicuous than any other individual, and he seldom interferes in family affairs, or the ordinary routine of daily occurrences; and this, I think, adds greatly to the dignity of his character."[1/A]

171 554 556 Bravery in war as a virtue for attaining status and position in the group is a Plains characteristic; wealth is a Northwest Coast characteristic. Thus, the composition of the Sinkaietk council in early times is an excellent illustration of the transitional character of the culture of the Sinkaietk.

SLAVES

567 All informants agreed that the Sinkaietk have never had slaves, although they are aware that some Indians buy and sell slaves.

1/ [For footnote, see p. 98(A), Category 116. -- Analyst]

In war, enemy men are killed and their women taken as wives (sqwe'nExEn, "wife who is captured"). There is no word in the Sinkaietk vocabulary for slave. 667 727

Mary Carden says that the chief sometimes cares for wounded enemies until they are well. Then such men work with the chief's family, joining hunts, etc. If a captive is a good provider, Sinkaietk parents may ask the chief to let him marry their daughter. At these marriages, the chief acts as the captive's father. It is hard to believe that captive enemies would prove so amenable, unless they had been taken very young. 622 727 582

60 See the Dream dance. 1

1 [For context of this footnote, see p. 99 (B), category 116. -- Analyst]

p. 99 (A)

David Isaac says that in a raid, some Northern Okanagon people kill captive children, others adopt them. He has heard of children being roasted to tantalize the enemy. He recounts the capture of a woman in recent times. 171 727

After the whites came a man put red flannel on his moccasins and went among the tribes leading a religious revival and seducing the young girls. He was shot at Cariboo. His followers from Douglas Lake went up and avenged him. While there they captured a nice girl at Cariboo and brought her back. She married a Douglas Lake man." 668 796

[For footnote, see p. 99(A), category 116. -- Analyst]

p. 99(B)

[p. 100 is blank]

THE INDIVIDUAL LIFE CYCLE

By MAY MANDELBAUM

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THE INDIVIDUAL LIFE CYCLE

By MAY MANDELBAUM

THE LIFE CYCLE

851 A baby born among the Sinkaietk had no real social position. His mother remained
852 in seclusion in the special lodge in which she had given birth to him, and none but women touched him. After some days he was brought forth to be welcomed and blessed by the community, represented on this occasion by a small group of the old people. Then, strapped on his cradle board, he accompanied his mother as she resumed her routine tasks. Not until he was a year or more old was he
[553] given real social status. Then a feast was held in his honor and he was given one of the family ancestral names.

855 For a few years his life was very easy; he was trained to keep out of danger, and to respond politely to adults and their requests, but he had no responsibilities and few duties, and was free to spend most of his time in play with the other children of the village.

857 As he grew older he was made to assume
861 further duties, and a somewhat more formal education was begun. The boy learned to hunt and to fight; the girl assisted in root-digging and berry-picking. In the evening the children heard the folk tales, and the moral lectures given particularly for them by the old people. From the major part of
[581] the religious life they were definitely excluded until the series of rites which took place at puberty.

883 After puberty, childish pursuits abandoned, the adolescent spent his time learning techniques and preparing to take on
885 adult functions. After some years spent thus it was time for marriage, which was rather
[591] unceremonious. Then the couple went to live at either parental home. Life continued in much the same fashion as before, the boy sharing the masculine pursuits of the group,
[843] the girl busy with food-getting and cooking. The wife's pregnancy placed herself and her husband under many restrictions and tabus for the sake of the child, but a short time after its birth the old routine was reestablished.

554 When "powers" for special aptitudes came back to the adult at the winter dance, social differentiation for the individual really began. This brought about some differences in position, which meant, however, only purely individual prestige.

888 With increasing age came change in po-
761 sition, less active roles being played by the elders. Finally came desertion or loss of the spirit guardian, and with it, death.

764 The body was then buried in the earth among
stones and was mourned for some time. When
768 the relatives were once more pure, the proper-
ty was divided among relatives and friends,
and, except for perpetuation of the name in
a new individual, the place and soon the
memory of the individual was gone from the
community.

STATUS TERMS

551 The Sinkaietk used a great many terms
to distinguish the place of the individual
in the developmental sequence. They were
561 not the ordinary terms of address. Personal
names and relationship terms were more
601 commonly used as vocatives, and status terms
were used, even as terms of reference, only
when there was some reason for stressing the
status of the individual concerned.

561 These terms do not, however, represent
an absolute scale. In no sense do the rep-
resent formal age grades. Many of them are
not mutually exclusive, and might have been
used toward one individual to emphasize vari-
ous aspects of his position. Thus, a man
might have been pointed out as the father of
many children, a married man, or an old man,
as might suit the point to be made by the
person talking of him.

The following is not an exhaustive list.
There is no absolute limit to the number of
these terms possible, for the flexibility of
the language and of the categories involved
allows for the compounding of new forms. It
is possible that other distinctions might
have been expressed in terms as acceptable
as those listed here. Unfortunately we had
no linguistic check on the terms given us
and so could not be sure that they were all
formally equivalent.

infant	ōxtī'lat
baby girl [new-born?]	xī'xōtEm
baby boy [new-born?]	cqōcqōcē
crawling	qElkētc'xī'nux
unweaned	wai'q'łxap
running about	xōxwēłuc
little child	qwūqwē'ō'ma
big child	tetExa'p
run about outdoors	qułcqē'tcilix
big enough for chores	q'ōtcqutsqwē'lix
boy	t'tūīt
girl	xī'xōtEm
oldest child of a family	cxiī'tx
second oldest child	q!ē'ōc
youngest child	ctEē'ōt
several daughters of one father	stumtumqEē'ltc
several sons of one father	łckōcē
just before puberty	xēlqē'lt
girl [and boy?] at puberty	słiłxō'mxax

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561

adolescent	staqumê·x^{Q}
man	squthmê·x^{Q}
woman	t'Ekɬtɬmê·lx^{Q}
pregnant woman	tqwê·ltEm
newly married boy	taũxɬna·xĔnux
newly married girl	wê·xux
married couple	naxĔnũxwê·ôs
spinster	sĔmamtũ·lũx^{Q}
bachelor	swiĔnô·mpta; sa·ltũmxũmi·ct
father of many children	twaxô·ălt
old man	tluxɬtɬĔxa·p
woman at menopause	kiaq^{Q}xa·n ("ceases menstruating")
old woman (after menopause)	pôptũwi·naũx^{Q}
old couple	sĔnôqôɬĔxɬĔxa·pc
grandfather	tluxuxpôê·lux
dead person	tĔlâ·l; wa·ik·lal

For most of these terms all the informants were in agreement, except Billy Joe who gave several terms quite different from those listed here. Many of them were transparent compounds such as wa·ltlsi·lska·ltEmêx^{Q}, widow, "one whose man is dead," and wa·ltklaîna·xũnax, "widower." Such terms may have been perfectly acceptable, but could not be so considered without further check. We were unable to discover whether the compounding was a fixed or a free process.

Unfortunately a great number of the terms were obtained from informants from the northern groups. They have not all been checked for the Sinkaietk proper. Where there was duplication there was no particular difference to be noted. Johnny sometimes gave variants, presumably Colville. The alternatives for bachelor and dead person here listed are his.

NAMING AND CHANGING NAMES

553

The infant made his debut when he was but a few days old, at the end of the period of enforced seclusion for his mother. A feast took place, to which only a small number of relatives and friends were invited. According to Chilowhist Jim this was an occasion for merriment and rejoicing, with a special name, cqwikwai·malt. Cecile said that the affair was so informal that there did not even need to be a feast, but the others agreed that though it had no specific name it was called, descriptively, "we are going to eat."

The child was passed about among the assembled company, and each person present held it, greeting it with some such common formula as waiktski·ts, "You are here," and wishing it luck. There might also be a temporary name given it at this time for use until the regular naming feast.

Billy Joe and Mary Carden contended that this ceremony was held for the first-born of a couple only.

553 553 574 The naming feast took place about a year later (when the baby ate solid food for the first time). It was at this time that the full introduction of the infant into society took place. The ceremony was more elaborate and on a larger scale than was the blessing ceremony.

The crier was summoned by the father of the child and was asked to go about the village or camp announcing that the feast was to be held. Everyone was thereby invited. If there were a great many people present the feast might be held out of doors, but the naming was always in the house of the parents. The mother ate with the others and gave the child its first solid food. One of the grandparents, or some other old person, of the same sex as the child, picked it up and said, "Well, I am going to call my grandchild ——— That was the name of my mother's sister. My grandchild will be like her."

553 There was no special way of selecting the name to be given. The grandparent who was to perform the ceremony might make the decision. The name was always that of some dead relative on either side of the house, unless there was some aged living relative who wanted to hand his or her name over to the child before he died. A name was given away only to a relative. Names could not be bought from the former owner, but a transaction might ensue between competing brothers and sisters, or other relatives, who each desired the name for their children. There was no idea of reincarnation, but there was a feeling, rather vague and indefinite, that the child would somehow resemble, in appearance or personality, the ancestor whose name it had been given. Assuming a name was felt to be an honor to the person whose memory was thus perpetuated. The northern groups recognized this by gifts to the child from the near relatives of the person thus honored.

David-Isaac's account of this was as follows. Parents naming a young child would give a dinner for their relatives. A man would say to his aunt, for example, "My mother is dead. I am going to give my little girl my mother's name. I want you to come and approve." At the feasting only the aunt would give a present to the little girl, because she would be glad that her sister's name was being perpetuated. Any friends or relatives would come to this dinner.

For this feast the parents and other relatives prepared small bunches of cones, cherries, and other foods. These were distributed among the guests before their departure, to symbolize the generosity which it was hoped would be characteristic of the child when grown. They were also pledges and reminders to the guests of the new name and position of the child.

The name thus acquired was used until after puberty. Then or thereafter a man might change his name for a variety of rea-

sons. He might do it in honor of a newly deceased relative, at the suggestion of his power, or merely for variety or amusement. Sometimes a man's parents would wish him to change his name, taking that of a relative recently dead. The parents would give a feast like that described above, then either the parents or the man himself would announce the new name. It was said that if someone wanted to give a man a new (ancestral) name, they gave him presents; but if he wished to take a new name, he made the presents (as described below). 553

It was claimed that men often changed their names, but women, and men of great repute, did this less frequently. Only when the new name was in its turn that of a deceased relative did it come into regular use and supersede the former one. Others were regarded as supplementary and less formal names, more in the nature of nicknames. However, it was said that some people never changed their names, e.g., great warriors. Sqts'sxō'sūm and sūxsūxpk!ē'n, both Moses-Columbia (?), were cited as examples.

Among the Sinkaietk the assumption of a new name seems to have been accomplished very simply, by asking a friend to use the new name at a gathering: thus it came into use among a few friends. The friend might be paid for this service. Among the more northern groups it was a more formal affair.

The following is Andrew's account of the ceremony among the Northern Okanagon as it took place when a brother of his changed his name. In this a pattern for the use of wealth is evident, which does not seem to have been present at all in the Sinkaietk form. 553 574

Andrew's brother was given the name npiūxtci'n by his mother when he was about fifteen. There was a little feast and then everybody knew him by that name. Then his mother died and he was sad. He wept and said, "I take pity on my name. My mother gave it to me and she is dead. I want to change my name, because she is dead and can no longer call me by it. My older brother had a name and I am going to take the name he had." Andrew told him to do as he thought best. [593]

Then all the Indians, the Sinkaietk and the Penticion [Northern Okanagon], and those from the Kettle River and the Similkameen, gathered at his invitation. He bought a lot of provisions and killed two steers. To all the Indians that came he said, "I want you to stay with me for three days." He hired two men and two women as cooks. The next morning after breakfast he said, "I want you to know what I have in my mind." He wrapped himself in a blanket and a shawl, and took ten dollars in silver in each hand. He stood up and said, "There are four of you different tribes, and I want one of each of you to take one of these things."

For an hour they tried to get one an-

p.105 (A)

other to take one of the blankets, but everyone was afraid. Finally one old woman took courage, got up and took a blanket. Then she stood in front of him and said, "I took your blanket, ckEtłō cōlauh." This was the new name he was taking. Then another old woman, from Penticton, got up and took the other blanket, and a man from Similkameen took the money from one hand, then one from Kettle River that from the other; each saying the same thing as he took it. 553 574

Then his brother thanked the people that had taken the things and called him by his new name. He explained that it grieved him to hear the name that his dead mother had given him.

After three days everyone shook hands with him and called him by the name that he wanted to be called by. Then all the people left.

Sometimes it was because of his power that a man took a new name. A man picked some name deliberately because of its association with his power, or the latter might tell him to take some special name. This was announced the first time he danced at the winter ceremony. There was no feast or payment. People might call him by this name, but they seldom did. Normally a man would have but one power name, though he might have several guardians. 553 778

Sometimes a man gave himself a less formal new name. These self-applied nicknames were frequently derogatory in character, and alluded more or less esoterically to some episode in the past of the individual concerned. People who were jokesters were particularly likely to give themselves supplementary names. The extent to which such names were used by other people depended upon their aptness and their humorous qualities. Some of these somewhat slighting nicknames might be called mother-in-law names, since a man sometimes mockingly took an epithet applied to him by his angered mother-in-law as a name. Such a name became a standard subject for joking allusions. 553 522

Andrew, for instance, was originally named by his mother inūtsaa'c, "wind," while a baby; later he called himself derisively cilhwapawckEn, "big mouth;" then his power told him to change his name to kElqōt, "lies down under something."

People were actually called by any of their names. There was no name tabu of any sort. The only feeling against free use of the name of a newly deceased person was that the bereaved might be too often and painfully reminded of his loss. This was, however, not a regular tabu. 551

A name given in childhood was called ckwīct; a power name, cinōmuxckwīct.

Formal names were always those which had been used by an ancestor, and there was a strong feeling against duplication of names

551 by two individuals at the same time. This was a situation favorable to the development of family ownership of particular names. Among the more northern groups David says that parents would sometimes have to pay other equally interested relatives for the privilege of giving a particular name to their child. Ross's statement that names could be given and thrown away also indicates a feeling for names as property, though we could not corroborate it exactly. ½ However, there was no fixed system of names belonging to each family, for a child might be given names assumed as supplementary names by his ancestors, particularly power names.

FORMAL ASPECT OF NAMES

There was no difference in the form of names thus variously acquired. Not all names had meaning.

551 The only formal difference was between
512 the names for men and those for women. Women were never named after animals or birds (or plants?), and the majority of their names end in the suffix -elks or -ĕlks, meaning "dress" or "robe," or in -atq^{Q}, "water." Michel stated that all women's names referring to dress or blanket were power names. Some examples of the names for women are:

cl̓ema·tq^{Q}	whirlpool
sîntq^{Q}	perfumed waters
wō·l̓pē·tqQ	toward water
cîlrē·ntqQ	toward rough water
tsĕ·xtsîltq^{Q}	telling the waters
·îē nanxtq^{Q}	twisting waters (as a meandering stream)
a[illegible]tl tq^{Q}	slow waters (?)
qel'·qwa·ē tq^{Q}	black waters (?)
s[illegible] lĕqs r sŏn ha lks	war-dance dress
qwe·lxŏ nmĕlqs	something went dry about her dress
qwel'·l̓a·lks	red dress
tsîlĕ ta lks	—— dress (?)
sînamta lks	perfumed dress
ts[illegible]·ta lks r tsutsŭa·lks	fringed dress (?)
x·îsum ta lks	nice dress (same as preceding)
sa·l̓îla·lks	lost dress
sawa·le lks	blue dress
ts[illegible]xĕna lks	snow dress
cĕqŏ tĕ lkc	yellowjacket dress
chwi·et'·mnĕ·lkc	walking dress
cqĕtĕ·l̓pc	walk on the dress
ckl·ttĕlkc	set on her dress
sŏkapĕxne·lks	—— dress (?)
kwalxnma·lks	dusty dress (as by kicking up the dust)
[illegible]lbbpa·lks	horizontal strips around the bottom of a dress (?)
slux·ntn lks	——

½ [For footnote, see p. 106(c), category 116. -- Analyst]

P. 106 (A)

A few of the other names end in -ɬitsa, "blanket:"

[illegible]tsa'	shouting blanket(?)
q'ɬp'ɬtsa'	red blanket
nkɬtamɬ tsa	walking blanket
cixmɬnɬ tsa	part of the blanket is floating
mntɬpɬ'tsa	

Others were "long loose hair," "unbraided hair," and "sit-down skirt."

Men's names are much more varied. A large number of them are names of animals, or parts or attributes of animals, unchanged in the form they would have as non-human names. They never have plant names, "because plants don't give power." When not the unchanged animal name, they frequently end in -ɬ'xn, -ɬ'xn, -ɬxn, which appears indicative of an attribute. Several of the men's names have the feminine ending "blanket."

snxalɬ'p	coyote (the myth name for Coyote)
q'ɬɬpstsɬ'mɬxn	coyote's ankle
spɬpɬɬ'na	rabbit (a men's name, though the mythical creature is female)
skm'ɬst	bear
ɬstimtami5'pc	grizzly bear's anus
sqɬlaɬnɬ'tsa	grizzly hide blanket
xwaxwaqɬ'n	fox head
cqɬɬkin	deer fat
sn.ɬstɬ'a [?]	skunk (in no sense a derogatory name)
yix5ɬ'ɬ5'txn	badger
sp5k'mɬ'x	swan
s[illegible]'ɬl	loon
[illegible]'xn	a bird picking its back (?)
s[illegible]'qtkɬn	(swan's ?) long neck
k[illegible]xcqɬ5ɬxɬn	running crane
pɬxnp'ɬɬx;ɬn	white horse
tɬɬqɬulpa'5c	fir back

The last was the only name known to Johnnie referring to a tree, and the reference here was rather to the tree as fuel.

In others the meaning is less obvious. Some are descriptive. All are sharply marked off from the women's names, but themselves exhibit many differences not easily classifiable.

stɬɬ5'lp	lower intestine
ɬɬntɬ'ɬɬn	rotten on the mountain (?)
c.ɬɬɬ'qɬn	lost on the mountain
kmnachwɬ'ct	keeps walking

p.106 (B)

1 Ross, Alexander, Adventures, 323. Teit remarked upon very much the same situation among the Thompson. "Each family had certain names, and no one but members of the family were permitted to use them.... They do not seem, however, to have been the property of families for a long time, new names being often invented" (Thompson Indians, 336).

1 [For context of this footnote, see p. 106(A), Category 116. -- Analyst]

p. 106(c)

[illegible]	iron head
thewista'skat	walking in the sky (?)
sl5'tkxEn	moccasins no good (?)
na'bqa'n	big eddy
perumt'tsa	shining blanket
q*elxunnitsa	something went dry around his blanket
xulkn'xn	twisting his arm(?)
huntOxsEnt'lhO	tipi door
teixa'xulix	they've been driven
hicha'ca	don't know how
ntsEcnEckwa'ot	no name
xtlkn'tEn	round wing
tirqO'otsin	spanning (as a rainbow, or a stick bent across a creek)
kstllla'Ot	still walking with arrows in his body (from kstlliOOt)
cpaqEO'l[a]	two smokes
nxE'tEmqEn	serrate head (like a saw)
chilxa'lt	daylight
cOqE'n	moonlight
sinOO'c	sunrise

551
562

"Burning back" (nOlO'qin), a man's name, was given him by his brother because he lied so much. People say, when a liar approaches, "Here comes so and so to burn our backs." "Pitiful" (ampcump) was described as a good name; girls would be kind to a man so named. "Big buttocks" (cIl'qUip) was a self-elected name, chosen not because the man's buttocks were big, but to commemorate a famous occasion in which a person so formed had figured.

Other men's names were said by informants to be meaningless: xwEsta'xn, s'al'Eal', qla'yaxkn, xinEmi'lx, qalawI'ta, k!lO'pakn, kwa'alExnI'tsa, cki'Oc.

553

The literature on the Sinkaietk says little about names. Alexander Ross says that babies were named, years after birth, after some fancied resemblance in character to an animal, and that names were changed frequently.[2] Curtis' account, which is not specifically Okanagon, notes the use of the names of living and dead relatives, and the paying for and giving away of names.[3] Teit's account says that in form the names agree with those of the Thompson, and these are seen to differ in no marked way from those suggested by our Okanagon informants.[4]

CHILDHOOD

854

For the first year or so of his life the baby was carefully tended. He was wash-

2 Ross, Alexander, Adventures, 305.
3 Curtis, North American Indian, VII, 75.
4 Teit, Salishan Tribes, 277.
5 See also Childbirth below.
6 See Adult Life below.

854

ed, at first in warmed water in the shelter of the lodge, and then, as he grew older, in the same icy stream used by the adults. He was wrapped in soft skins and furs, which were lined with bundles of cattail rushes as diapers, and sprinkled with powdered sweet-smelling leaves. During the day he was carried about by his mother, and after the first few months he spent most of the day in a somewhat vertical position, tightly strapped to a cradle-board, whence he was removed to suffer the equal confinement but enjoy the lesser stiffness of his nightly sack. When a young baby cried from crossness, it was unwrapped and laid in the shade. No particular effort to train or amuse him was made. After his first tooth had appeared, he [853] was given other foods in addition to his mother's milk, such as dried meat, dried berries, and camas. Before the tooth appeared they were afraid to feed anything else, as it would cause his mouth to become sore.' 1/A

855 857

When the baby learned to walk, the cradle was very gradually discarded. When he was able to run about freely, and had been given a name, he was left pretty much to his own devices, or to the care of older children. He was taught to avoid the fire and snakes, not to molest the food, and to conduct himself decently when he was with older people. His mother sometimes took him along when she went on trips from camp, and he played with the other children, or was tied to a post while his mother did her work. Sometimes the adults amused him with games such as shadow-pictures and cat's cradle. The training was left to mother and grandmother, since his father was usually not at home during the day.

When the child grew to be a bit older and stronger he was expected to be of some use. Little boys helped in the gathering of wood and water and the care of the horses. However, Mary Carden said that a small boy accompanied his father hunting and fishing, and while he was expected to help with the horses, he had no other household duties. They also learned to kill small game, build traps and make, shoot, and dodge arrows. The little girls helped their mothers about the house, cooking and caring for the babies, and in the fields, where they worked with little digging sticks and baskets. They also watched the smaller children. A house in which girls regularly gathered to work under the direction of an old woman was described by Suttles.' 2/A

Aside from the few set chores their time was pretty much their own. They played at keeping house, built little salmon traps and weirs, and, if they were not drafted into service while the adults were building, they built little play houses. Here they

[For footnote, see p. 107(A), category 11b. -- Analyst]

Sometimes slept when the village was very crowded with visitors. They played games such as the cup and pin game, and also most of the adult games, but without the gambling. Little girls made themselves little dolls of moss stone and bark.

To some extent the children were treated as adults. The desires of children only a few years old would be considered and consulted in such matters as the making of protracted visits. In return, they were expected to act according to group standards, to be polite and instantly obedient. While a woman cared for her own children, even in a plural household, children were expected to obey all their elders. Bad behavior was punished by whipping, either by the parent or by some old man delegated to the task. Occasion for this was said to have been rare. Children were frightened into behaving by saying, "The owl (or night hawk) will bite you." Certainly today most of the children are very well-behaved, and one little girl, whose peculiar upbringing had "spoiled" her considerably, was considered an exception by all, including the other children.

A boy might go to stay with relatives for a time if he chose, but he would never run away to them if mistreated at home for fear that his father would punish him even more severely.

In addition to that education which came with play, a more formal sort was undertaken. Lectures were delivered morning and evening by an old man of the family. These contained injunctions to be industrious, honest, clean, liberal and respectful. They were not coated in sugared allegory or fable, and did not provide the same sort of pleasure as did listening to the ordinary tales, which were never directed to pedagogical ends.

There seems to have been some prizing of the knowledge thus handed on.

A sad tale is told of a widow who desired that her young son get his share of the lecturing. She sent him to listen to the words of wisdom being imparted by a neighboring elder to his grandsons. The old man would not allow this, so the poor boy got what he could by listening outside the house. He took all the words to heart, and grew to be wise and respected, but the grandchildren, careless of the worth of what was too easily theirs, disregarded the advice and grew up shiftless and worthless.

Character training was also practiced in making the boys and girls rise early every morning and go swimming, however icy the water, to insure their growing up to be energetic.

? On the telling of stories, see Diversions.
B See also Social Organization.
* Teit, Salishan Tribes, 291.

866 Julie Josephine said that when she was a girl she would wake to hear her grandparents calling to her, "Go wash your face in the creek. If you wash it with warm water you'll be blind right away." They would make her swim in the creek even when it was full of floating ice.

They were also sent to dark places to fetch things, as specific training for the vigil before them. The seasonal whipping which accompanied the setting up of the winter village must also have served as a training in stoicism. Billy Joe said that the man who did the whipping announced, "Don't be sorry in your hearts. I'm beating your children so that they will grow."[1]

[illegible]	kcəltc	hicpööcEn	IsimErI'm
[illegible]	sorry	hearts	doctoring
IcqscqwacI'atit		kstlaxpEmeha	
our children		grow.	

Teit speaks of the instruction and admonishment of the children, but he does not say what the nature of this was. He mentions that whipping occured, though but rarely.[1]

865 Our informant Mary Carden said that when a child was disobedient, an old man would take some object far from camp and leave it. At night the child was sent to fetch it and if he failed, he was whipped. One old man in each camp exercised this function: he may have been the person who whipped at the setting up of the winter house. Parents might whip a child all over the body with a little switch, or slap its face with the open hand.

866 The first roots dug or berries picked by a girl, when she was about nine, were given to the old people to eat. This was done so that she would not grow up lazy. Similarly, a boy's first kill was given to any elderly friends, so that he would become a good hunter.

869 What share the children had in the religious life was in its minor aspects only. When they were eight or ten they began to take the sweat bath, and learned the proper songs and prayers. A girl might carry food to her older sister in the menstrual lodge, but got no closer personal acquaintance with the tabuss. Occasionally one might chance to be present at a curing, but this was not regular, and they attended no winter dances. When the household was occupied with such an affair the children were sent elsewhere to sleep. The vision experiences some of them had were probably most appreciated by the adult under whose direction the quest was undertaken; the child was expected to forget all about it. Unfortunately, as we were working only with adults, we could get no valuable material on the child's own view of the religion of its elders.

[1] [For footnote, see p. 108(A), category 116. -- Analyst]

p. 108(B)

the religion of its elders.

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Adoption seems to have been relatively common. Parents, especially those who were poor, were known to give their children to well-to-do relatives to care for. The latter may always have been childless couples. Only a child who stood in the relation of sisterwilt, nephew or niece, to its foster parent would be adopted. Relatives of this degree were normally thought of as one's own children. For instance, Michel stated that when a man's wife died, his sister had the first right to the children if she wanted them, and she usually did. The adopted child would call his foster parents "father" and "mother." In later life the child would care for its foster parents. There was a term for such an "adopted father," ctqóllēū. The child's own parents would normally not think of reclaiming it while still a child. But when the boy was grown, it was expected that he would take care of his own father when old and needy. He then called his own father by the proper term, "father." Such more or less formal adoption was, of course, different from the frequent and lengthy visits with relatives in which children indulged.

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The nature of a child's life can be learned from Mary Carden's account of her tenth year (about 1862). She was living with her Colville grandmother at Tukora'tum. In the spring, in April, they went to Waterville, where she helped dig bitterroot. It was still cold in the morning. At the digging place, all of the bags were put by a sagebrush clump to protect them from the spring wind. Her grandmother would wrap Mary up and she would go to sleep. Once when she woke up three jackrabbits were there; she was afraid and screamed, and ran to the women.

One cold morning she and her grandmother got on a horse to go out. The horse began to buck, the saddle turned and they fell off so the men caught the horse and patched the saddle. Then they started again.

She and two other girls were going to a spring through the trees to get water one time. On the way they heard something and were scared. They ran back and told their grandparents they had heard a cūnī'na. That means "owl" now, but it was something to be afraid of in those days.

The first of June they went up the flat from Waterville, crossed the river to Chelan Falls and went to Enkūmkūmā'swūltEn, where the town of Chelan now is. Big waves would throw suckers up in the tules there, which the women would pick up.

Then they came to lalaē'lūx and up to Enaxwlē'nEm, which is one mile up on the beach on the west side of the Methow River, to get sunflower seeds. When the old people went out to get sunflowers, the little girls would go to dig wild carrots. Mary saw a rattlesnake there for the first time. All the girls ran back and would not dig any

p.109 (A)

more. They were afraid in those days.

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One day they were helping the old people when a doe and two fawns jumped right out of the sunflowers and ran into the brush. So everybody had fun catching those two little fawns. Mary's people caught one, which they killed and ate.

[231]

Her grandfather caught a little deer once and kept it for a pet for two months. When they took it along they would carry it on a pack horse. They fed the fawn flour and sugar mixed in water. He sold it to some white people at Bridgeport for five dollars because it was to hard to carry around. Some people would catch little coyotes for pets.

Next they went to kalí't'sman so that Mary's grandfather could catch salmon during high water. This was about July. Her grandfather was a good fisherman and a big power man. At Waterville he never hunted, just played the stick game and won lots of blankets and horses.

In the mornings some people would go up to the lakes on the hills to get duck eggs. The little girls would go along. The big girls would see a duck fly from a nest; then the little girls would run to it. The big girls could wade faster through the tules; they would duck the little girls in the water so they could not get eggs, which made them cry. Then the little girls would go off hunting by themselves.

From there they went back to Twisp. The men put fish traps in the river to catch salmon. It was still July. When they went to get willows the little girls went on horseback so that there would be horses to take the brush back. The old people cut the willows; the little girls had little knives to trim them. After one man tied the willows in bunches to put on the horses, the little girls led the loaded horses back. It would take a week to get ready. Some people would put tripods of poles in the river while others were gathering the willows.

The little girls used to have fun watching the men take poles out in the river; several men would carry one pole. Sometimes they would have to walk clear under the water. Everybody would holler and have lots of fun.

The men were late fixing the trap and did not have time to fix a platform above each hole in the trap. So they built a fire on each side of the river that night and the men speared.

The men took the first catch, cleaned and roasted it. The only part of the insides which they cooked was the fringe under the gills. They boiled this with service berries and bitterroot, calling it sk'elö'ps. Then the men divided all the salmon with every family, but the men kept the heads and the sk'elö'ps. All the bones were put on a drying rack, because if some wild animal ate

p.109(8)

169 [illegible] the men could not catch any [illegible]
221 [illegible] The next day the men built corrals
[illegible] holes to catch the salmon. They
used [illegible] nets then.

857 They stayed in Twisp country the rest of the summer while the women got berries. When the salmon began to spawn the people [illegible] to different streams while the men speared them. Mary came back to Tukora'tum in September.

In the fall, the children would all get together on the sandbars and play with rocks. They would play that they were building fish [illegible] and catching salmon, or they would put rocks around for cattle and play that they [illegible] lots of cattle. Just before the snow falls, when the people go to their wintering places to build winter houses, the children [illegible] poles and build winter play houses. The little children were the play children; the big boys and girls were the fathers and mothers. They would take the names of older people whom they knew. They used these tent play houses all winter long.

When snow came they could not play outside because it was too cold. Then they played in their play tents. Sometimes, when guests came, the children would sleep in these play tents to make room.

Mary stayed in Tukora'tum until spring came, when they went back down to Waterville. Her people made rounds like this every year.

PUBERTY AND ADOLESCENCE

881 As the boy or girl grew up and approached puberty, he was forced to change his mode of life. Though this was not a very long nor a very tabu period for the boy, it must have been strongly marked emotionally, for it meant fasting and solitude for many days. For the girl the rites were more severe, and the introduction to adult life strongly colored by the feeling that "blood that comes from a woman is not good." For both boys and girls this pubertal rite or period was called apsuwi'st[n].

0785 When a boy's voice changed, his father
866 sent him away from camp for a period varying
from three days to a week or more. The boy
usually spent this time on the top of a
831 mountain, where he ran about a great deal, lest he grow up to be lazy. The northern groups required of him strict fasting, but the others asked only that he eat sparingly. He took a sweat bath every morning and evening, and after it plunged into the waters of a neighboring stream. Each night he left a pile of stones on the mountain as a mark of the number of nights he had spent in this [illegible] who were known to have been blessed by the spirits had to undergo this proceal, for by it they were assured of such common desiderata as strength and energy. There is now some doubt as to the relationship this may have had to the regular quest for power which was demanded of all children of the community. According to

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...ere, at least, this followed the quest, ...h took place when the boy was nine to ...ve years old.

841 The girls' rites were rather more com... The seclusion period was longer, and ...ere is more numerous. There were also ...al rites, which are extremely difficult ...reconstruct with certainty. For some ...ons they had ceased to be practiced be... the coming of the mission, so that even ...e two oldest of our feminine informants ...d not come through them and knew them only ...y report. As they were both from Kartaro, ...t is possible that this may have been a ...ly local death of the custom.

At the appearance of her first menses the girl left the dwelling house and remained ...n a little tipi built for her some dis... from the village. Before she went her ...ther bound her hair in rolls which ...hung ...e on either side, behind her ears, and ...ere decorated with fur and sometimes other ...naments. She was required to keep this ...offure during the period of isolation. She ...ight not touch it, even to scratch it, or ...ain of future baldness. Instead she used a ...atcher in the form of a miniature comb ...hich hung in the tipi for her convenience. ...r forehead and cheeks were daubed with red ...r yellow vegetable paint, applied over a ...layer of pine pitch. She wore undecorated ...clothing, which she was not allowed to ...change. Sometimes she used a shell or a ...drinking tube, lest the contact of her lips ...dry up the spring she wished to drink from.

When a girl first menstruated, her ...father made for her a band of buckskin to ...pass between the legs, being tied to the ...belt by long thongs. A layer of soft cat...tail fluff was spread inside this band. The ...band was retained for use in later life. Cecile stated, however, that formerly no such ...article was provided.

783 While menstruating she remained alone
831 in the hut, eating little or nothing. Accord...ing to Michel, she had to lie on her left ...side with her face to the east, but this re...port is doubtful. There was no notion that ...her glance was baleful and she might freely ...look at the sky, e.g. She was supposed to ...assume all the regular menstrual tabus. ...When the flow ceased, she built a small ...sweathouse, and entered upon the long period ...of purification. Here she often stayed even ...overnight. She took frequent sweat baths, ...using the regular song, and praying for vari...ous virtues, particularly that she be not ...lazy. At intervals in the sweating process, ...she would return to the menstrual lodge to ...resume her occupation with basketry, etc. ...Every morning she went swimming, even if the ...water were ice-covered. Cecile stated that ...she went each morning, but did not use a ...sweat house.

783 This sweat house was quite a distance
831 away from camp. Several of the informants ...said that she built a series of them, in ...various places. If this is true, it was at ...any rate not the general pattern.

p. 110 (B)

any rate not the general pattern. 343

According to varying report this period lasted from a month to a year. There was probably a great deal if individual and local variation. A lazy girl was said to need a longer time than an energetic one, if a cure was to be effected. 881

When the time approached for the return to camp, the girl spent several nights away on a hill (or more probably every evening during the period of isolation). Here she built a fire, but no shelter, and prayed at morning and at twilight. 782 881

At twilight, facing the west, and leaping sidewise, back and forth, feet together, high into the air, she sang:

qEnqEqūntEmī n sEnqEqūlūxtsī n
Help me Twilight

leaping twice to each phrase. She continued this till full darkness was upon her, and then slept in the open. At the first light of dawn she had to rise, face east, and leap again, singing:

qenqEqūntEmī n sEnqipaqEtsī n
Help me Dawn.

Then she made a pile of rocks to indicate her accomplishment of the required ceremony, and plunged into the stream. She returned to her tipi to sleep until late the next afternoon. She continued this for several nights, and was then ready to return to her family, after taking a sweat bath and changing her clothes.

Cecile said that it was the regular village menstrual lodge, and not a separate one of her own, that the girl occupied at puberty. Here she was said to make baskets and mats with the other girls who were there. She may very easily have been mistaken, however, for her information was less than second-hand on these points. [361]

Michel thought that the fire upon the mountain was an alternative to the long period of sweating. This was probably a confusing of two distinct parts of the ceremony, though formlessness of pattern and variation might conceivably have permitted it.

From Kartaro comes a very peculiar addendum. How much of this mythical elaboration was actually dramatized in the fashion indicated in this account cannot be discovered: 773 782 881

While the girl is in the menstrual lodge dog salmon is brought to her. She places this among the poles of her lodge (or raises it on poles) in memory of Coyote, who brought the salmon up the rivers. She goes to the door of the lodge and jumps up and down, singing, "Take pity on me, Coyote." 825

This is in recognition of the bondage she is under to Coyote as a payment for his gift of salmon to the people. 773 782

After she leaves the lodge she gives the salmon to an old woman, who puts it under her pillow. It is believed to have great potency. "Once when the people were starving, nine of them were saved merely by sniffing at some of this salmon."[1] 881 825

Lucy Joe interpreted the piling of the rocks by the girls at puberty in mythical fashion too. Coyote had ordered the rock piling, but it no longer need be done, since he had been set adrift on the ocean. 773 881

She also added that during this time the girl must run up a hill with stones under her dress, and must then loosen her girdle so as to allow these to fall out. This sets the pattern for ease in delivery which her future children will follow. 844 881

Curtis' account of these ceremonies says only that the girl at puberty had her hair bound into two rolls, and lived in a wickiup, dancing and praying to the sun on a hill at night for ten days."[1] Teit's account, somewhat fuller than this, mentions the washing in running water and prayer to the Day Dawn. He says also that some made circles and figures of stone near the trails at this time, which were sometimes painted. Boys took sweat baths for power, strength, and skill, and sometimes performed feats as tests. They piled rocks and sometimes made red paint pictograph records.[1] 881

The girl at puberty had to obey all the tabus which were required of menstruating women. Should she come near a man with power he would be harmed, and might punish her by making her menstrual flow continue indefinitely. He could check it by giving her a piece of deer liver or kidney. Women, during this period, stayed in a lodge for the purpose, a hundred yards or so away from the rest of the houses. A large village might have more than one such lodge. While accompanying men on a deer hunt, women built a menstrual lodge at the edge of the camp. The women gossiped and made articles for household use. No man was ever supposed to approach this lodge, lest his power be affected. The objects made there did not, however, share this tabu. 841 881 [343]

On a hill ~~across~~ the Columbia from Brewster are a group of rocks said to be Coyote's eight-section house. To one side is a small pointed hill which was the women's menstrual lodge of Coyote's group. 773 823 841

In common with the girl at puberty, the woman who was menstruating must avoid the sweat house. The sweat house symbolized 783 841

[1] [For footnotes, see p. 111 (c), category 116. -- Analyst]

p. 111 (B)

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Compare the myth of this area concerning the people who had no mouths, who ate by sniffing. — L.S.
Curtis, North American Indian, VII, 75.
Teit, Salishan Tribes, 282.

[1] [For context of these footnotes, see p. III (B), category 116. -- Analyst]

783 841 [296] 841

man's luck and power. Her pollution would be permanent. Sometimes hot rocks covered with green grass on which to lie were put in a pit in the menstrual lodge as a substitute for the customary sweat bath. They were let allowed to take back to the village the clothes they wore during this time. These were cleaned with diatomaceous earth and left in the lodge. Fresh ones were brought them by girls to don after a sweat bath and a bath in the river, taken before returning to their ordinary life. They were not allowed to cook, even for themselves. Food was brought to them from the village, and none of it might be left till the next day or brought back to the village. Anything but bloody meat and fresh salmon might be eaten, and possibly the first of the camas or berry crop. They were not supposed to drink directly from a stream, lest it dry up. The drinking tubes used were made by pushing the pith out of an elderberry shoot. They should not comb their hair during the period, but could scratch the head with their fingers. Women in their periods could not help men in any way, nor would men look at or talk to them. Should a man eat anything cooked by them, he would sicken, lose his power, and game would flee from him. While a woman with a small baby might take it to the lodge with her, older children were left in charge of the husband or some relative or neighbor. At the lodge a woman busied herself with making mats, sacks, etc., which she was free to use later in the household.

Women who did not menstruate were free from these restrictions. They were said to be fairly common, but this may mean merely that slight menstruation is not noticed and considered. These women were said not to have children. [illegible] L.S. Those whose periods were of excessive length took each month a drug, unknown to the informant.

781 When the period of seclusion for adolescent boys and girls was over they returned to the village in a very unceremonious fashion. The return was unheralded and uncelebrated. If a boy changed his name at this time there might be a feast, but it would be on account of the name. The adolescent returned, no longer a child nor given to the things of childhood, but an adult ready to take his place in the adult scheme of things

781 883 [524]

After the return from seclusion the boys accompanied the men on their hunting trips, and assisted in all the manly pursuits. The first kill of a deer (and of a bear, said Cecile) made by the boy was welcomed by the community and ceremoniously treated. He himself did not eat of it, but all the old men did (or at least he did not eat until the old men had partaken). This was for the sake of his future luck in the hunt. At this time the lad was in the neighborhood of eighteen or twenty. The girls stayed at home, going abroad only when chaperoned by some older female relative, except early in the morning before the boys were up when they went to sweat, swim, and get the water for cooking. They were supposed to swim every day. They became acquainted with

881 They ¼ became acquainted with
883 the more specialized techniques, such as bas-
ketry, and were supposed to have no contacts
with men except for fleeting ones at group
836 affairs. Actually, however, many of the
maidens succeeded in eluding the vigilance
of their elders, and a virgin bride was con-
sidered unusual and rather highly valued.

¼ [i.e., post-adolescent girls.-- Analyst]

MARRIAGE

Prohibited Degrees

582 No marriage to a blood relative was al-
lowed. Theoretically this prohibition ex-
tended even to sixth cousins. A breach of
835 tabu towards so distant a relative would be
considered rather wrong by the older people,
but would not have been very severely cen-
sured. Actually, many second cousins did
marry. According to Johnnie, it was prefera-
ble to marry "a daughter of a man who had
married one's grandmother's sister," or a
relative similarly removed, than to marry an
utter stranger. The marriage of close rela-
tives was a disgrace, but our informants
agreed that even in this case, after the
lapse of some time, the offense was forgiven
or at least forgotten, and the couple receiv-
ed once more into the community's good
graces. It was believed that the children
of tabu degree relatives would be deformed,
stupid, or physically weak.

The idea of tabu included not only sexu-
al relations, but also any sort of intimate
trifling contact, such as tickling. This
held not only between cousins, but also
brothers and sisters.

684 Incest was exceedingly rare, according
to Cecile, who stated that it never occured
835 between parent and child. On rare occasions
a brother and sister, usually quite young,
might have incestuous relations. In this
event the parents would be so horrified that
both children would be killed. This happens
[538] often in the myths, and always the parents
are so ashamed that they put an end to the
offenders, or at least to the boy. The girl,
particularly if there was a child, was some-
times allowed to live. Such a pattern in
the mythology generally means that the tabu
was felt rather strongly.

582 The technical ban on marriage referred
to cousins of any degree. They were appar-
835 ently grouped with the siblings, whose rela-
tionship terms they shared. "The older peo-
ple considered the cousins as their children,
and children should not marry." More distant
collateral relatives, or those merely con-
nected by marriage, were known as snaqsī'lūx.
These were held to be most desirable as
mates, and were preferred to total strangers,
we were told. We found no check of this in
the marriages.

Betrothal

582 It was preferred to marry within the
554 tribe, but marriages outside of it took
778 place. Rich and poor married quite freely,
for there was always the notion that a man
was poor only because he lacked power.

p. 112(B)

584

The usual pattern for the marriage proposal was for the father, uncle, or some older male relative of the boy to ask the parents of the girl for her in marriage. It would be insulting, thought Lave, for a friend or a woman to be dispatched. The boy was always consulted, and the suggestion might come from him. Sometimes the boy did his own proposing, but this was not considered quite the best form.

There was apparently no set form for the occasion. The father sometimes made a speech, speaking of such things as any friendship that may have existed between himself and the father of the girl. If the request was refused, no hard feelings were aroused and the man left without more ado. If the parents of the girl gave their consent, she went off with her husband and his father immediately, or he joined her family group. She was expected to assent to her family's choice without hesitation, as her former seclusion had prevented her making a choice of her own. If for any reason she refused, the man might make a determined effort to win her by a prolonged courtship. Mary Garden's first husband, whom she had at first refused because he already had two wives, courted her for about a year, visiting with her family for long periods of time. Julie Josephine, on the other hand, said that the man whom she married came to ask for her himself, and she went off with him immediately. In her case, her father being long dead, her mother arranged the affair. If the girl did not like the man approved by her parents, she might elope with someone else. Old Harry insisted that the chief was frequently called as consultant by the family searching for a mate for their child. If this was so, it was probably a local pattern of the extreme south.

Several of our informants spoke of the possibility that the family of the girl make the advances. A particularly good hunter would be selected, for example, and the girl sent to him. Should he not desire to marry her, he was free to send her back, with no stigma upon her. Others scorned this idea, but agreed that a younger sister, as she became mature, was sent in this fashion to join her sister as co-wife. Curtis mentions the proposal by the parents of the girl as a regular Salish institution, which was passing out of favor at the time he made his survey.[13] Teit speaks only of the proposal from the suitor to the parents of the girl, directly, or by means of a relative or the chief.[14]

Sometimes the parents arranged for the marriage of their children while the latter were yet infants. This was known as ckalomact. There were exchanges of presents from then on, mostly of food, the parents of the girl giving things like roots and ber-

13 Curtis, North American Indian, VII, 73.
14 Teit, Salishan Tribes, 287.
15 See also Household Arrangement

p. 113 (A)

ries, those of the boy fish and meat, symbolic of the pursuits of each sex. These were not necessarily gifts of such great value as horses. They represented merely the feeling of mutual helpfulness between the two families, and the sort of support the offspring of each was going to bring to the other. When the children came of age it was expected that they would marry. 584

Betrothal and marriage were described by Billie Joe. Two friends might agree that their children should marry when they were fourteen or fifteen. (Yet he also stated that formerly girls did not marry until nineteen or twenty.) When the agreement was reached, the father who had suggested it took a present of horses to the other, in the old days a gift of hides, and immediately received a gift of equal value in exchange. The children were considered married then. When the news got about, no one would interfere with the arrangement. After the girl's first menstruation the couple would live together. There was no feast, for the Okanagon never had feasts "of any kind" until forty years ago. 584 585 [881] [574]

Other than by infant betrothal marriage consisted in the boy's parents taking seven to ten horses to the girl's parents and bringing her back. A year later the girl's parents returned equivalent gifts. 584

After marriage the couple always lived first with the groom's parents. They visited back and forth until they had accumulated enough to build their own home; the necessities might be given them by their parents. Women always returned home to their mothers for the birth of a child. After the first baby was born, the young couple established their own home. After marriage both the mother-in-law and the girl's mother instructed the girl how to treat a husband, and the duties of a wife in general. This training continued until the first baby arrived.[1] 585 591 [844]

There was no recognized pattern for the breaking of such a betrothal, though one of the pair might elope. Teit, too, mentions this as a possibility. It was said to have occurred but rarely, but it is difficult to evaluate such quantitative estimates. If a young couple did elope, they would be welcomed back after a short time, for "What could the parents do?" Occasionally separation might be urged, but could not be enforced without the consent of at least one of the parties. Some of the more southern informants, particularly Old Harry, stated that the chief could force a separation. This may be a modern or a Wenatchi pattern, and must be considered doubtful, though it may have been the southern practice. 583 586

If one of the parties to such an early 583

[1] [For footnote, see p. 113 (A), Category 116. -- Analyst]

p. 113 (B)

583 betrothal died, some other member of the family might succeed to the vacated place. This was not demanded, no great sums having been laid out in advance.

583 584 834 If a girl past puberty was seen exposed by a man, or if he touched her, he had to marry her. Girls were very modest and had to be very careful, for should so much as their legs be seen, the only alternative was suicide. That is why the girls went swimming early in the morning, before the rest of the camp was about, and built their puberty sweat lodges far away from the site of the dwellings of the rest of the community. Sometimes boys by means of this custom forced girls to marry them who otherwise might have refused. They, too, got up early and even sneaked up to the sweat house.

[538] Attempts of this sort were favorite subjects of stories. In these the actors were usually a girl who had just reached puberty and her brother-in-law. These stories were often told of human rather than animal characters, as though they were occurrences of the immediate past.

Once a girl was going along picking berries. The juice was dripping so she picked up her skirt that it might not be soiled. Her sister's husband saw her with her skirt tucked up, so she had to marry him. She carried home his bow and arrows, he her basket of berries, to announce they were married.

A girl was being pursued by her brother-in-law. She did not want him. When she was alone in the mountains he went hunting in the neighborhood, on the chance that he might see her undressed, so that she would have to marry him. While she was away swimming he hid in the little lodge she had built. When she entered in the proper cautious fashion, back and feet first, he grabbed her. She fainted, so that he had to restore her with the smoke of a certain aromatic fir. Then she had to marry him.

The situation must often have been an awkward one for the girl who for any reason was not willing to marry her brother-in-law, as frequently he was living in the same one-room house.

It should be noted that the significance attached to touching, etc. did not apply to a matron.

595 Marriage to the younger sister of one's wife was the accepted but not the necessary pattern for the acquisition of a second wife. A man might marry several unrelated women. In this case he usually set up separate households for each, and visited among them. That this occasioned unpleasantness is particularly evidenced by the case of Mary Carden, who was a third wife. She forced her husband to cease his attentions to the others on threat of leaving him.

16 Ross, Alexander, Adventures, 281; Curtis, North American Indian, VII, 73-74.

583 The [illegible] separate households for
587 [illegible] wives, [illegible] betrothal, and
595 [illegible] gift exchange are mentioned
[illegible] in the literature.[1]

Ceremony

585 The information with regard to the cere-
mony of marriage is in rather a confused
state. It was, most of the Sinkaietk insist,
a completely informal affair. "It was not
marriage. It was just taking each other."
This seems rather to be a voicing of the con-
trast between its formlessness and simplici-
ty and the ceremoniousness of more modern
forms of marriage.

583 It is difficult to say exactly what
sort of variations our diverse accounts are
indicative of. Probably they were all recog-
nized patterns, among which the situation, or
the individuals or families concerned, might
indicate a choice. Possibly Suszen's expla-
nation is to the point, that when a marriage
was with another tribe that practices the
potlatch, the Okanagon carried gifts, other-
wise not. Some sort of local variation as
to the most highly desirable of the possi-
bilities may be represented. The system was
certainly never very formal and fixed, and
it is natural that newly introduced changes
and contrasts should have made the solution
of the confusion rather impracticable. Cer-
tainly not all the types indicated were of
equal validity or age in the culture.

The various patterns which were claimed
to have existed here are:

Childhood betrothal, with subsequent ex-
changes between the parents, and unceremoni-
ous consummation.

Payment by the groom, to be repaid later,
but not so ceremoniously, and not in full.
Mary Darden's husband gave four horses for
her, and about a year later her family re-
turned two to him. Half of the marriage
price was given to her mother's brother.
This was not a unique case, but was a rare
one.

Purchase, on the part of a wealthy or un-
attractive man, particularly with a girl hav-
ing a reputation for chastity. Cecile told
of a chief who had paid eight horses for a
girl, and when her sister came of age, desir-
ing to marry her as well, he paid another
ten. This was, however, a modern case.
There may have been return payments of which
she had no knowledge. She said that an old
man told her that such purchases would never
have been made in the old days, but this may
have been a reflection on the size rather
than on the fact of the payment.

583 Many of the informants said that it
582 would be particularly in the case of an
intertribal marriage that such external rati-
fications were necessary. These took place

[1] [For footnote, see p. 114 (A), category 116. -- Analyst]

chiefly among the wealthy. Marriages took place occasionally with all the surrounding peoples: Chelan, Methow, Moses Columbia, Nez Percé, Yakima, Coeur d'Alêne, Wenatchi, and Thompson. Marriage with other Okanagon speaking people was not classed in the same way. This occured very commonly. David Isaac's genealogy, for example, is by no means atypical. (Tribal or band affiliation is indicated by the names.)[1] 583 621 582

[1] [For David Isaac's genealogy, see p. 115 (c), category 116. -- Analyst]

If from another tribe, the groom's father would bring gifts to the bride's parents. Returning with the girl, he carried presents from her parents. Sometimes the groom would accompany him on this visit (Mary Carden). This might be followed by slight exchanges, as of food, between the families. It might also be followed later by a present from the family of the groom as a sort of token of appreciation of the worth of the bride. This is the extremely simple pattern in which both Lucy Joe and Julie Josephine were married, accompanied by no gift exchange or other preliminaries. This may have been a Kartaro local pattern. 583 585

Information from the Inkamip band of Northern Okanagon (Tom Martin) was that a man's father, if he was alive, brought gifts to the girl's parents "to buy the girl so her parents will let her go." If they agreed, she accompanied him home at once. There were no return presents. The couple lived first with the man's parents; later visiting back and forth, each time carrying gifts provided by their elders. 171 585

Commonly the group was notified of the marriage by a feast, supplied by the parents of either bride or groom. The girl's father announced to the guests that his daughter was married. There were no ceremonies, no gifts, no special clothing. The couple married as soon as an agreement was made by their parents; the feast was usually held the next day. David Isaac's account for the northern bands agrees rather well with that of Ross.[1] After the arrangements were completed the suitor spent the night with his bride. Ross says he did it for four nights, spending them, however, only in chatting. 171 585 574

[1] Ross, Alexander, Adventures, 299-302.

Then there was a feast, according to Ross a rather formal affair. 171 585

When the boy brings the purchase money to his father-in-law the pipe is passed around. Then the girl is brought in, seated near him, and the pipe is passed around again. Each side then talks about the worth of his own family. In arranging the pur- 574

chase price, several offers are made by the suitor, and refused, until one sufficiently high is offered. This takes place only for the first marriage" David Isaac .

There were obtained two accounts of more elaborate ceremonies. I shall present them for what they may be worth, but both of them are suspect. One was given by Susan, who latter admitted that it was a pattern newly taken up at Nespelem from Yakima and New Perce. He insisted at one time that it had existed in his youth and been stopped by order of the missionary. The others said that this form was quite new. Lucy Joe thought it was used even now by the Sinkhiet only in the case of marriage with the Wenatchi. 171 585

The person who acted as go-between at a wedding was called n'maidcl nūm and might be of either sex. If he was not a relative or close friend of the participants, he was paid for his services. He made one or two visits to the girl, each time taking her a small gift. He offered a price of some value to the family. Then both the families concerned would try to get a large amount together. All the relatives would send horses, blankets, food, and other valuables. They were brought to the meeting place a few days before the ceremony. They served as stabilizers of the marriage, for the relatives, in case of divorce, would say, "Look at all the things I gave away to get you married. Are these all to be for nothing?" 584 585

At the meeting the people sit in a big 585

582

[David Isaac's genealogy]

Sinkaietk

Suszen's genealogy is also instructive from this point of view:

P. 115 (c)

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circle, with the presents in the center. They form two groups: the girl's family and presents representing one half the circle, those of the boy the other. Speakers were appointed for the occasion, who took their places in the center of the circle. First the one representing the boy and then the one for the girl recited the list of the presents on his side. Then they said to the young people, "Will you be good to each other, and live always together?" The young people were shy, so the speakers answered for them, saying to the group, "These young people are now married."

Then the parents exchanged all the gifts. Little boys carried them across the center line dividing the two groups. Each party redistributed its receipts among the contributors. The fathers gave things to the men, the mothers to the women. If one of the parents was dead, a relative served as proxy. The parents usually profited little by the transaction, and the others treated it pretty much as a gamble. There were no reproaches for those who took or were given more than their share.

A feast followed, although it sometimes preceded the distribution of gifts. Young men and women assisted with the cooking and the serving. It was given in the largest house in the village, or, if the weather permitted, out-of-doors. After this there was a dance, and a chance for the mingling of the young people.

All this ceremony was held only for the taking of a first wife. For this the people wore their most elaborate headdresses. The boy wore one of eagle feathers, which he borrowed if he did not own one. The girl wore two feathers fixed to a deer thong, at the back of the front of her head. They were in honor of the creator (Swulencolten) and were removed after the ceremony. Those of the women were fastened close to each other, for they represented herself and her husband. Chilowhist Jim denied that such feather bonnets were worn at marriage, indeed that they were worn at all until introduced by the Nez Perce.

While this account differs from that presented by other informants, it was confirmed in essentials by Chilowhist Jim (of Methow affiliations). He stated that at marriage presents were given. "This shows that the relatives are pleased with the match." All sat in a great circle, indoors or out, according to the season. The chief asked the youth if he would be a good husband and faithful, to which the spokesman for the groom's party replied. A similar question was put to the bride. "The people there act as witnesses to this."

The other aberrant account is that of Billy Joe. It includes several pre-nuptial visits performed by the bridal pair and both sets of parents. Each time the visitors brought gifts. The first payments were made by the groom's parents. This is a common Southern Plateau pattern, but all the other

585 informants denied that the Sinkaietk have ever practiced it. Billy Joe may have learned of it from his Wenatchi associates, or from his father, who is reputed to have been a great traveller.

Divorce and Remarriage

684 In the old days resentment of or punish-
837 ment for adultery was a personal affair between the injured husband and the wife's paramour. The former might kill the later, and no return vengence would fall upon him unless the relatives of the murdered man considered themselves unjustly bereaved, in which case a vendetta might be started which could last indefinitely. The wife might also have been killed, at the discretion of her husband. He might allow her to return to her family, or he might forgive her and allow her to continue as his wife. She, on the other hand, was not supposed to resent the extra-marital peccadilloes of her husband, but should she do so, she might leave him. More commonly she soothed her wounded feelings in a quarrel with his suspected female partner in iniquity.

586 Adultery was not the only reason for separation. A spouse who felt injured for any reason might go away, the woman usually returning to her parents. For instance, she might leave because her husband beat her "too much," or he might force her to go if he tired of her. Normally, the woman took the children with her. The marriage might be salvaged by a reconciliation. This could be brought about by resort to love charms, which might be obtained from many people who knew the secrets, or whose power lay in that direction. There might be pleas, recriminations, pardon, or mere casual resumption of old relations.

A man or woman might tire of his mate, pack up his best clothes to go off visiting, or to a celebration, and fail to return. He might send word that he was never coming back. Or perhaps a girl was married to an old man; a former lover might kidnap her. After the deserted spouse had remarried, the runaway felt safe to return. Often camps would divide and feuds arise over marital in-
[628] fidelities. Feuds lasted for generations if they led to a killing. If a father was killed, his son would grow up to take revenge on some partisan of the murderer.

587 Should the aggrieved party refuse to forgive and come to terms, the marriage was considered dissolved. The woman was free to marry again, and generally could, even if there were children. The former husband, of course, needed no particular dispensation, as the privilege of polygamy was always his. The woman who remarried after separating from her husband was considered quite likely to get into and out of another such scrape.

586 In case of separation, the children were brought up by either parent, but usually fell to the mother. When one of the parents died, the other had to take charge of the children, the man by way of additional wives or his female relatives.

wives or his female relatives.

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If a man died it was expected that his wife would marry one of his brothers or cousins, which one being settled by them in consultation. Should she marry one of them, or an outsider, without consulting them all, a feud was said to result. Johnnie considered her marriage to one of the brothers so obligatory that the heir had merely to enter her house, after the mourning period, and lean his weapons against the wall. Others of the informants said that very often she did not make this marriage at all. In that case all her formal connections with the family of her former husband were severed. On the death of a wife, a man was expected to marry her sister, according to Suszen. If he did not, her parents might be angry and take away his power in order to kill him. Michel said it was not compulsory. It was unthinkable that the widow should marry her deceased husband's father or son: of the latter it was said, "That would be just like marrying his mother."

Lucy Joe's statement concerning the levirate deserves quotation in full. "If a man died and left two wives, each would remarry. The dead man's brother might marry one, but he did not have to. Some people waited a long time before remarrying; some did not. A woman was supposed to 'take pity on her mother-in-law' and not marry right away. After the husband's death a woman's mother-in-law would continue to give things to her, feeding the children, and the like. About a year afterward, she would tell her daughter-in-law, 'Well, from now on you can do as you please.' The woman would select a husband for herself."

Cecile was married to Lucy Joe's son. When he died, Lucy Joe told Michel (who was Cecile's "brother-in-law," actually her cousin), "You had better take care of Cecile." So they married. Now when Cecile revisits Lucy Joe, the older woman is pleased. But if Cecile had not wanted to marry Michel, Lucy Joe would not have objected.

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The nature of marital relations is shown in the following account of Mary Carden's first marriage.

Mary's brother was married to k'alôp'kEn's sister. When her brother died her people wanted her to marry k'alôpa'kEn to keep the families together. She did not want to marry him because he already had two wives. But her people begged her to marry him so she could take care of her brother's children. This man and one of his wives and children, together with his sister and her children, lived at Omak with the grandmother, his mother.

Finally, in the fall when she was twenty, Mary decided she would. K'alôpa'kEn had come to Mary's house during these two years and stayed weeks at a time, trying to get her to say "Yes." They were all camped at Malott catching salmon when she decided

to marry him. K'alōpa'kEn was there, but with neither of his wives. So he lived with Mary at her people's house until the end of the salmon run. K'alōpa'kEn gave two horses to her father and two horses to her mother's brother. A gift was often given to a mother's brother when marrying his niece. A little later in the fall, her father and uncle each gave k'alōpa'kEn one horse. 159 595

After the salmon run, they returned to live with his mother in a log house. They were sk'ūnqwūnkEp people. K'alōpa'kEn was good-looking, wealthy, and well thought of. Wherever he went he did not take his wives along, because people would always give him a woman. He lived with his wives one at a time, that is, whenever they were not angry with him. He would always have one of them at his mother's house to take care of her, since she was blind. His wives would tire of that.

In October, Mary and he went down to the Columbia to get salmon. Then they stayed a month with Mary's people near the mouth of the Okanogan. Then they went back to Omak and stayed there until the next summer. Mary was going to have a baby, so she went home alone. She stayed home two months and then returned to Omak.

Mary lived with him about ten years and had five children, three of whom died while young. K'alōpa'kEn had left his first wife entirely when he married Mary. But he continued stopping at Kartaro and staying with his second wife a few days when he went that way.

Mary knew this woman. Sometimes she was all right, but again she would get angry and cause trouble because k'alōpa'kEn would give the best of everything to Mary.

Once he brought his second wife to live with them, because it was too lonesome for her at Kartaro. Mary told him that if he did this she would leave him. So when they were moving after this, she left his pack horses with his things and started home to her people. They were separated from June till late that fall. Mary took the children with her.

When she got back from picking hops on the coast, he was at snEkEkūlmcI'n waiting for her. He had left his second wife in the middle of the summer: it was permanent this time. They had been married about six years when this happened.

K'alōpa'kEn was killed and burned at Okanogan. It was never known who did it. Mary stayed on at Omak six months, then she went home. K'alōpe'kEn was always good to Mary except when his second wife caused trouble.

Household Arrangement

If a man had only one wife they lived either with his or her parents, or moved 591

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591 about between the homes of the two, spending some time also alone or with other relatives. Ordinarily a young couple went first to live with the husband's parents. The girl assisted the female head of the household, leaving the older woman largely the task of supervising. A young wife was instructed in her duties by this matron, but was already fairly well acquainted with most of the techniques, with which she had been working since puberty. If the mother-in-law was stingy, they might have seperate households in the same house, keeping their supplies separate and eating apart.[1] But ordinarily, since they managed to maintain pleasant relations, they lived as a single family. The young couple would remain as long as they cared to, then go to the home of the bride's parents.

Men might set up homes of their own any time they desired, but generally this was not before several children were born to them. Many of the winter villages were made up of groups of relatives of different degrees.

595 A man who had several non-related wives usually left each with her own family. Co-wives shared equally economically, unless the husband particularly favored one. Each [601] cared only for her own children and was swa wa sa (mother's sister) to all the others, whether really related or not. As there was no institutionalized head wife, jealousies often arose. Several informants said that the wife most loved by the husband had authority over the others; David Isaac, a Northern Okanagon, said that it was always the first wife. The informants insist that most men who were married had at least two wives, but chiefs, shamans and good hunters often had more. The only explanation, and a very probable one, is that there was a very high divorce rate.

Johnnie described plural marriage as follows. In the old days a man who was a good hunter would have many wives, as many as five. Several sisters would marry one man. All lived together in one house. The husband "took turns" sleeping with his wives, one each night. There was no jealousy between the wives. The husband did not stop [843] sleeping with his wife when she was pregnant, but after the baby was born he had no intercourse with her for quite a few days. The wives divided the food he brought home and took turns cooking it for him. When he died they might continue living together, or, each taking such household articles as she had made, build little separate houses in which to live. After the mourning period of a 587 year or so the man's brother, who was the 595 best hunter and had been chosen to care for them, would come to the house. If he was already married he might visit back and forth between his other wife or wives and these women. If he had but one wife and there was only one widow, he might establish

587 joint household. Children always stayed
595 with their mothers.

There were no mother-in-law or father-in-law tabus. If a man liked the wife of his son, he would treat her as he would his
606 own daughter. "He would sit near her and tell her stories." Similarly a woman and her son-in-law were like mother and son. If the son-in-law or daughter-in-law was lazy, the mother-in-law (but never the father-in-law) might beat him, or her. Unless there was some untoward personality difficulty, young married people got on perfectly, well with the parents of their spouses.

592 Each family in a mat lodge would have
264 its own food supply and fire. Women might share a single fireplace, but unrelated families ordinarily ate by themselves. Food was served on tule mats spread directly on the floor.

561 Women never got power for housekeeping,
778 for every woman was supposed to be proficient at such tasks.

NOTES ON SEX LIFE

581 Chastity in a girl was valued, so that
831 larger gifts would be given for girls with the reputation for it, and they were more likely to have influential suitors. But it was by no means demanded (compare Suicide below). Chastity was more important than ability to work, but no man wanted to marry a lazy girl.

A general statement by Johnnie seems valid. A good girl is called c'âmamtô'lu[x]. This is the sort that has no contact of even the mildest sort before marriage. She leaves the house only early in the morning and late at night. She would be told the virtues of chastity and hard work and would want to follow this advice. Her people make her resist advances from the first man who may come, waiting for a famous man who would surely come even from a great distance for such a girl. Such make very good wives. They always stay with their mothers, always within sight, and always obey their parents. Such girls are rare: one in a hundred. Nor were all the girls of a family always of this sort.

Another informant stated: Perhaps a Chelan chief would hear of such a girl and take his son with him to get her. Her father would depreciate her, saying, "She is lazy, no good, but I do not want to disappoint you." He would ask his daughter. She would reply, "It is up to you."

831 Theoretically girls were so hedged
836 about and guarded that there would seem to have been no place for the loose character.

Again Johnnie's statement: The name for

[x] See also Social Organization.

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such a one was wi'ówxina, literally (?) "she don't know when to stop," or "free to everybody." These girls never learned to be good. There were never many of them. They never worked but were supported by their own people, even though these did not like them. If a girl was always bad, going with many men, she would not have a chance to marry well. In fact, girls who had many illegitimate children would never marry. If a father found he could not halt her and tired of the disgrace, he marched her out to the woods and shot her with arrows, leaving her without burial. Not every boy would have dealings with such loose girls. The sons of "nice" people would be "nice." But every boy and girl had a certain amount of intercourse before marriage. 831 836 [684]

Illegitimate births occured, and the shame of them was lived down. A girl who had already had a baby married, and brought up the child with her later children. There was no way of forcing the men involved to marry the girl, as there was no use of a divination mechanism to determine his identity, and if accused he had only to deny the allegation. He might, however, have married the girl of his own volition. 848

However, at the time of the occurrence it was considered rather shameful, and was so felt by the girl involved. Therefore girls who became pregnant as a result of an illicit affair attempted to produce abortion by violent pressure, as by falling on their abdomens across a log. If this failed they were said sometimes to kill the child if the fact of the birth could be kept sufficiently secret. 847

There was also a magical contraceptive brought by a woman of an unidentified Puget Sound tribe. She would arrive in the Wenatchi country every summer in the days of Mary Sarsden's mother's girlhood. She instructed the women to eat the leaves of a bush that grew far up in the mountains. The bush is two and a half feet tall; its dark green, shiny leaves are small and pointed, and in general shaped like those of a tobacco called sqwulí'a. This plant was said to grow in two forms; one, which blossomed, was male, the non-blossoming variety female. Women who did not want to have children would eat these leaves after menstruation for a year. This assured permanent barrenness, but its effect, or barrenness from any other cause, might be counteracted by eating the leaves of the female or non-blossoming plant. The point of the leaf was opened with a sharpened twig; it was then blown full of air and swallowed. If the leaf could be blown up without bursting, the woman would conceive. For example, Mary's sister was married many years, but had no children. A year after taking this cure she had a child and later two more. Some women who were barren always burst the leaves when they were blown up. After Southern Okanagon women learned which bush was used, they would get the leaves themselves, asking the bush for help while picking them. In the days 842 824 842

When they had to buy this assistance, they could pay as much as a blanket or a beaded dress for a small bunch of the leaves. 842

Mary Carden had never heard of inserting anything in the vagina to prevent conception.

Girls commonly wore a broad band of buckskin between the legs as a protection against rape. This was attached by thongs to the belt fore and aft. 292 839

Abstention from intercourse before hunting and fishing was considered desirable. The purity thus acquired was to be intensified by the taking of numerous sweat baths. However, while men were away hunting, the conduct of the women left behind could not influence them. 783 834

Berdaches or transvestites were known. They were described as individuals who, though male, preferred women's dress and occupations. "It was Coyote's fault that there were such people. He announced that there would be such when he left Cougar's house, where he had masqueraded as a woman." They were not considered particularly powerful, but on the other hand they were not frowned upon. People much given to joking might make such an one his butt. We could get no notion of the frequency of their occurrence. Most of the informants knew of at least one such case. We were also told of a Nez Percé man who, about sixty years ago, came among them dressed as a woman and attempted to ply the trade of prostitute at a communal gathering. He demanded payment first and fooled the men. The man was apparently sexless, since he could have intercourse with neither men nor women. 838 [773]

In the old days there were no prostitutes. There were some girls more interested in going about with men than in any other pursuit, but this activity was non-professional, and considered very shameful. Sometimes a father who had a daughter of this sort who would not reform, has been known to kill her because of her disgracing the family. 548 834

Women who were not interested in getting married, and liked to hunt, were not called by the same term as the berdaches. These were known to exist. In neither case was it considered by the community to be really a sexual disturbance. Women of this type were sometimes forced by their fathers to marry some satisfactory suitor. 838

At the present time there is a woman of a coast tribe on the reservation who cannot have intercourse with her husband unless she feels passionate; only when she is relaxed and about to sleep. There have apparently always been a few such women, for it was said "the men know how to handle them." (On non-menstruating women, see above.) 833

CHILDBIRTH

842 If the woman did not become pregnant in due course of time after marriage she would eat herbs given or sold her by one of the old women who were wise in such lore. Should she remain barren, she would not be divorced but her husband would take another wife if he could afford it.

843 As soon as the woman knew she was pregnant, she had to observe a number of tabus. Most of these were dietary. If she ate salmon the child would gape and die as soon as it was born, while if she ate pheasant it would cry too much. If she ate eggs the child would be born with a caul. She was encouraged to eat fool-hen, as this would assure a good disposition for the baby. (Hence a fool-hen's heart was also tied to the cradle.) If she looked upon a corpse the baby would be stillborn, while if she saw a wounded animal or person bleeding, or ate fresh meat, the baby would be born red and bloody, and would die unless she rubbed it with ashes of the red willow and grease.

There were some restrictions on the father as well, but only for a short time immediately before the birth. He must not exert himself too much lest the child also be tired. He was forbidden to hunt, for should he cut a deer's throat at this time the baby would die. Should he kill a grouse and its stomach swell, that of the baby would too. He avoided this by burning a piece of deer sinew. He had to continue these avoidances after the birth while his wife remained in seclusion. Usually a man did not go out hunting at all during this time. He and his wife were fed by relatives during the time she was in seclusion.

Aside from the food tabus there were no restrictions upon the mother. For instance, she might smoke, if she was one with power [791] to smoke. A woman shaman who became pregnant would continue to make cures until the time of birth. A woman was expected to go on with her work, and to arise early and go for a swim every morning. The other women would say to her, "Get up! Don't sleep so long, or the baby will have a big head or something! Go take a swim and don't be lazy." She would remain active, working up to the time of birth, so that the child would not become too large and cause a difficult delivery. For the last month or so she might have no intercourse with her husband, but this was not so important as its avoidance during the post-parturition period. Teit says that the woman must pray to the "Day Dawn" and the husband must take sweat baths, but the first of these was denied by Lucy Joe and the second not mentioned by our informants.

These tabus applied equally at the

[For footnote, see p. 120 (c), Category 116. -- Analyst]

P. 120 (A)

843 birth of every child born to a couple.

Pregnancy was recognized by the failure to menstruate. The time for the birth was computed roughly by means of a string knotted monthly (Michel said daily), nine moons being known to be its duration. It was held that the period was longer for a first child.

844 When the time for the birth approached, the woman would go to the home of her mother if that were possible. Otherwise she would call her mother, mother-in-law, aunt, or any other matron to assist her. Such was not of necessity a woman with power, nor one who had children. No man could be present, and though the birth might perforce take place out of doors, it must never happen in the dwelling house. Many cases are remembered of women who went out for the day and had their babies en route, without any particular assistance. Some preferred to have their babies alone. This was considered as particularly appropriate for such women as had for a power animal some such thing as a mother eagle with her brood, or a bitch with young. If this happened the babe was wrapped in soft fur and brought back to camp. The mother had to spend the next ten nights in the lodge, and might not come home to the house. It was said that sometimes, instead of a completely separate lodge, one of the village menstrual lodges might be used.

If the birth took place in the proper fashion, in the lodge with one or more older women assisting, the mother sat or squatted on her heels; never lying down. The floor might be spread with fir boughs, but never with blankets or robes. The woman faced the door with her back to the fire in the center of the lodge. One of the assistants stood behind and held her shoulders, and if there were another she would squat in front and hold her arms. If there were only one assistant, a digging-stick was thrust into the ground for the mother to hold to for support.

845 If the delivery proved to be difficult, the assistant pressed on the mother's abdomen. Should she cry out unduly, her mouth and nose would be plugged. The attendants would scold her, saying, "You've got to help yourself, or you will die." Should these [791] efforts fail, a shaman might be called in, who would put water on the woman's head and blow on her. This would cause the baby to come quickly. If the shaman were male he would have to leave before the baby came, for no man might be present at the time of birth, particularly no man with power, as it would hurt his power. Should the husband have any power which might be useful under the circumstances, he too might help, but would have to leave before the crucial time. If there was difficulty in presentation, there might be efforts made by the midwives to turn the baby around, but these were seldom success-

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1/ Possibly the grouse is meant. Several varieties of pheasant have been introduced on the reservation, in common with local whites, the Indians now use the name for birds of the grouse type.--L.S.

1/ [For context of this footnote, see p. 120 (A), category 116. -- Analyst]

ful. No explanations were current for abnormal presentations. 845

When the baby was born, the father was notified. He shot arrows, beat a dog, forced a horse to run hard, and performed other such acts in order to assure the safety of the child. This was also accomplished by stroking it down the middle of the forehead and along the nose with a skunk hair. For ten days he refrained from hunting for the reasons given above. If the child did not cry at once, cold water was thrown upon it. If it were stillborn, it was considered to have been choked to death, and was buried at once with no ceremony. 846

Abnormalities in the birth are explained by happenings previous to it. A caul is due to the mother's having eaten eggs. If the cord is wrapped about the throat of the child, it is because a horse was choked with the tie rope. Cecile says that most difficulties now are due to the difficulty in the expulsion of the after-birth, but that this did not happen in the old days. She blames it on the modern practice of lying down for the birth. If the birth was premature, a pit was dug to receive the child and keep it warm. Otherwise this was not done. 845

The after-birth is buried by the attendant, or the mother herself if she is alone, lest an animal eat it, for in that case she would have no more children. 844

After a precautionary wait of a few minutes the umbilical cord was cut to about four inches. If cut at once, the baby would "bleed inside" and die. The stump was tied with Indian hemp and covered with a piece of thin greased buckskin, which was held in place by a buckskin band around the baby's body. This was removed daily to allow for the sloughing off of the cord. When the stump finally dropped off, it was tied into a little buckskin sack which was fastened to the cradle.

The baby was then washed in warm water, but was not greased. Then, and every time subsequently that it was unwrapped and bathed, it was given a beauty massage: its nose and penis pulled or blown on to make them long, its limbs rubbed, its face massaged, its eyes pressed open, and the roof of the mouth pressed up. No reason was assigned for this. Suszen stated that a new-born child was immediately dipped in water "because God created the land from water." 846 854

It was suckled with the very first milk, none being thrown away. (Cecile stated, however, that the mother first waited over night.) Should the mother be unable to nurse her child, it was given to a wet nurse, who would have to be paid for her services, even if she were a close relative. The child was returned to its mother when it was wean- 853

ed, and as this was never forced, it might mean a lapse of two or three years. If the mother died at childbirth, the baby was allowed to live, and was either given to someone to nurse, or was kept alive on berry juice, soups, and so forth. If a woman had a second child before the other was weaned, both were nursed, as were twins. No precedence was given the elder twin (the first born). This may be what Teit means by his curious statement that twins were less strictly attended to than among the Thompson."[20] 853 [845]

For a period of ten to eighteen days after the birth the mother remained in seclusion in the menstrual lodge. She might wash, but not take a sweat bath, for this would make the baby sweat also. The food tabus continued. She was fed by others, and did not cook for herself (Cecile said she might) nor for her household. She might talk to her husband only at a distance, and he could touch neither her nor the child, though he was shown the latter. His power would be harmed if he came in contact with them. He, too, was not allowed to sweat bathe, nor might he hunt or do anything strenuous that might overtax him. 846

There were several ideas current concerning the predetermination of such characters as sex and left-handedness. If the child, still unborn, faces the mother's abdomen, it will be right-handed. If it faces her back it will be left-handed: a fairly common characteristic among the Sinkaietk. If a child is left-handed, they say, "He built his face where his back should have been." Sex might be discovered by two or three means. At the winter dance a man inspired by his power might be able to tell a pregnant woman what the sex of her coming child would be. If a little boy became ashamed in the presence of a pregnant woman, it meant that she was going to have a girl; the shyness of a girl prognosticated a boy baby. No special preparations were made on the basis of these predictions, and there is no telling how seriously they were believed. 842 787

Twins were considered a very good thing. In the northern part of the area they had a reputation for intelligence and ability as diviners. A mother had no dreams or other indication that she was to give birth to twins, but "just before the birth her abdomen would become very hard, so she would know." Twinning was thought to run in families: one woman said that in her family twins appeared in alternate generations. Twins were said to be almost always of like sex. There was a conviction that only identical twins would survive. Twins were supposed to be dressed alike (of this we are doubtful) for should they be dressed otherwise, the one not favored would cry and die. The first born of twins was considered the elder. According to Lucy Joe there were no beliefs in the con- 845

20 Teit, Salishan Tribes, 279.

p.121 (B)

845 nection of twins with the weather, with salmon, or with grizzly bears.

There was believed to be a connection between parturition and the weather. When a
821 person died the weather of his birthday was
844 supposed to occur again. The weather at the birth was connected with the character of the mother. If a cold wind storm blew, it was said that the mother was cranky, mean, and could not get along with someone. On the other hand, warm, fine weather was interpreted as meaning the mother was kind and agreeable. Again, it was said of a child born in bad weather that its mother must have a "good behind" (buttocks or genitals?), nxEcō ps, of one born in good weather, that its mother must have a "bad behind," nqEcō ps.

846 About ten days after the birth (some informants say more time was necessary) the mother left the lodge. She took a sweat bath one evening, another on the next, and was then ready to return to the dwelling house. Then she cooked and all the people came to a little feast she prepared. All the old people blessed her child.

854 Newborn Sinkaietk infants were carried in cradles with the board covered by a sack, and which had neither shade bow nor tump line. They were constructed before the child was born. These were carried horizontally, or nearly so. When the child was a few months old this was changed, without ceremony, for a board with a sack attached to it, in which the baby was wrapped. This would be carried on the mother's back, or suspended from the pommel of her saddle.[21]

During the day the baby now spent its entire time strapped in the cradle. This was carried on the mother's back by a tump line which was shifted from her forehead to breast as she wearied of one position or the other. When she wished to be free of the burden, she hung the cradle from a low bough out of reach of snakes on the ground. During the day a hammock might be used for the baby This was a long piece of skin slung between two trees. It was kept swinging by some small child so that the mother could go about her work.

There were characteristic ways of rocking a cradle: on the mother's back, or lying on her extended palms while her arms were crossed under it, or lying on the thighs as the woman sat with legs extended straight before her.

At night the baby was wrapped in the same fashion, but instead of being placed in a board cradle, it was put into a sack of soft coyote skin, fur side in. This was used summer and winter, as long as the baby was still carried on the cradle board. The sack was merely a roughly rectangular piece of skin the edges of which met in front,

21 For descriptions of the several types of cradles, see Material Culture.

p. 122 (A)

854 where they were laced after the baby was in place (Figure 17,e).[1]

855 The cradle was kept in continuous use until the child could walk. After that it served when long journeys were to be made.
[856] It was said that formerly infants learned to walk only at a later age than in these days of non-cradling, so it may be presumed that cradling retarded this ability.

854 For bedding the baby on the cradle two skin wrappings were used, always placed fur side in. One, serving as an outer blanket, was either a coyote skin or two jack rabbit skins sewed together. The other was a diaper, a single jack rabbit skin, or in warm weather, thin buckskin. This diaper was spread with shredded willow bark or dried cattail fluff. (The latter was, of course, picked in the fall and was stored in large sacks. On this the baby was placed, one side of the diaper brought across and between the legs to prevent chafing, and the opposite edge drawn quite across its body. Some women disposed of the soiled cattail fluff by storing it in a sack until it could be conveniently thrown away (?); others burned it.

The sanitary arrangements were the same for both first and second cradles. The penis of the boy was left outside the lacings; the inside of the girl's sack was kept dry by a piece of folded buckskin, drawn up from underneath, between her legs, and left hanging outside the lacings, hanging over the edge of the board at the end and at the sides. These pieces of buckskin were cleaned with clay as often as necessary. Sometimes the boy's cradle also had a buckskin outlet, of tubular form.

186 Most of the informants denied that
304 there was any intention of flattening the
854 head among the Sinkaietk. They knew that this was done by some of their neighbors, but they laughed at them for it, calling the Nez Perce and others papi liakin, "flatheads," on this account. They in turn laughed at the Sinkaietk for failing to do so. Mary Cerden, however, described the process, which she said was a method of beautifying.

304 A flat stone or other hard substance
854 was put in position on the baby's head and bound (?) down with a broad strip of skin. Then the infant was wrapped in the outer blanket and laced in the cradle. The arms were left free during the day so that it might play with the dangling strings of dentalium shells.

846 The stump of the umbilical cord was sew-
854 ed up in buckskin and, with a sack containing the heart of a fool-hen, was fastened to the cradle covering near the child's head. The fool-hen's heart made the child well behaved and docile like the bird.

[1] [For figure see p. 51(A), category 116. -- Analyst]

The baby was unwrapped every day and bathed, at first in warm, but as it grew older, in unheated water. (The heating of water sounds unaboriginal: Mary Carden stated that even tiny babies were bathed in cold water.) The wrappings were, however, rarely cleaned. Each time the infant was unwrapped it was given a beauty massage. Limbs, nose and eyelids were rubbed, the roof of the mouth was pressed with the thumb; all to the end that these features might be lengthened or otherwise beautified. The baby was also dusted with powder and its cradle filled with the dried and pounded stalks, flowers and leaves of sEsan'l'stEn, a sweet-smelling plant. (This had a stalk like a sunflower and small white flowers an inch and a half in diameter.) This assured the baby smelling sweetly, not only while thus perfumed, but all through life, and also made it grow healthy and strong.

When the child outgrew the cradle, it was carried to the hills, with the stump of the umbilical cord still attached, and hidden so that no one could find it, e.g., lodged between two trees.

A cradle might be used again for another child, however. A woman might borrow one which had belonged to a child of another family. When it was to be used again, the skins were cleaned with clay. A board belonging to a baby who had died had to be purified before it could be reused. It was filled with fir boughs or rose twigs which were changed every day for two weeks.

Teit's material on carriers mentions wrapping in soft furs, with the use of shredded bark for bedding. He describes drains of bark and wood, of which our informants knew nothing. The use of soft pillows and non-flattening of the head, which he reports, agree with our material."

When the child was able to walk the cradle was put aside to await the next child. If a journey longer than the child was able to take was to be made, it was carried on its mother's back in a sling supported across her chest. The child sat in this with its arms around its mother's neck, and its legs about her waist. The sling, which may have been but the common tump line, was a rope of Indian hemp having a broad central part some nine inches long on which the child sat. It was possible to carry a child and a pack at the same time with this device, the child being perched on the load.

ADULT LIFE

Sinkaietk life followed a routine in which the variations were chiefly seasonal. Men hunted and fished, gambled and fought. Women gathered vegetables and small animal food, did the work about the house and made the clothes and most of the utensils. All

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22 Teit, Salishan Tribes, 279.

cooking was done by women. it was a disgrace for a man to cook unless he was hunting alone. But both sexes gathered firewood. Aside from cooking, the cares of the household were not great, as pots and mats were not cleaned, and only occasionally was the floor swept with a bundle of twigs. Clothes were usually used until they were worn through, not much effort being expended on cleaning them, though clays were known which could be used for this purpose. 462

This is Mary Carden's description of the start of an ordinary day: 512

The women arose early;in the winter before daylight. They woke the big girls, to help cook, and the boys, to get the horses for the men. Little children were allowed to sleep as long as they liked. Women turned over the log to start the household fire afresh, then went down to the river for a swim, and to fetch a basket of water. Children, too, swam as soon as they got up. [Boys were supposed to have returned from swimming before the girls went.]

Then the breakfast was cooked in baskets of pine bark, while the men bathed in the river. Soon the meal was ready;this the family ate off tule mats spread on the ground, each family about its own mat. Before eating they prayed to Kúlēnsō'tn; some old man would ask for help for them all through the day. The women of each family placed a bit of their best food in the little basket before him. He said a few words which the people repeated. Then this food was passed around so that all might share the tidbits. 512 264 [783]

Of ordinary food, each family ate its own. There was no eating together except at formal feasts. The women served the men before themselves. [There were no regular seating arrangements and no regular places even for the heads of the families. However, the women and older girls sat near the fire so that they might reach the food to pass it about. If a man wanted anything he would ask for it as abruptly as he pleased and a woman would fetch it at once.]

Solid food was placed on the mat and soups were served in baskets, from which all helped themselves with individual elk horn or wooden spoons. [There was no tradition for modestly refraining from taking the choicest bits.] After the meal the women shook and brushed the food mats, rolled the cooking utensils in them and piled them with the baskets in the storeroom either side of the door. If there was more than a single family in a tipi, each had its allotted space for dwelling, and there the articles were kept.

During the day the people might be busily engaged either at camp or away from it,or 512 521

p.123 (B)

512 they might pass the time in conversing, or, more properly, listening to or delivering
521 monologues. No one was interrupted while speaking, and when any important matter was being discussed there were frequent long pauses which all respected. The listeners did not look at the speaker but cast their eyes on the ground as though lost in thought

516 When sitting about, the men sat on the ground with one foot under them, inside uppermost, with the other knee up, or with their legs parallel and extending to one side under them. They also sat with legs crossed under them; crossing the ankles before sitting and uncrossing them only after rising again. In such a position the knees might be on the ground or raised. The usual position, as when eating, was to kneel with the knees and feet close together, and then sit back on the heels: in this position the lower part of the knees, the front of the shins, and the instep were flat on the ground. A common working position for men was sitting with both feet flat on the ground before them, knees sharply drawn up. Another position when seated was to have the left leg folded in front of the body, the right knee up, and the right foot flat on the ground.

Women most often sat with their feet to the side of, rather than under their buttocks, the sole of one across the instep of the other. While not working they usually preferred keeping both legs stretched out before them. When women sat down they tucked the fringe of the bark skirt between the legs.

[291] The blanket or robe was held together by folding the arms over the breast, holding an edge of the blanket in each hand. Either right or left hand could rest on top of the other.

201 Pointing with the finger to designate something was quite permissible gesture.

513 Should anyone decide to take a nap during the day, as was very commonly done, he would go to sleep right in or near the tipi, making no attempt to avoid the miscellaneous camp noises.

343 At each winter village, according to
461 Cecile, the women had a house of their own
512 at which they gathered to work. Presumably this was a mat lodge, but one which admitted more light. This was a Wenatchi institution insisted Lucy Joe, who is undoubtedly better informed. She stated that Southern Okanagon women on the contrary worked in their own homes.

The Wenatchi weaving house was a semi-underground affair entered from above by means of a notched log. The superstructure, erected over a pit two feet deep, was covered with bark, then grass, finally dirt. Its form was not clearly described. When women finished breakfast they went to this weaving house to stay until evening.

343 To return to Cecile's description: During the summer women's activities, as berrying, digging food, preparing skins, and so
461 forth, made such a place unnecessary. While they erected the house collectively any
512 woman who was visiting might make use of it. Here they spent the greater part of the day weaving baskets and sacks, making buckets and the like, leaving in the evening only when it was time to prepare the evening meal, the principal meal of the day. Each one had her regular place in the house where she kept her materials. This house was called sneī mEn, "place to weave."

343 In this connection it must be noted that Duszen described a somewhat similar
857 house for girls, but this was mentioned by no other informant and Dave explicitly denied its existence. The girls' house
868 (ūlakī m) was evidently a small underground lodge, and as such, found only in the permanent settlements. Here the girls went through the day, being instructed by some old woman in the making of bags, baskets, beadwork, mats, and all the other women's manufactures. Girls first went when seven to nine years old and continued until they had learned everything. "It was just like school. They would have no time for learning after they were married." Girls were thus kept from running off with boys and learned what was useful. Attendance was irregular, depending upon what work awaited them at home. Some girls slept there. The house was usually near a berry patch so the girls could get something to eat. There was nothing comparable for boys.

593 Life in a typical camp, that of the Timentwa's, as Mr. Post observed it while living there, deserves description in full:

Fathers and sons seem to go around with each other a great deal. They travel together, go for a stroll together, and sit together in larger groups. They seem never to misunderstand one another. The father would not often ask his son to do anything; both seemed to see what was to be done and thereupon do it in equal degree. This applies equally to small boys. They were rarely given orders; practically never created a
[888] disturbance or were a nuisance. Yet no formal respect was paid to older people.

578 Harsh words and unkindness appeared to be absent: no personal jokes or sly digs. There was great tolerance on the very few occasions when it was needed.

264 At table they were not ceremonious. One never hesitated to take the last piece on a platter even if by so doing his neighbor would get none. No one suffered from too little to eat, but he might not get any of his favorite dish. There was no complaint in such a case, nor any sign of disappointment.

There was no regular place for each person while they were eating, not even for the head of the family, except that the mother

and older daughters sat nearest the fire so that they could reach for food to pass around. If any man wanted a thing, he would just say, "Some —" or "Where is the —?"; a woman would get up and fetch it without a word. 264

If another family came to visit, their women cooked over a fire apart, and would start the dish of food where most of the members of their family sat, but the dish was passed on among others present until empty. 574

There were two baby girls at the Timentwa table: one of two and the other three years of age. Neither was spoiled in any degree, yet they were spoken to and given every attention after meal time. At other times they were not noticed. The women did not pet them at all, though they betrayed their usual stoical appearance with regard to the babies by the kindest of smiles when the babies were not looking. When one cried it would be softly spoken to in a soothing tone, and sometimes a hand held out to it. But no more was done and it soon stopped. It was addressed very much as an adult or a child of nine or ten who had done something wrong would be by us. In general they were well behaved and no nuisance. They gave the happiest smiles on every occasion and seemed to have a happy pleasant existence. These two girls (one a Timentwa, the other a distant relative visiting with her widowed mother) had absolutely nothing to do with each other. 858

There was no conventionalized joking-relationship. Joking between individuals was, on the other hand, fairly common. There were some people who, either because of their own temperamental flair in that direction, or peculierities which laid them open to it, were treated jokingly by everybody. They were called by nicknames which were as often as not of their own devising, and verbally teased in many ways. Practical jokes are rare. Playing practical jokes was called kwEskwa'st, and the practical joker ("a fellow who is always playing jokes") was called the same. Verbal jokes (n kwhsawEstsi'n) were common and usually received in friendly spirit. When two friends were always arguing, but never really quarrelling, it was said of them, "One is ugly and the other is good-looking." One common joke of today is apparently a relic of the levirate: one man will say to another (a friend, often a cousin), "When I die, you will have the woman left," i.e., the speaker's wife. A frequent joke, and one always heartily laughed at, is based on the likeness of the words for "dessert" and "cool." TExei lstEn means "fruit eaten after a meal" or dessert, the implication being that the fruit is cooling or refreshing. TExa'pI'ls means "to cool off" by taking cool air into the lungs or by being in a cool breeze. When a fruit dessert was suggested, one jokester said, "You don't need 'fruit after a meal', it is 'cool' enough." Another said, "Just go out and take a deep breath in the wind, then you won't need 'fruit after a meal'." 522 571

There were no insulting gestures. The following verbal insults were recorded: nɬupqō´pc, "dirty anus (or buttocks)"; ʔkcilt̄xmī´lt, "bastard"; kēkówa´p, "dog"; kcqwē´chin, "you have semen on your penis"; kcpa´rEk, "your foreskin is drawn back"; "your anus is filled with blue mud." 578

Some phrases of greeting were secured. When a man meets a friend on the trail, he says, waī xī'wī´t, "Good! We meet." The other replies, waī (waī is a generalized affirmative, rendered "well," "good"). To a caller entering a house, or to a person joining a group, one of those present would say, waī ktstsEkī´ts, "Good! You have come," to which the newcomer responds, waī. 576

A great deal of time was spent in visiting. This was very informal. One entered the tipi of another with some such greeting as waī ktskī´ts, "Well, I am here." This the other echoed, and then hands were shaken all around. After this the visitor was asked to sit down, often at the best place, that belonging to the head of the house, back of the fireplace. He was expected immediately and without further formality to deliver any news of which he was aware. Chilowhist Jim stated that one was expected to enter and sit without invitation, for if he hesitated he might be taken for an enemy. In entering the semi-underground house there was somewhat more formality demanded of a visitor. Possibly even members of the household were required to announce their presence at the top of the ladder, so that those within would avoid the foot of it. There was a particular rule of etiquette demanding that no one look up while a woman was descending. When one person was leaving, he or she said, waī qEnqʔhō´la, "Well, I am going," or in the plural, waī qōqʔhū´la, "Well, we are going," to which the response was waī. 574 576 [203]

When a visitor arrived the dogs would bark and someone would look out. One never went to meet a visitor. When he reached the entrance, he announced, "I am here." The host responded, xwa´I kūskī´tsEts, "Oh, you are here," and again the visitor said, xwa´I kūnskī´ts, "Yes, I am here." This is just like knocking and opening the door. The visitor descended the ladder and went around shaking hands with everyone present, including children. Then some man would say, "Sit down." The visitor was offered the place belonging to the head of the household, the best place (which in a mat lodge was back of the fireplace opposite the doorway). Should the guest bring important news, he told it immediately. People always asked, "Have you any news?" If he replied in the negative, they knew he was merely visiting. He might begin to tell stories. The woman of the household was supposed to cook a full meal for him, whether he arrived at meal time or not. He was given the best place to sleep, adjacent to the head of the house.

A married woman might go to visit her parents without her husband, but his permission was required. She carried gifts (Mary Carden). 585 431

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574 If the guest remained for any length of time he was given food, and if he stayed overnight at a strange camp he was given a good place to sleep. He was fed during the length of his stay, however protracted, and even a whole family was so treated if it came visiting. The women might help with the cooking, and other womanly occupations. Families might eat together in this case, but at all other times except feasts they ate separately.

572 431 Men and women alike had particular friends whom they called "partner" (sEla'xt) and whom they visited frequently. Lucy Joe, in describing this relationship, said, "Sometimes I just think suddenly 'I'll go see —.' Then I get a basket of cherries or something and take them to her. Then she is very glad." This partner was almost always of the same sex and served also as a confidant. To Chilowhist Jim it seemed that women did not have such partners as frequently as men; further that the relationship between any pair lasted only a few years.

To David, a Penticton, this seemed an absurdly simple pattern. Though in the north there was this exchange of gifts informally between friends, there was the feeling that anyone in the group might have anything he needed from the others. Begging was disgraceful, but gifts of food or even such things as moccasins were given to a man leaving after a visit should he need them. The recipient would probably feel obligated to make some sort of return, but the gifts were not given with this in mind. However, to David, the institution of the gift-exchanging friendship had reference primarily to men of the various neighboring tribes. They would help each other, particularly if one of the pair should become bankrupt through gambling while on a trading trip.

574 431 David's statement is as follows: People visiting friends do not bring food. Hosts always give them food to carry to their children or parents. Friends seldom buy from each other while visiting. If a host sees that his guest is in need of moccasins, clothes, etc., he would try to find some to present when the latter leaves. Begging was considered contemptible, however. A guest presented with moccasins, for example, would feel that he owed his host a present in return, but the donor would not think so.

572 431 Suppose a Wenatchi was visiting and had bad luck in gambling. Some man would give him clothes and the like so that he could get home. Later, when this generous person was in the Wenatchi country, he would be invited to stay with the man he had befriended. The latter would treat him well and give him gifts when he was leaving. He would say, 'We'll be friends all the time. When you come to my country you will always stay with

[For context of these footnotes, see P. 126(B), category 116. -- Analyst]

23 On trading friends see Social Structure. ½
24 Teit, Salishan Tribes, 250. ½

572 me and I will give you things." They would
431 agree to exchange presents and hospitality as long as they lived.

One of them might go to visit his partner with some horses. When he got ready to leave the other would pick out some fine horses and give them to him. Each would insist on the worthlessness of the things he was giving. They all tried to return more than they were given.

[426] A man would have a "giving-partner" in his own tribe very seldom, because men in the same tribe are friends anyway and borrow each other's goods or horses freely. Men thus borrowing each other's belongings modestly refrained from taking the best.

They did not ostentatiously give their return presents, but would simply lay down the return gift, without saying, "Here, I am returning your gift." A man would try to make a return of a little better value than what he had received, and the recipient, seeing this, would sometimes give something extra, commenting on his generosity.

A pair of gift-exchanging friends called one another sinūqōlhwitstūē'h, "giving-partner" (-tūē'h, reciprocal). A partner is stōq!ūē; a gift chwitsx.

There was no gift-giving to ruin the recipient's reputation through his inability to return a larger gift, as in a Coast potlatch.

484 Among many groups the men had regular
572 partners with whom they preferred to trade
439 when they went on long trips.[1] Large groups often went, and the women went along, for they were useful for carrying and the care of the food. Much of the produce exchanged was actually the property of the women, who did their own trading while the men occupied themselves in gambling. Teit says that there were families which undertook these trips regularly, while others went only occasionally. Young men, however, often went along merely for adventure."[1] Trading visits were one of the great opportunities, like the salmon fishing and some of the winter [527] dances, for the coming together of large crowds of people, so that the young people [584] had a chance to meet. Marriages were frequently contracted at this time.

885 By the time that full middle life was
554 reached, social recognition of individual differences was achieved. Differentiation in position and function meant rather specialized activities on the part of some of the people. Shamans of various sorts, who had more potent supernatural blessings than the rest of the community; headmen of village groups and executive officials, chosen for their prestige and personality, as well

[1] [For footnote, see p. 126(A), category 116. -- Analyst]

as their supernatural favors; chiefs, holding position largely because of birth; all spent some part of their time in activities not participated in to the same extent or in the same manner by the rest of the group. However, specialization was never so extreme as to exempt these individuals from the ordinary economic pursuits of the group, and still less from the social and religious activities. 885 554

It was known that women sometimes died at menopause. 886

Insanity was said to have been very rare. All those Mrs. Louie could recall were half-breeds. Cecile also cited a few cases: a young Wenatchi girl, and a local girl who was sent to an asylum recently because she "wanted power too much." A case of years ago was that of a woman who was badly frightened at the time of the earthquake (about seventy-five years ago?). She took off all her clothes and ran away. She was found naked, frozen to death in the snow. 158

Some data on suicide was obtained from Johnnie Louie which may be added here. The pattern for suicide seems to be by hanging. No one was ever hung for punishment. Suicide was rare among men, but common enough among girls. For instance, if a girl was angry she might kill herself, or if a wife was beaten on unfounded suspicion of adultery she might hang herself. If a girl got a reputation as loose, her father might whip her; she, feeling hurt, might kill herself. A child who suggests something important to its parents, which the latter refuse, has good cause to kill himself for shame. Thus, sixty years ago a man was sent by the priests to convert his family. His father disagreeing, the son shot himself through the mouth. Cecile Brooks said that suicides were more frequent in early days than at present. Women particularly were given to it on such provocation as a parental scolding, a disagreement over bethrothal, or the like. They would hang themselves with a pack rope. Men also killed themselves, for example, because of jealousy. "They rigged up some sort of arrangement by which they could release an arrow with their toes." 762

DEATH AND BURIAL

As soon at it was known that a death had taken place, relatives and friends came to the house to wail. Those too far away to come gathered to mourn where they were. A night was spent mourning over the body. Relatives, or unrelated old men, prepared the corpse for burial. In each locality there seems to have been one old man who customarily performed this task, assisted by another he might choose. The corpse was washed, dressed in fresh (?) clothes, and bound in a flexed position, with knees to chest, hands and feet crossed. It was never painted, unlike the Nez Percé and Colville. The braids 764

45 Curtis, North American Indian, VII, 76.

P.127(A)

764

were cut off, according to Lucy Joe, but those of a girl were buried with her "because she would like the porcupine quill ornaments in them." The deceased was then laced in his own blanket (a buffalo hide, fur side in, if he had it), or a buckskin; the sides of the blanket being first laced together over him, then top and bottom turned down and fastened. Should the persons preparing it let tears fall on it, their eyes would "rot" and water as the body rotted. (Johnnie thought his eyes were watering because he let tears fall on his mother's body.)

The burial took place the day after the death. The body was slung by its wrapping of Indian hemp rope from a pole, and carried out either side of the mat lodge, the mats being untied. If it were a tipi, the corpse was taken out at the back, not as a preventative of the return of the ghost, but because the wrapped body was too large to carry through the doorway. Those in the village who were accustomed to take charge at funerals did the transporting. Two men at each end carried the pole on their left shoulders. The body was buried either under a rock slide, or some other place where the grave could be covered over with rocks. The hole was lined with tule mats, or these were wrapped around the bundle. The body was always placed in the hole under the rock slide on its back.

How general was the practice of placing objects with the dead is not clear. At least at the southern end of our territory, according to Mary Carden, personal belongings such as grinding slabs, tanning tools, power objects, bow and arrow, and the like, were placed on the body before the grave was filled with rocks. Among the northern peoples the possessions of the deceased were destroyed at the grave, and the hides of valuable horses stretched over it. Curtis says that valuable articles were actually buried with the deceased, but some of our informants denied this."[1] A peeled cedar pole (or two or three), undecorated, was set up on the grave; cedar because it disintegrated slowly. If the deceased had had much power, his power emblem was tied to the pole. According to Mary the carrying pole was broken in several pieces to be set up at the head of the grave. The same informant stated that branches of rose bushes and Oregon grape were placed not only on the grave, but around the walls of the house and around the mats on which the individuals had died, to prevent the escape of his ghost. There was no canoe burial.

It was stated by Michel that in the vicinity of Arrow and Okanogan Lakes a canoe was left on the grave.

If the death took place in the winter, when there was no means of breaking the ground, the body, properly wrapped with thongs and a tule mat, was placed in a tree

[1] [For footnote, see p. 127 (A), Category 116. -- Analyst]

p. 127 (B)

764 out of reach of marauding animals to await the thaw. Once it was properly buried it was never touched again, as interfering with a grave was believed to bring dire conse-
[769] quences, particularly bringing storms and cold. For this reason all burial places were avoided as much as possible."[1]

Children were buried by their own parents, but in other ways their burial corresponded with that of the adults. (Cecile
[834] said that there were no food tabus for the parents.) The parents were not forbidden to sleep together and might have another child during the period of mourning. A mother and
766 child dying in childbirth were wrapped together, the child in the woman's arms.

The case of women who happened to die while gathering sunflower seeds was cited as a rare example of non-burial."[1] Her body was then considered a menace, and anyone rash enough to camp near the spot where it was left would be chased by her shoulder blade, which was her ghost.

764 Those who touched the corpse, and also those who had handled the deceased during his last illness, were required to wash their hands and faces in a water in which rose leaves had been dipped. This freed them from ghostly visitations, possible sickness, and from contamination which animals could sense and would avoid. Those who were related to the deceased took greater pains to remove this, and had to sweat bathe and scour themselves with fir boughs. After some time they drank the rose water and were then free

765 Very close relatives, spouses, parents, children, and siblings mourned for a long time. They cut their hair to the level of their shoulders and left it unbraided. Beyond this there was no self-mutilation. The took frequent cold baths, and it they too sweat baths, about which there was some difference of attitude, used separate rather than the communal sweat houses. They drank the rose leaf water and rubbed their bodies with fir needles to keep from going blind and to avoid dreaming of the dead. They slept upon fir boughs, not blankets. These were changed daily, as contact with the mourner was said to turn them yellow. This was to be continued until such time as this phenomenon ceased to be noted. The period was longest for the widow, who had many tabus to observe during her mourning. She must use no paint, never changed her clothes from those she had worn at the time of the death, even when she was in the menstrual

[1] [For footnotes, see p. 128(c), Category 116. -- Analyst]

765 lodge, and wore bound around her ankles and wrists strips of buckskin which she was not to change or remove. On rising in the morning she went to the grave alone to wail for a few minutes; every day at first, but with dwindling frequency. If her home was too far from the grave, she wailed just outside the house. Her posture while she was so engaged was crouching with her feet flat on the ground, while she bowed her face in her palms. A widow would mourn in this fashion for about a year, when she might think of re-
[587] marriage. Should she marry too soon her abdomen would swell until she died: her husband would not be able to hunt successfully, would lose his power, and would sicken and die. For a month after the death other mourners, on meeting, wailed: "as soon as they saw each other they would cry." None of the mourners might eat fresh meat or salmon lest they endanger the supply. If a newly bereaved woman picked berries it was sure to ruin the crop for all. A man in mourning could not hunt for a month after the death, for the animals would be frightened of him.

768 Sometimes when a person died the house of death was razed, its poles burned or abandoned. A whole village might be abandoned at this time. Destroying the house was not always done, but was said to have been a matter for the family to decide. It was not done in severe weather. Instead, the house was surrounded with rose bush or Oregon grape branches, and the spot where the deceased had lain covered with fir boughs, or surrounded as was the house. The boughs were changed as often as they became sear, until, when they remained fresh, purification was known to have been accomplished. This was a precaution against the return of the ghost, which was dreaded. Alexander Ross' account gives the razing of the house as the only proper pattern."½ The old women of the camp came together to wail and to burn the mats on which the dead person had slept, and such of his oldest clothes as were not wanted.

There was little property to be disposed of. There were clothes and, for the man, his weapons, horses, dogs; for the woman, her blankets, mats and household utensils. Under the supervision of the mother, the brother, or other close relative, the strictly personal property of the deceased, such as was not in common use by all the household, was divided on the day of burial. The undertaker's helper (for whom there was no particular designation) was usu-

p. 128 (B)
½ [For footnote, see p. 128(c), Category 116. -- Analyst]

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[24] There is some difference of opinion among us as to the Sinkaietk attitude toward the dead and their graves. Miss Mandelbaum had originally written that the horror was such that it was unlikely that mourning widows visited the graves, as described below. Miss Walters took exception to this, noting by way of illustration that recently young men of the Tukoretum band have helped local amateur archaeologists exhume the skeletons of their own ancestors. The older people were fully aware of this and did not express their disapproval. – L.S.

[25] It is not known whether the reference is to women dying away from home or while gathering these seeds specifically. – L.S.

[26] Ross, Alexander, Adventures, 321.

1/ [For context of these footnotes, See pp. 128(A), 128(B), category 116. -- Analyst]

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ally asked to hold up articles, saying who they were for, and make the presentation. Much of the property went to the family. The mother of the deceased, especially if she disliked her daughter-in-law, or some other close relative, might take the lot. But while it was usual to keep most of it, some was given to relatives and friends. Such articles or animals as were reused had first to be purified by a sprinkling of rose-leaf water. The fir bough test was used with these too, to discover when the process was completed. (Cecile Brooks stated that while a dead man's property was washed in rose-leaf water, that of a dead woman was cleaned only in clear water.) As has been mentioned above, some people destroyed some of the property at the grave. This tallies with the account which Ross gives. His description of burial of property, and Teit's of the use of canoes and effigies on the grave,[29] were not recognized by some of our informants.

Michel said that the property of the deceased was sometimes given away to non-related members of the community and to strangers. The purpose was said to be that of ridding the family of any reminders of the deceased. The older informants insisted that this had but newly been taken up by the Sinkaietk. This they said also with reference to the ceremony now practiced about a

29 Teit, Salishan Tribes, 288.

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year after the death, when things are given away at a large gathering and feast. 768

Cecile's account of this was as follows. About a year later a second feast was held by the dead man's people. This was a feast held so the people would pray for the dead. The man giving the feast selected a man to pass around the gifts (baskets, dishes, tools, etc.) after they all cried. They cried for the particular dead person for whom the rite was held, but they also thought about their own dead. After this the chief rose and spoke to those about to receive gifts: "No matter if these things are not good, when you take them don't throw them away, because the dead want you to pray for them." This is apperently the paying ceremony described by Teit. 765

If this pattern did exist among the Sinkaietk in the old days it was about the only formal recognition of deceased members of the community by the survivors, except the occasional immediate reuse of a name, or inheritance of a power. Even persons who had played unusually important roles during their lives would probably be remembered only by the immediate descendants of their contemporaries, for there was no pattern for the careful retelling of historical tales, or even such purely mechanical formalizations of history as genealogies. 173 765

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RELIGION AND WORLD VIEW

By WALTER CLINE

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RELIGION AND WORLD VIEW

By WALTER CLINE

POWER

771 The religion of the Okanagon expressed
776 itself in the affiliation of the individual
778 man or woman with a material object or class of objects, usually with an animal, bird, or insect. Their word sûmix refers to this relationship, as well as to anything which functioned for a person in this way, and to the physical and spiritual potency which one possessed by virtue of this affiliation. When speaking English, the Okanagon translate sûmix as "power." I shall use the word "power" for each and all of the different meanings of sumix; and, to avoid tedious repetition, shall often refer to the source of power as the "guardian spirit."

776 Though one's power was something quite distinct from his soul, the Okanagon believed, in a vague way, that it resided inside him, perhaps in his chest or in his heart. When it manifested itself in his power-song, his whole body shook. One's guardian spirit dwelt somewhere in the woods or the mountains, and came to him when he thought of it or needed its aid. Mary Carden explained that though the power remained with its possessor, its "spirit" wandered far. She called this "spirit" of the power, however, by the same word as the power itself, sûmix. The "spirit" was perhaps the guardian spirit in animal or other guise, as opposed to the formless potency which one had obtained from it and which abided within him.

The guardian spirit seems to have been an individual rather than a class; a single beaver, for example, who built his dam on a certain stream in the woods, rather than all beavers embodied in the power vision as one. Numerous instances support this idea. Our informants explicitly stated that the same individual animal or object could endow with power several different people. But this individual usually represented the class to which it belonged, and the duties and privileges which it conferred on its human protege extended to his relations with all members of its class. A man who had power from a rattlesnake regarded all men and women who had rattlesnake power as his friendly associates. His affiliation with one visionary rattlesnake affected his attitude toward all rattlesnakes: he was immune from their bite; he could cure other people who were suffering from it.

In dreams and visions the Okanagon saw the guardian spirit more often in human than in animal form, and heard it speak their own language and sing their style of songs. In a conflict between guardian spirits, the lat-

776 ter were visualized as animals, birds, or whatever they happened to be. When captured and being destroyed by a shaman, the power seemed distinctly material, since, after cutting it to pieces with a knife, the shaman could show its blood on his hands.

The sex of the guardian spirit was seldom specified. It appeared as a man or woman to the power seeker, and seems usually to have had the same sex as the latter, though this was not definitely stated by the informants. At the winter dances, the dancer sometimes remarked that his guardian spirit was female.

The explicit conception of power as a divisible quantity seems to have been peculiar to Suszen Timentwa's religious scheme, though the idea was perhaps implicit in Okanagon thought. With his characteristic tinge of Christian cosmogony, Suszen explained that God originally gave his power, his "breath," to the animals, commanding them to give half of it to man, and that man therefore had half as much power as they. All of the informants agreed that a parent could direct his guardian spirit to confer power on his children or grandchildren without decreasing his own supply. Chilowhist Jim said that if one died without giving his power away, it simply returned to the animals from which it had come.

776 825 I have listed below some of the guardian spirits, with remarks on their relative and specialized strength, and have indicated in parentheses the names of the informants from whom we obtained the data in each case.

Guardian Spirit	Remarks
Coyote	gave power for killing deer, because it was carnivorous (Cecile);
	gave power for gambling, because Coyote in the folktales was a smart gambler (Cecile).
Dog	(Michel).
Otter	gave power for swimming (Suszen).
Bear	gave the were-bear faculty (Johnnie);
	made one rich, because it was a strong power;
	"made bears mind you like a dog" (Chilowhist Jim);
	made one as resistant to arrows as a bear is (Chilowhist Jim).
Eel	gave power to escape from enemies, because it is so slippery (David).

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Rattlesnake	gave immunity to rattlesnake poison (Johnnie); gave power to cure rattlesnake bites (Johnnie and Suszen).
Cougar	one of the strongest powers, because the cougar is so strong (Cecile); gave power for killing deer, because the cougar is carnivorous (Cecile). (Johnnie, who said that he had the cougar power, claimed that cougar power was very weak.)
Wolf	gave no power, because it was weak and knew nothing (Suszen); gave power for killing deer because the wolf is carnivorous (Cecile).
Grizzly bear	one of the strongest guardian spirits, because the grizzly itself is so strong (Cecile); gave power to acquire riches, because of its great strength (Lucy Joe); gave power to kill grizzlies (various informants)
Deer	gave power to kill deer (Cecile; Johnnie); gave weak power (Michel); gave power to cure by sucking, because the deer was often shot (Cecile).
Mouse	gave power for foot-racing (Suszen).
Small birds	have the most power (Michel).
	when associated with hailstones, give immunity to bullets (Michel).
Hawk	gave power to cure rattlesnake bite, because the hawk ate rattlesnakes (Suszen).
Fish-hawk	not as powerful as the eagle (Johnnie and Billy Joe).
Buzzard	the best bird for giving power for curing.
Eagle	gave power to kill deer, because the eagle is carnivorous (Cecile); one of the strongest powers, because the eagle is so strong (Cecile).
Bluejay	(The Colville believed that the bluejay gave special power for finding lost articles, but the Okanagon said that this was not so with them [Johnnie].)
Western horned owl	gave power for seeing clearly at night (Cecile).
Sage-hen	gave power for foot-racing? (Suszen).
Any insect	(Cecile and Lucy Joe).
Worms	gave power to cure consumption.
Horse fly	gave power to cure blood-poisoning (Suszen).

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776	Spider	gave power to cure spider bites by touching (Suszen).
825	Grasshopper which sat on a warm rock until the rock got cold	gave very strong power (Cecile or Lucy Joe).
	Tree on which a woodpecker has worked	gave power to become wealthy, because the chips lying around it on the ground represented the riches of the woodpecker (Johnnie and Michel).
[821]	Rainbow power, from the water where the end of the rainbow touched	unspecified
	"The biggest and oldest of all the deer"	gave strong power
	A deer swimming in the winter	gave power for swimming (Suszen).
	A lost animal	gave bad power (Suszen).
	An animal hurt and trying to get well	gave bad power (Suszen).
[823]	A dead animal	gave bad power (Suszen).
	Rock	(Cecile).
776	Tree stump	(Cecile; David).
	Sun	did not give power (Cecile); in old times, it gave power for curing anything (Michel).
824		
824	Moon	did not give power (Cecile and Michel).
	Stars	did not give power (Cecile; Michel).
	Thunder	gave power for fighting (Michel; Suszen
[769]	Qûxtsin root	(Michel).
	Graveyard	This is Colville; it gave power for gambling (Johnnie).
[826]	Bone	gave bad power (Suszen).
[827]	Dung	in the myth in which the Creator gave the animals their names, Coyote is told that his own dung will be his power. The narrators laughed at this. We never heard of dung as a guardian spirit in modern times, though theoretically it would not be impossible.
776	Sun	gave power for hunting (Johnnie, in answer to a leading question).
829	Strap	gave power to keep a horse's cinch tight (Johnnie, in answer to a leading question).
	Brush	gave power to "sweep out sickness" (Johnnie in answer to a leading question).
	Knife which had been used to sever a child's umbilical cord	unspecified

Story Rock	a strong power (David; Johnnie).	776
Story Chickadee	a strong power (David; Johnnie).	823
Story Mountain Goat	a strong power (David; Johnnie).	825
Story Beaver	a strong power (David; Johnnie).	
ckElxaxs	insanity (David and Johnnie)	

From the above list, several general points are obvious. There were some inconsistencies in the amount and character of power ascribed to a particular spirit. Most power came from animals, birds, and insects. A few, perhaps only four, of the guardian spirits were identified with characters in the mythology. Some had a strictly circumstantial nature, such as the deer swimming or the tree on which a woodpecker had worked The special function of the guardian spirit depended largely on its worldly properties or activities as an animal, implement, or other object. 776

Theoretically, any object might confer power. Though by far the greater number of guardian spirits belonged to the animal world, others, such as implements, were sometimes reported. Michel and Johnnie together said that in the latter case the proper function of the power depended on the material use of the article from which it came: thus, gun power would assist its protégé to hunt, strap power to keep a horse's cinch tight. This statement, however, was given in answer to a leading question, and we heard of no instance where someone had got power from these ordinary household objects. 776 776

Michel explained that a person could receive rattlesnake power from a watersnake or a snake of any kind. Perhaps he meant generalized "snake power," which would include a relation with rattlesnakes and the ability to cure their bite. 776 825

A very fortunate person might acquire as guardian spirit one of four characters which play parts in the mythology. These were Story Chickadee (tlcqa'qEne is the word for the ordinary chickadee; Story Chickadee was called tciptcaptlkł tlcqa'qEne), Story Mountain Goat, Story Beaver, and Story Rock. The power which they bestowed was especially strong. In the myths, all of the characters possessed power for miracles, but only these four seem to have conferred some of their power on actual people. CqinÛhwacqt, a Similkameen shaman with many guardian spirits, had as his strongest the Story Mountain Goat. The horns of this goat reached the sky. The Story Beaver was an old beaver who stayed in the water all the while, never coming to land like ordinary beavers. Further details will appear in the anecdotes relating to power. 776 773

Suszen's idea that a bone, or a dead, injured or hungry animal was a "bad" guardian spirit, was not confirmed by the other informants. 776 826 825

Though two brothers might both have the grizzly, or any other animal, as guardian spirit, twins did not have grizzly power more often than other people. 776 825 845

The power inherited from a dead relative belongs in a separate category. It was one of the powers which the dead had possessed during life, but after his death it chose a new master. It was never deliberately sought, as other powers were, but came in a dream. It brought considerable danger to the person on whom it called, being "meaner" and more exacting than a normal guardian spirit; and it might, if not duly propitiated, cause the death of its possessor. 778 428 787

Insanity was regarded as a kind of power, though not from any animal. A man recently went mad "because he wanted power too much." 778 828

The strength of one's power depended on the number of guardian spirits which he had and on their qualities. In the opinion of any one informant, the same animal did not confer varying degrees of power. Cecile seemed to think that power was directly proportional to the actual strength of the animal that bestowed it, and that that of cougar, grizzly, and eagle was therefore the strongest. But other informants denied this, saying that the power of any burrowing animal was stronger than that of deer, that small birds gave great power, and that chickadee and yellowjacket, for example, belonged in the first rank. 776 778 825

A person usually had power for one activity more than for any other, but extraordinary power along certain lines implied a general faculty in other things also.

The possession of power did not necessarily bring success. Suzen said that one could succeed in hunting without the aid of power, if he were a good runner, knew the haunts of the game, and had the other practical qualifications. On the other hand, according to the same informant, even a clever and intelligent person would be slow and lazy if he had no power. A man with special power for hunting had to be industrious and clever to secure the game. If any of his power tabus were broken — if, for example, a menstruant woman ate of his deer or bear meat, or of his mixture of berries and salmon entrails — he would fail in his subsequent attempts at hunting or fishing. 778 224 [784]

As I shall explain later, when discussing the acquisition of power, the novice seems often to have been severely endangered by his first intercourse with the guardian spirit. As the relationship matured, he brought his power more and more under friendly control. It did not desert him till he grew senile, or afflict his health as long as he complied with its ritualistic demands. 776

In certain respects, power was a private concern of the individual. One usually refrained from declaring the identity of his

776 guardian spirits, fearing that this might tempt another shaman to steal them or that the spirits themselves would be offended and desert him, and he did not ask another person about the latter's power. Michel said his grandmother, grandfather, and father had power, but they never told anyone about it. One seems often to have affected secrecy about his guardian spirit in order to preserve an air of mystery and awe, and to gloss over his own uncertainty as to its real character. Not only did he always acquire his power alone, and, save for the occasions of display, keep it more or less secret, but he treasured his power emblem for his own exclusive use, and grew angry and ashamed if he heard others singing his power song except at the winter dance. This song
[424 might be borrowed by his best friends, but they should sing it only when its possessor
578 was not within hearing. People sometimes
533] ridiculed a man or woman by singing his or her power song.

[626] If one lied about his power and pretended to have more than he really had, everyone else with power knew it, but the community did not punish him in any way: his failures ultimately exposed and ruined him. If one claimed falsely to have a certain guardian spirit, that spirit would kill him, or sinkwatsinōx, "the darkness of the night," destroyed him.

778 Far from regarding power as a purely individual matter, however, the group showed deep interest in the power of each of its
554 members. The amount and character of power which people attributed to anyone largely determined his status in the group. After childhood, every normal man and woman possessed it in some measure; without it, he or she would have played little part in society. According to Suszen, at least one child in every family had only weak power. This child was lazy, and on the power-quest was sleepy, hungry, cold, or indifferent to the objective. When later he tried to do something difficult, he failed because the animals did not like him and refused to help him. On the other hand, Suszen believed that in every family there was a man who had more power than the other members, and who took care of them and provided them with food.

The Okanagon regarded power as an essential cause of success. Actually, their belief in a person's power seems to have been the result of his success. Suszen, whose tendency to idealize should modify our attitude toward his statements, claimed that the people placed no faith in one's power, after its expression in the winter dance, until it had been demonstrated by material achievements, and that some did not even believe in their own, "but later found out."

778 Though a chief was always credited with considerable power, he did not necessarily
622 have more than the prominent shamans and warriors of his community. Because of his position as leader, however, he was longer re-

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778 membered by posterity than were they. Sha-
mans were simply those men and women whose
622 power enabled them to practice curing as a
profession. They were not necessarily richer
than ordinary people and they lived in no
[791] special manner, though they were often fair-
ly opulent and, if male, had more wives than
other men. Their houses might be somewhat
larger than ordinary, but, according to
Chilowhist Jim, were not as clean as those
of the chief, since he had to keep up appear-
ances. When a great shaman lay dying, many
people came to see him, and a storm might
arise and lightning strike near the house.
His corpse, however, was not treated in any
special way.

776 There were special ways and occasions
for one to announce his power. Two men on
778 confidential terms might talk to each other
about their guardian spirits, and watch each
other paint symbols of them on a large rock
in the hills. One of the men later told peo-
ple that his comrade had painted these to
show his power. When one had performed some
special feat, as in hunting or war, he might
declare his power to those who had witnessed
the deed or benefited by it.

776 At the winter dance a person with power
had opportunity to display it, and the audi-
ence and other participants, glad to behold
778 such a demonstration, contributed gifts to
the performer. They sang his power song
796 with him, probably to assist him to control
his guardian spirit; and commented among
themselves on the first performance of a nov-
ice, perhaps saying, "It's funny that boy
got power, when he's so awful scary. I won-
der where he got it from." During the dance,
the dancer voiced his wish for the popular
welfare as a kind of prayer, and in return
considered his audience as friendly helpers.
If he was the host, he entertained them with
lavish hospitality and after the dance they
received the gifts which had been bestowed
on the dancers. Guests who had come to the
dance from far away received a larger share
of gifts than did those from nearby and if
there were not enough gifts to go around,
they had the preference. Suszen told us
that the host thus rewarded his guests for
helping him to dance and sing.

776 People who had power from the same kind
of animal or object "knew it as soon as they
778 met, without telling each other." Ideally
they never quarreled among themselves, but
578 worked and fought in unison. These beliefs,
when we consider that such people must often
have clashed, give further evidence of the
vague and subjective nature of the power en-
dowment.

776 To some extent, power was identified
with the social group. The goods distribut-
431 ed at the winter dance were offerings to the
power or powers there represented. The
782 guardian spirit often demanded gifts of its
protegé, who then bestowed them on the peo-
ple; and feeding the community, especially
796 the very young and very old, was the same as
feeding the spirit itself and would increase

its strength. To perform at the winter dance without giving blankets or other things to the audience would make one's power angry. The spirit might command a girl to dance and give blankets to the people even though she had none to give, and if her relatives did not provide them for this purpose she would die. When the girl was afflicted with power from the dead, her affectionate father or uncle helped her by cutting a cow's throat and letting the blood flow on the snow, to propitiate the power and save the life of the girl. These means of propitiation were probably carried out for boys as well. 776 431 782 796

There were a few sexual differences in matters of power. Berdaches were regarded rather as good-for-nothings than as religious worthies. Shamans were both men and women, but if either sex predominated, it was the male. Special power for hunting came more often to men than to women. Women's power songs differed from those of men and power songs could never be borrowed between the sexes. Though a woman should not step over another person's power emblem, for fear of polluting it, a man might do so with impunity. From Lucy Joe we heard of one instance where a sex tabu, binding on women in general, was not enforced on a woman with great power. It pleased the woman in question, whose power had brought a big catch of salmon, to go swimming just above the salmon-weir, an act forbidden to women. When the people complained, she replied, "I made the salmon come. It's all right if I take a swim." 791 [838] 562 784

Power assisted one to hunt, to fight, to cure illness, to perform superhuman feats, and to lead in communal enterprises. In spite of Suszen's opinions, the guardian spirits seem not to have supervised morals or to have deserted their protégés because of ethical misconduct. They stood, on the other hand, as strong patrons to the "mean man:" that heroic bully whom the Indians admired, feared, and often followed. As we have seen, however, certain vices hindered a young person from acquiring power. These were chiefly laziness, cowardice, and lack of concentration. The shiftless or timid child to whom the guardian spirits would not come is one of the tragic themes in Okanagon folklore. 776 577 [538]

THE QUEST

Usually between the ages of seven and thirteen, but almost always before puberty, the Okanagon boy or girl went out into the mountains and woods in search of a guardian spirit. To find power for one's self, either by accident or design, was called süksúmix. The word for the power quest was tsúntsút or tsúntlét. A child might make repeated attempts for as long as a year to acquire power or to add other guardian spirits to those which he already had. If he did not succeed after a number of trials he gave up in despair. One could begin the search in any season; most frequently one chose summer 776 787 857

or autumn. It was much easier for a child to have the vision before puberty, for after that period he "knew everything." If a girl began to menstruate in the fall, before going on her quest, and had to stay indoors until spring, she might not acquire power unless a house-fly or some other thing at home endowed her. As a result of the teachings of the Roman Catholic mission, few children now undertake the quest. 776 787 857 [177 797]

Though a guardian spirit might come to a child anywhere, certain places and scenes were most propitious. First among these stood Moses Mountain and Fire Mountain, two prominent peaks in the tribal territory. Youths sometimes dived for power in Omak Lake, and probably in other lakes, though no others were specified. Rock paintings, the scene of a mythical episode, a place where a deer had been killed and the bones left, an old camp site where a woman had given birth, or where a bitch had produced young, all might receive visits from children in search of power. For a child to acquire an animal as guardian spirit, that animal or some trace of it should be nearby. Thus one would have the best chance to obtain deer power where deer had left their tracks or their hair, or where hunters had left a deer's horns or bones. Some even considered that such traces of the animal were necessary. [823] [825]

Parents or other older relatives supervised the child's quest, withdrawing a short distance from the rest of the community and camping separately. They often had to compel the child to go by beating or threatening him. Johnnie's Colville grandfather, when a young boy, was so reluctant to undertake the quest that his father shot at him with bow and arrow. Parents warned the child against sleeping, cowardice, and failure to concentrate during the venture, against bringing back a false report of conduct or success, and against the approaches of an evil power. They advised him to receive a guardian spirit cautiously, since it might be a bad one and play him false. The general opinion, however, seems to have been that he had to accept whatever spirit came.

Though a parent could not predict the success or failure of the quest, one with sufficient power knew just how the child was behaving and when he had succeeded, and could send his own guardian spirit out to meet and endow the child. The latter practice was given the same designation as the independent quest, tsŭntsŭt, but was also called xôtsĕxil, "giving power to the son," or sôxtsĕxiltĕm, "giving power to the daughter." Under these conditions, if the seeker persevered he would never fail to obtain his parent's guardian spirit. David stated that one did not send a child out to get a power which he himself did not possess.

Though the parent did not tell the child what spirit he would meet, he equipped him with the power emblem which he had cherished for many years, and the child, wearing or carrying this during his search, had a 776 787 857 778

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776 better chance of receiving the power which it
787 represented. Thus a father having deer pow-
857 er lent his son a deer-hoof or a rattle made
778 of deer's dew-claws and hoofs attached to a short stick. For the boy to find eagle power, the father provided him with the tail or wing feathers of that bird to wear in the back of his headband. Grizzly claws served the same purpose on a quest for grizzly power. A father having two guardian spirits which he wished his son to possess gave him the power emblem of both at once. The boy then encountered the two spirits simultaneously. The parent often directed him to leave the emblem at the place of the vision, and after the youth had returned to camp go back on the next night to retrieve it. Though this object did not compel the spirit to come, it seemed to help the child to attain his end.

776 When he had come home after the first
787 night of vigil, his people might ask him,
857 "What did you do when you got there?" He might reply, "I piled up rocks." They then sent another boy to the place to see if this was true. He returned with the report and was thanked. On the following evening the father of the young aspirant might say to himself, "Now I'll give my power to my son." The next day he sent the child to a group of rock paintings with a stick or power emblem to leave there. After the lad had returned, another boy was sent out to find this object or the parent might go himself. If he did not find it he punished the child. One might see his child to rock paintings which he himself had made many years before. His own power told him how many guardian spirits the youngster was obtaining, and for each one he scored a short red line on the rock surface beside the paintings.

Johnnie's grandfather, probably a Colville, let his son down by a rope to a cave in a cliff and pulled him up the next morning. During the night in the cave the boy got Story Rock power, which protected him from all harm.

776 Even though a man were fairly old when
533 he sent his son out on the quest, and the boy
593 acquired his father's guardian spirit and power song, the father still had a right to the song. If he were still alive when the son, in his twenties or early thirties, first sang at the winter dance, the two sang the same song together. Though a parent who had given his power to his child made the latter observe the same power tabus as he himself observed, a child who had acquired independently power of the same kind as his parent's might have to keep quite different tabus.

776 Cecile said that if the father and son
428 had the same power, all of the father's power went to the son when the father died, or when he had become so old that his guardian spirit had left him and he no longer sang. Apparently the difference between the father's and the son's power was one of degree; the son's power became stronger with his father's senility or death. If old peo-

776 428 ple died without giving away their power, it often returned to the animals or other things which had conferred it, unless it came to one of the younger generation after the death of the parents.

776 787 857 Several motives determined the conduct of the child during the quest. He should attain a receptive state of mind; he should evoke the compassion and friendship of the animals and other power donors; he should behave in a way exemplifying the courage, honesty, and perseverence which should characterize his adult life, thus possibly influencing the future morality of himself and of his power; and he should leave some tangible evidence of his attendance. The first two of these motives appear the most important; the third, the moral one, our informants mentioned with less emphasis; while the fourth concerned the parental control over the child at this crises, rather than the relation between him and his guardian spirit.

To attain the right state of mind, the young power seeker should observe solitude, wakefulness, courage, concentration, and fasting. Though several children might travel together to the mountain where they sought power, they should separate when they arrived there and each child watch for his vision alone. His parents later punished him if they found that he had stolen a little sleep. Though some degree of fear probably helped to induce, more often than hindered, the proper psychic experience, terror might drive him home prematurely and cause the utter failure of his quest. In cases where the child undertook the quest night by night, and spent each day in or near camp, as did the girls during their seclusion at puberty, he or she might eat a small amount in the daytime, but never on the nocturnal vigil. Cecile said that girls at puberty were more receptive to the vision because they were then fasting. When spending a number of days and nights on the quest without returning to camp, the child had to eke out his living as well as he could alone. He often spent the long night hours in dancing, without rattles or other dance accoutrement, and singing any songs that he knew. David mentioned dancing as performed especially by a child hunting for power at the rock paintings. Dancing probably intensified his concentration and helped him to work himself into the proper nervous state. The same effects resulted from the sweat baths which, though denied to girls during puberty and menstruation, could be taken by girls at other times and by boys at all times, and were especially performed during the quest or on return to camp before another night of vigil. Some of our informants reported that a girl made piles of rocks on the mountain during her quest, not only as a proof of attendance but "to give her something to do," probably to keep her mind from wandering. Only Lucy Joe said that the piling of rocks by the girl at puberty had nothing to do with power, and that she knew of no case where girls piled rocks while on the power quest, though boys did so. She explained

that in mythical times Coyote had control of the girls at puberty or on the quest, and made them pile rocks; but that since Coyote was transformed and banished to the ocean, the girls have not had to do so when hunting for power. 776 787 857

Sometimes a girl looked for power by making a circuit of the creeks around Moses Mountain. She advanced up one creek, camping and building a sweathouse at a new site about every three days, using the sweathouse frequently, and hoping continually for a guardian spirit. When she had reached the head of the creek, she crossed the divide and worked down another creek in a like manner. She fed herself on what wild foods and game she could gather or snare. She might continue this for a whole summer.

In the quest on a mountain the child built a fire at night to make his presence known far and wide to the animals. We neglected to ascertain whether the attraction of a night campfire for animals had suggested this idea. The powers "took a liking" to the aspirant or "took pity" on him. The following bit of folklore will illustrate this attitude, though not a normal form of quest, and though the hero forcing the animals to give their power may perhaps be a farcical treatment of this serious subject. Cecile tells the story. 776 787 539

A little boy had tried for a long time to get power, but failed. When he grew up, he married and had a baby, but he and his wife and child were very poor because he had no power. Once they moved out to a hunting ground where they lived in a little fir house. Every day he went out hunting, but he never got anything. After he had done this for about five days, he was coming home one day without any game, and as he approached the camp he heard his baby crying and his wife telling it to stop, as its father was on the way home and would surely have something for them to eat. Night was coming on, and the man felt so sad to hear his poor wife and child that it broke his heart. He thought, "I'm not going to be here when my baby starves. I'm going away." He went far away, climbed a mountain, and lay down in a hollow between two peaks. Toward morning he heard things shouting to each other. All the animals and birds came and said, "This man is surely pitiful. He hasn't any power, and he hasn't eaten for several days." So they all put their bows and arrows against a tree, and went to gather stuff to make a fire. He jumped up and seized all their bows and arrows. They said, "Give us back our bows and arrows." But he replied, "No, not unless you pay me first." The animals then gave him arrows with blood at the tips. The wolf gave him an arrow all covered with blood, which would bring certain death to any deer it hit. He told the man, "If you see a cleft between two peaks and shoot at it, you'll find a dead deer there when you go to look, even if you haven't seen one to aim at." In the morning the birds and animals were all gone. He thought to himself,

"I'm going to try my arrow." So he aimed up through a little canyon and shot. He went up there and found a big buck lying dead. He cut it up and packed it back to his wife and child. From then on he could kill a deer anywhere. His people wondered if he and his wife and child were still alive, and came to look for them. They found that they had all kinds of meat. So he called all his relatives and stayed there and became an important man. 776 787 539

The power quest had a moral value for the child's future, as well as a religious and practical one. A lazy child, or one indifferent to the aim, might fail to receive power because the animals knew his character and did not like him. Suazen said that if the seeker claimed to have stayed awake during his quest, whereas he or she had really slept, this "taught the power to be a lying power," and that stealing during the quest taught the power to steal. Johnnie remarked that sending a girl out for a number of days and nights to hunt for power, while she built and used her own sweathouse, was "just like making your child go to school." 776 787 857

The power first came not in a sleeping dream, but when the child was awake or in a trance. In this vision, as in most of the power dreams of later life, the guardian spirit first appeared as a man or woman, regardless of the sex of the child. It might announce that it was a certain animal; it might fade into its animal form just before vanishing; or it might even fail to disclose its animal identity until a later dream.

In some cases the impression was chiefly auditory. One summer afternoon as we sat on a hillside near Disautel, talking about power with Michel and Johnnie, we heard the faint music of a radio from one of the distant cabins. Johnnie looked up with dreamy, half-closed eyes and said, "That's just what my power sounded like when it came to me. It got nearer and nearer." Some said that when the child first heard the power song it sounded like the voice of his father, and that he then looked for the singer and found the guardian spirit. Lucy Joe stressed the auditory side of the power experience, even asserting that a person never saw his guardian spirit, either in animal or human form, but only heard its song and its words of advice and command. In any case, the experience brought a definite message from the spirit, including a bestowal of power, a promise of assistance in later life, and a promise to return.

Here are some of the things that the powers might say when they encountered children on the quest. Rattlesnake: "I am Rattlesnake. I'll come to you when you're a man, and when anybody has been bitten by a rattlesnake I'll help you to take out the teeth [extract the poison]. And I'll never touch your body with my teeth." Horsefly: "When you think about me, I'll help you to suck poison out and save people's lives." Salmon or Deer: "You won't die of a wound,

776 787 857 even if you are shot through the body." A tree hewn by a woodpecker, with the chips of wood scattered on the ground below: "Look at my riches scattered around. If you do as I tell you, you'll be as rich as I am." Animal character from the myths: "I am the animal they tell about in the story." Story Chickadee: "I am the Story. I destroy everything. I am above all animals and birds." Any animal: "When you get old and have a streak of white hair, you sing my song. When anybody gets hurt, you can heal him." "I am from Chopaka Mountain," or "I am from Moses Mountain. When you grow up and sing your song, name this as your place." This did not necessarily mean that the individual had been there to get his power, but simply that his power was associated with the mountain.

When a guardian spirit first came to a person, it told him that it was very strong; sometimes that it was superior to all others. For this reason the Indians had a saying, that power is the greatest liar. Over confidence in the guardian spirit caused many deaths. Some little insect told its protégé that its power was superior to all, whereas it was really weak, and the individual had too much faith in it and attempted dangerous feats which he was not able to perform.

When an injured, hungry, or dead animal, or a young animal lost, appeared to a youth as a guardian spirit, it might say, "When you grow up, if you are about to be hurt like this, think of me and nothing can harm you." T is, according to Suszen, was a "bad" guardian spirit. He explained, strangely enough, that the child gave the animal power to go, and when he grew up he got power from the animal in return.

Michel asserted that when a child first met his guardian spirit on the quest it did not tell him what animal or other object it represented. The identity of the guardian spirit was revealed, said Michel, in later life. This conflicts with evidence from the other informants.

[553] Sometimes one received a name from his guardian spirit on the quest or in a dream during sleep. In the vision or dream the animal said to him, "I'll give you the name S—, and you'll remember it when you have your power." No special feast was made for this, but the individual first used the name when he first took a leading part in a winter dance, and thenceforth the people always called him by it. Such names were of the conventional types for males and females. Theoretically all personal names may originally have been power names, since that given an infant was usually the power name of some dead relative. Though one had several guardian spirits, only his first gave him the name.

In one type of vision the child encountered many different kinds of animals at once. When a boy was hunting for power the spirits of the animals might gather around him every night and talk to him. When David

776 787 857 got his power he saw a rainbow extending to him from every mountain, and the spirits of animals and birds came and talked to him. Each one came as a man, and gave him its song. "It seemed only a little while," said David, "but it was a whole night, and when I awoke I found myself lying down."

Cecile described the quest as follows. The child spent a wakeful night on the mountain and in the morning, before coming down, made a pile of rocks. He might have to pass two or three nights in the wilderness before he found a guardian spirit. If badly frightened, he might run home and never get power. When he succeeded, he suddenly found himself in a big house where there were many people. If the chief of the house addressed him, the child would grow to be a strong shaman, but if only one of the lesser spirits talked to him, his power would be less. The inhabitants of this supernatural lodge discussed the matter among themselves and decided which one of them would confer power on him. The one selected then promised him that when he grew to be a man he would have the power to get things easily, or to cure people and be a great shaman.

When a boy, Johnnie's Colville grandfather was sent to a certain old Indian cemetery, where he got the graveyard power. When he approached the cemetery he heard people singing and saw great tipis. The door of one of the tipis opened and he entered. Within he beheld "all kinds of people;" each with face painted with a red band across forehead and cheeks, as the Colville used to paint their corpses. They had one chief, whom they asked to address the boy. They all talked to the lad and told him a lot about gambling. They said, "See how we are. When you get into difficulty in the stick-game, paint your face as ours are painted and you will win." The chief of those people was the badger. Johnnie's grandfather used to laugh when telling Johnnie about this vision, because, though the badger eats corpses he claimed to be their chief. The graveyard power was good for gambling because the reeds placed over the dead were like the counters in the stick game, and the sticks across the grave were like the sticks that people beat rhythmically during the game.

When on the lonely vigil, boys and girls sometimes dived at night into Omak Lake, seeking power from the animals which they believed to dwell within or beneath the water. This form of quest seems to have been abandoned while other forms still remained, for the informants referred to it as a custom of the remote past. The Southern Okanagon usually dived from a certain low cliff which they can still identify. They did not hold rocks or other weights to help them to sink. One usually had to dive several times before he was successful, since the guardian spirits were at first inclined to reject him. In the vision thus received, the diver encountered a group of animals and birds in a large tipi, some of whom gave him

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their power. The loon was especially associated with this form of quest. The diver did not suffer hemorrhage.

Cecile gave the following account. When the boy had dived for the first time he came up on the lake shore, for the power did not want him. Twice he might fail in this way, but at his third attempt the power accepted him and he found himself in a great house under the lake. In this house burned three fires in a row. When he had finally reached the third fire (apparently having passed the other two fires in his two unsuccessful dives, though this was not clear in Cecile's explanation), the head of the house, a deer of great size, addressed him and urged the other animals and birds in the house to speak to him also. They all gave him their power: he would grow to be a mighty shaman. Lucy Joe said that when a boy emerged from the interview, loons of all colors came up with him and he had "nearly everything" as guardian spirit.

One of Johnnie's grandfathers, perhaps a Colville, dived for power in a lake south of Loomis when he was about thirteen years old. He took off his clothes, stood on the bank, and called to the monster in the lake (the nxaxaɬtx), saying, "I'm coming to you. Give me power." The first time he dived he could not go beneath the surface, for the lake threw him back. He tried and tried again. "One morning he called to the monster and dived, and at once entered a house beneath the lake, like a large conical tipi. The monster there received him and gave him its power. Johnnie said that all kinds of birds and animals were there in the tipi, and that they all became the boy's guardian spirits.

Michel's father dreamed that he jumped from a cliff into Omak Lake and came to a house in which there were two fires. A lot of old women were sitting there: "they were all birds." One ascended to a rafter and said, "I'm a loon. As soon as the sun sets, I'll fly." Then he answered her. When he sang at a winter dance at Kartaro, he declared, "I'm a loon. I saw that in the lake over there. There's a lot of people in the lake. They weren't all people: they were all birds and animals." His vagueness as to the form of the power donors is typical. We did not determine how often the diving itself was only dreamed, as it apparently was in this case.

Suszen said that power might "tell" a boy or girl to dive. This may mean that a guardian spirit already acquired in some other way advised its protegé to dive for more.

After a child on his quest had heard his song or seen his vision he might come home and lie sick for a day, or he might have been so frightened by the experience that he died.

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POWER OBTAINED BY A SMALL CHILD

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Often a guardian spirit came to a very young child. In this case the vision was generally similar to that experienced on the quest. The spirit first appeared as human, but as it departed the child saw what kind of an animal it was. It might come without any forethought on the part of child or parent, and at any time of day or night, and there was no correlation between the strength of the power and the hour of its first appearance.. On the other hand, a parent or grandparent might send a three or four year old youngster out alone in the dark, on pretext of some trivial errand, and project his own guardian spirit to endow the child with power.

As a case of the latter type, Johnnie said that if he wished his little daughter Christine, three years old, to have his power, he might send her alone to the creek at night, telling her to tear in two the quilt of the stEtEmaiUk fish, that is, to dip up some water, the surface of the pool or creek being represented to the child as the fish's quilt, with which it covers itself. Any lonely errand would do as well. He would then dispatch his own power to meet her. Sometimes the child, on returning, told his parents that he had got power, and had been all the way to one of the mountains or other places associated with the guardian spirits. The child was "sort of crazy" and really thought that he had been there. He had not, however, been asleep; on this matter of wakefulness during any kind of power quest the informants were always emphatic.

During a winter dance, when Lucy Joe was about three and a half feet tall, her mother's brother, a man of power, gave her a flute and told her to take it over to a lake and leave it there. The snow was ankle deep. The little girl became so frightened that she did not go all the way to the lake, but hid the flute and came home. Her uncle then said to her, "You got scared before you reached the lake. You didn't get anything." On the next night he again told her to take the flute to the lake, and this time she obeyed. But when she returned her uncle said, "You'll never get any power, because you took fright at the very beginning. Tomorrow evening, go and get the flute." She did so. Her fear had prevented her from acquiring a guardian spirit.

Sometimes a little child's power came to him spontaneously. This may occur nowadays, though the conventional quest had generally been abandoned. Michel said that even Eddie, a lad of about fourteen, might get power involunterily while alone in the woods hunting for horses. The child might have the vision while in the sweathouse. A tiny girl might receive power when tethered alone in the woods while her mother was picking berries nearby.

Michel's aunt, when a wee girl, accompanied her mother and another woman to a cer-

776 787 857 tain lake where the women wished to gather stQxtsin roots. While they were digging roots their horses strayed away. Before setting out in search of the horses the women built a fire, dug a cooking-pit, placed some roots in it to roast, and tied the little girl and their dog close together near the fire. They then departed on the search and were gone all day. The dog howled, the roots made strange noises in the pit, and the baby cried. She "went out of her head," and when the women returned they found her asleep. She had acquired the dog and stQxtsin root as guardian spirits.

A certain half-breed had gotten his power at the age of four, when his parents had carelessly left him alone in the house. A horse-fly in human form sang to him its song and endowed him with the ability to cure illness by extracting blood.

A parent who had given his own power to his child compelled the latter, however young, to observe the same restrictions that the guardian spirit had dictated for the parent. Michel said that the spirit did not of itself impose obligations on a child too young to understand or remember them. Suszen, on the other hand, believed that if a child four or five years old saw the power in a dream it might make him ill, for he was too young to do as it commanded and did not realize the importance of its orders. The shaman employed to cure the little patient must discover the song which the latter had heard, and then help him to sing it as the power had directed. This cured the child and let all the people know what his power was.

Though parents felt that their child had got power when very young, they still insisted that he try for more by undertaking the quest just before puberty. Suszen said that a youth who had obtained power in earlier years might "remember it in a dream" and then go out on a quest to see if it would return to him. This was not confirmed by the other informants.

THE RETURN OF THE GUARDIAN SPIRIT IN LATER LIFE

Only a very precocious child would know about his guardian spirit at the age of four or five. If an older child who had received power on the quest soon told people about it, his guardian spirit might forsake him. Unless he were "very smart" he immediately forgot the vision and what the spirit had said to him, and, in most cases, had no intercourse with the spirit for a number of years after the quest. In the event of serious emergency during this time, however, it was ready to help him.

One winter long ago, when Suszen's grandfather was a child, the people at Lake Chelan were starving. A little boy of six or seven had been playing with the other children, and came home late in the evening tired and very hungry. He asked his family for something to eat, but they said that

776 ...wey had hunted all day and found nothing.
He cried, thought for a while, and began to
787 sing. The people came in to follow his song.
All night they sang. Toward morning he said
857 to them, "When I was a little, little boy,
just old enough to remember, a creature told
me that he would give me his power always to
do things easily. Now we are hungry. To-
morrow all of you go out for deer. If he
told me the truth we shall get many." Though
the lad himself was too young to accompany
them, they at once went deer hunting and
were successful.

776 When the individual was about twenty-
five years old — sometimes sooner, often
787 later — his guardian spirit returned to him.
Whereas on his quest it had appeared to him
while he was awake or in a trance, now and
henceforth it came in dreams during sleep,
though a man or woman with very strong power
might see the spirit while awake. It came
in human or animal form, or sometimes only
as the song. In this dream one usually re-
membered the vision, and saw the place where
the spirit had first appeared to him. Though
this was always the spirit which had come to
him in childhood, Susxen claimed that other
animals might accompany it and confer their
power also. The spirit sang the power song
which the individual remembered as the one
which he had heard as a child. It directed
him to give his first power dance, told him
how to conduct himself in the dance, and com-
manded him to distribute blankets or other
gifts among the people as an offering to the
guardian spirit itself. Failure to comply
with any of these orders might bring severe
illness or death to the offender.

776 In this or a later dream the spirit in-
structed its protégé to go out and find a
778 member of its species (spoken of as identi-
cal with the guardian spirit itself), and to
787 cut from its body a certain part to be used
as a power emblem (cia'Ot). This part might
be a piece of the head from above the nose,
or the tail, or a strip of skin from the
825 nose to the tail, or some other convenient
portion. Sometimes the animal directed the
dreamer to kill it to get the material for
the emblem; sometimes it told him how to
find it already dead. In the former case
the animal could be killed very easily: "if
you just hit it with a match or a twig, it
would fall dead." A guardian spirit of a
non-animal nature required one to make or ob-
tain an object which in some way symbolized
the power concerned. Here are a few of the
guardian spirits with the objects which they
might prescribe as power emblems.

Spirit	Emblem
Woodpecker	Feathers or some other part of a woodpecker.
Grizzly bear	Claws of a grizzly bear.
Deer	Skin of a small spotted fawn.
Bear	A strip of bear's skin cut from nose to tail.
Fish	A paddle
Thunder	A small painted arrow.
Rainbow	Painting of a rainbow on the face at the winter dance.

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Arrow	A miniature arrow, nicely feathered and painted.
Rock	A little rock with curious holes in it.

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The right to carry or wear such insignia of power belonged exclusively to those possessing the proper guardian spirits. Only a person with grizzly bear power, for example, might wear grizzly claws; stringing them on a buckskin thong and using them as a necklace or head band at the winter dance. A bird guardian sometimes ordered bird-scalps, feathers, or whole stuffed birds as a power emblem, or directed its protege to tie the feathers into his hair. Even a chief, if he had not the requisite power, did not wear feathers in this way. One informant said that feathers were never worn to war, even by men who had birds as guardian spirits, but only at the winter dances. Another, however, stated that the best warriors wore their power emblems when they went out to fight, and that those of men slain in battle were kept by the victors as trophies.

The guardian spirit did not tell one to make a power emblem until he was old enough to take care of so sacred an object. When not in ceremonial use, the emblem was hidden away, usually near the head of its owner's bed or somewhere out in the woods. In the latter case, if an animal destroyed it or carried it off the owner simply made another. A woman with fish power, whose husband or son had made for her a special paddle in accordance with a power dream she had received, kept this concealed near her bed and used it only ceremonially, never as a practical paddle. If a woman stepped over a man's power emblem his power might cause her to menstruate out of time and she would have to be cured by a shaman. This was also liable to bring harm to the man himself. Nothing terrible occurred if a menstruant woman stepped over a power emblem belonging to another women, "but it was not very good." Men, however, could step over these objects with impunity. When a noteworthy shaman died, his power emblem was tied to the long stick set up at his grave.

It seems that the skins, feathers, and other insignia of power which a man wore when fighting, to simulate the appearance of the spirit when it had first come to him on his quest, were not all true power emblems (cia'ut). Many of them were articles of symbolic costume rather than of sanctity. On the exact relation of these to the power emblems, however, our notes leave us in a fog. According to Mary Carden, people with power, presumably bear power, wore the claws and incisor teeth of the bear as a source of strength. Women, she said, carried these hidden under the yoke of their buckskin dress on the right shoulder, because they believed that the heart was on the right side. The caps made of ground-hog or grizzly fur, worn ceremonially, or for magical purposes by men of strong power, never as a mere protection against the cold, probably belong in this class of objects, rather than being

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power emblems of the more sacred sort. The same may be said for the circle tattooed on each cheek, indicating, according to Michel's guess, power from the sun, and for the rattlesnake skin which men with snake power glued to their bows. The most simple point in costume or adornment which the guardian spirit might prescribe for its protégé was the prohibition against cutting his hair. 776 778 787 825

Smoking had formerly been much more closely associated with power than it was in recent times. Apparently it had been confined to shamans, but became secularized. A shaman kept secretly, in the bundle in which he cherished his power emblem, a little pipe for specially religious use. This pipe was called siniaôta'kc. However numerous his guardian spirits, only one of them told him to have this. The animals which usually issued this command were strong creatures such as coyote, bear, fox, badger, and eagle. Weak beings such as insects, snakes, and deer did not tell their protégés to make the power pipe. On the pipe was incised or painted a picture of the animal in question. A young boy or girl might secretly have one if the guardian spirit had requested it; but many people were thirty or thirty-five years old before they had their power pipes. In the early days, women did not smoke before middle age, though young women might own pipes. A boy told his father, or his mother if he had no father, to have one made for him, and a girl preferably told her mother. The pipe was always fashioned by an expert worker in stone, who received a price for it. One smoked his power pipe whenever he was severely ill, injured, or curing his own children, but otherwise he did not do so except in case of severe danger to himself or his patient, or at a winter dance. He kept it in a special bag, but smoked in it ordinary tobacco and kinnikinnick. He could light it from the sun in about three puffs. One never inhaled smoke from this pipe, for that was dangerous, though he might inhale freely from ordinary pipes. 776 778 787 276 791 [531] [324]

Occasionally a man with deer or other fur-bearing animal as guardian spirit had a tobacco pouch made of the skin of this animal, which might be painted on both sides.

Representations of the guardian spirit were never portrayed on houses or house posts, because "if they did that, some Indian doctor would think they were acting too smart and take their power away." 776 342 578

Only people with strong power painted pictures on rock. One did not do this until he had sung his power song at his first winter dance. When he painted these pictures, he had with him a friend who knew their meaning and who could later call on him for aid from the pictures. The painter said to his friend, "I'm painting these here so that if you ever have any illness or get hurt you can call on me to help you." The painter's companion told other members of the tribe that so-and-so had painted the pictures, which thus served as a kind of advertisement. 791 531

791 often both men made rock paintings at the same time. There was no formal obligation
531 in such friendship, though the two shamans usually remained friends for life and told their trouble to one another. These pictures, in some vague way, assisted the painter to employ his power, especially to cure sickness, but the cure itself did not have to take place near the paintings. To these petroglyphs children were sent on the power quest, sometimes many years after the painting had been done. A fine group of rock paintings appears on the left side of the road from Loomis to Blue Lake, about three miles south of Loomis. This is in Northern Okanagon territory. There are other groups in the neighborhood of Omak Lake and on the road from Omak to Disautel, in the region occupied by the Sinkaietk.

776 The shaman often had a special stick as an insignium or instrument of power. In his
787 first vision his guardian spirit had appeared carrying a stick, saying, "I bring this stick to you and hand it to you." One never
778 had more than one of these during his lifetime. Sometimes he picked it up at random
791 and used it undecorated, but often he painted it with symbolic colors. Red, according to Suszen, stood for power in fighting or
[822] healing, yellow for the ability of the shaman to help unpopular people to marry, yellow or black for curing sickness. One might even paint on the stick a picture of his power animal, but straight lines, spirals, and circles seem to have been the most common form of decoration. This baton was used primarily at the winter dances, its owner carrying it while he danced. It might indicate that he had power to spear salmon, or might aid him to do so. Before going on a hunt he could augment his ability to kill with bow and arrow by beating time with this stick while singing. A hunter's power baton helped him to locate game and one belonging to a woman who had special power to gather roots and berries aided her to find them. Suszen asserted that one might borrow another's baton for such purposes, but this is very doubtful, since our information on the power emblem, power pipe, and other shamanistic instruments, indicates that they were never loaned.

778 A shaman might fix his power emblem to a stick three or four feet long, to the end
791 of which deer-hoof rattles were attached by a piece of buckskin. This stick will be described later in the discussion of the paraphernalia of the winter dance. It may have been identical with the baton recorded above but our notes do not make this clear. Only the owner of this stick could use it.

778 In the story of Marten and Fisher, told
538 by Billy Joe, each of these characters had a long cane in which his power resided. In another tale, probably Colville in origin, the boy hero placed his "little power, that he had got when he was a child," on the end of a stick, and used this as a weapon against a supernatural tree which blocked his path.

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In the story of the woman captured by a giant the giant's power was represented by a long pole about a foot thick, stuck in the ground. When his wife was escaping from him with his captive son, the boy pushed this pole over. The giant, when he returned and discovered that his wife and son had fled, tried to invoke his power by donning his power emblem and thinking about his guardian spirit, but when he saw the pole lying on the ground, he realized that his son was stronger than he, and decided not to give pursuit.

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The guardian spirit taught its protegé a song, either in the initial vision or in a later dream. Susan said that one might have several songs for a single spirit, but data from other informants do not confirm this, allowing the individual only one song for each of his powers. The song "came to him" on occasion, and made him remember his vision or dream.

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Except at the winter dance, a person's power song should not be sung by other people while he was within hearing lest he be embarrassed and feel that the singer was making fun of him. People sometimes deliberately ridiculed each other in this way. One might borrow the song of a friend, but he could sing it with propriety only if its owner were not present. Since women's power songs were different from men's, they should not be sung by men, nor should a woman sing one belonging to a man. If a person without power sang a shaman's power song and sang it, the guardian spirit involved would be angry and say to the offender, "I didn't tell you to sing that song." The song thief might then grow sick and die. Power songs were not inherited.

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Tom Mash Johnnie and Billy Joe once said that an individual with power from an edible animal did not kill and eat it unless its spirit had told him that he might do so, the informants generally agreed that such use of the animal was always allowed. In fact, people desired such powers as bear or bear, for they would enable him to find and kill these animals more easily.

But the guardian spirit did impose restrictions on the use of its meat. These differed with individuals. The deer, for example, often obliged its protegé to eat ceremonially or to refrain from eating certain parts of a deer whenever he had killed one. Mary Jarden identified the tabued portion of the animal with the power itself. This tabu became effective as soon as the power had been acquired. A young boy who had just received deer power, for instance, might have to restrict himself in the use of deer's entrails. A hunter with deer power might have to eat a piece of the kidney while the kill was still warm, or a piece of the liver, intestines, heart, or other organs. If he did not want to eat this part, he must wrap it up in twigs and leave it in a tree. If a woman found this and ate it she would "start to swell" and become very ill. Sometimes

animals told their human wards not to eat certain parts of their bodies, for example, the trisket. Such restriction applied only to cases in which the guardian animal had been killed by the individual who had its power. Subsequent failure in hunting was the penalty for breaking them. Other rules for the disposal of game — especially of deer, bear, and salmon; we did not secure specific information on other animals — depended on the idea that the good will of the game must be preserved, and that the spirit of an animal whose carcass had been properly treated would be reincarnated in the same form for the benefit of future hunters or fishers. The slain animal must not be ridiculed, all of the flesh must be properly consumed, and women must not come close enough to contaminate the kill. Violation of these rules offended the animal and led to its scarcity. They have been discussed in more detail in the section on hunting.

If a menstruating woman came too near a man who had power, he punished her by prolonged menstruation. When he finally "took pity on her," he killed a deer and gave her a bit of the liver or kidney to eat, placing it on a rock and saying to her, "Come over here and take this." He went away; she came and ate the morsel and was cured. If a man approached the women's menstruation hut too closely, he lost his power. During a woman's ten-day confinement there after childbirth her husband should not touch her or the child on pain of offending his guardian spirit.

The spirits became very angry at disobedience and if the offense were repeated they might desert their wards entirely. By failing to obey his power, one might incur the worst physical afflictions; might become ill, crippled, or blind, or lose his son or good horse, or meet with some other ill fortune. Michel lays his blind, lame, and diseased condition to such negligence, having not paid proper regard to his father's power which had become his own. Lucy Joe says that Michel did not comply with his power's command to dance and sing — except when drunk — and paid no regard to the admonitions of a shaman who had tried to cure him.

THE WINTER DANCE FOR A NEOPHYTE

In the dream described above, the spirit commanded the individual to distribute gifts among the people and to give his first winter dance. It is not clear whether he always fulfilled both commands at the same time. He probably did, for gifts were always exchanged at the dances and we heard of no specific case in which this was done for the same reason on other occasions. I shall therefore discuss these gifts later on, among other phases of the dance.

Suszen outlined as follows the conduct of the individual after the dream. As soon as he awoke, but before he arose, he sang his power song, in which his family might

join if they wished. An old man or woman then asked him about his dream experience. He replied, "I want more people to come and sing my song in two or three days." He felt somewhat afraid, and might dance and sing the song at intervals for a number of days. His relatives invited friends to come to the house for his first winter dance. People were glad to attend, to learn about the new power and to accompany its master in his song. When they arrived, the dreamer fed them, sang, and gave them various gifts in return for saving his life by helping him to control the power. 776 787 574

Mary Carden's account of one's first winter dance emphasized his critical health, the preliminary singing, and the importance of the master of ceremonies as a leader of ritual and as the neophyte's religious guardian and physician. 796 776 787

The account proceeds thus. When the power acquired in childhood returned to the young adult, it told him that it was lonesome and ordered him to sing, to give a dance, and to distribute property among the people. This "brought luck" to him, for in a short time he would receive even more property back. At this time he fell ill. Apparently a shaman was called in to diagnose the case, for we are now informed that a shaman told the individual, "Your power has come and wants you to give a dance." If this happened in the spring, summer, or fall, the neophyte replied, "I can't dance now. I'll have to wait till winter." The shaman's power told that of the patient to wait till winter. When winter came, the neophyte had a power dream, from which he awoke singing. His family then sent news of this to their neighbors in the valley, and sang his power song with him, while the shaman, as master of ceremonies, came and planned the dance and tied the power emblem of the neophyte to the central post. The guests arrived in the evening. For as long as the dance would last, they would be provided with food by the young man's family. The neophyte had been singing "every night," probably every night since his recent dream, and the shaman sang to guard the neophyte's power from theft. Feeling tired and ill, the young man lay down or sat while the shaman, with closed eyes, sang over him and blew on him. After dark they both began to dance and sing in the center of the room. Having danced for a while, the neophyte called for his stick, which was handed by a member of his family to the master of ceremonies. The dancer then gave his power emblem to the latter, who tied it to the stick and silently handed both back to him. The song and dance were then resumed. To end a song, the shaman grasped the center pole with both hands, the neophyte grasping similarly above him, and both slid their hands down singing xwQQ xwQ'yQQ. "When people call this sound, they are bringing power from the mountains. Power is with a person all the time, but the spirit can go far away." Any guests arriving after the dance had begun were stopped by the doorkeeper, who announced them to the company. 796

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796 The neophyte or the master of ceremonies waved his stick in the air, struck it on the ground, sang for a moment, and then said, "Let them in. Tell them to walk two or three times around the room." Men were placed on one side, women on the other. The master of ceremonies stood with the dancer and his interpreter in the center of the dance formation and prompted the neophyte in singing. When the latter had finished his dance, the master of ceremonies announced through his interpreter that anyone else who wanted to take the floor might do so. The neophyte told the master of ceremonies what he wanted the audience to do and the latter told the audience. Mary believed that the master of ceremonies acted as a kind of intermediary between the dancer and the guardian spirits. In general, the company followed the song and dance of the young neophyte or whoever was dancing individually at the time.

THE WINTER DANCE IN GENERAL

574 796 The dance in which people displayed their power was called sEnqEnI´m strq'a´m, "sing-dance" in the local English, the "winter dance," the "medicine dance," and, in its later seasonal phase, the "Chinook dance." At the beginning of the dancing season the people said waI kōksEqūnI´xa, "We're going to sing." The dance had several different functions. On this occasion the host, who was also the chief dancer, discharged an obligation imposed on him by his guardian spirit in a dream. He displayed his power by singing its song, by painting or dressing himself in a special way, by dancing, and by performing various feats. He enjoyed the cooperation and support of the community in their reverent attendance and in their united singing of his power song. He enhanced his social position by feeding and entertaining a large number of guests. The other dancers shared these advantages. Those who possessed power gave vent to their own, as well as rallying to that of their host and helping him to "tame" it. As a reward for their aid they received blankets, skins, food and other gifts at the end of the dance. They undoubtedly vied with each other in fervor and religious claims, but they did not often attack each other's power on this occasion, and the guardian spirits which a man scarcely dared to mention at other times he could now reveal with propriety and some degree of safety. The spectators not only enjoyed a social good time and the excitement of the power show, but participated in the dancing and singing as a kind of outer circle, thus uniting themselves for the moment with the most influential members of their society. To the possessors of great power they made their most vital wishes known, and from them they received some hope of aid, if not the promise of fulfillment. It was the one time at which the religious resources of the group and its friendly neighbors were pooled for the common good.

[For context of this footnote, see p. 146 (B), category 116. -- Analyst]

1 Compare the midwinter sacred period and ritual of the coastal tribes. — L.S.

796 The dance was organized and led by a single person, usually a man, whose guardian spirit had instructed him in a dream to do so. If he failed to comply with this command, as with other commands of the spirit, his health was endangered. The spirit might order him to give several dances in the course of his life. The dance seemed to imply considerable power on the part of the leader; at least, a person with very weak power — that is, with a guardian spirit in which he felt little confidence — would hardly attempt an exhibition of this kind. At whatever time of the year the dream came, the dance was always held in the winter, usually in January or February, when the people had already passed two or three months in winter quarters. If he received the dream in the summer, the individual announced that he would give a dance "when the snow comes." This limitation applied only to the formal dances, not to the singing of power songs, nor to power dreams, shamanistic curing, or other manifestations of the guardian spirits, which might occur at any time. Though the Okanagon did not believe that guardian spirits went away in the summer, to return in the winter, they had a vague feeling that power was stronger or more closely present in the winter, and that sickness, against which the dance was largely directed, was more dangerous at that season. The real reason may lie in the greater concentration of the community in the large winter houses than when fishing, hunting and food-gathering in the warmer months.[1]

[798] In the early spring a power dance was held to make the rain come and the Chinook (south) wind blow and melt away the snow. The local whites call this the Chinook dance. This was essentially the same as the ceremonies held during the winter, but was always led by a man with power from some kind of bird, which had told him to sing for rain and wind.

796 The winter dance was usually held in the largest house in the village, or in the
574 house of the dance leader if that were large enough. In aboriginal days this would have been a mat-covered long-house, or a semi-subterranean earth-covered lodge(?). Occasionally the village headman lent his more commodious dwelling for this purpose, though someone else were giving the dance. One always gave his first winter dance in his own house. The leader provided most of the food and members of his family did most of the cooking, but others might contribute and assist. Chilowhist Jim said that the food for the guests was cooked by three men and three women, who were all young and strong, and that this was one of the few occasions on which men did culinary work. These cooks, he explained, were appointed by the chief. Each family coming to the dance contributed some food to the common supply and also loaned some utensils, marked so that they could later be reclaimed by their owners.

[1] [For footnote, see p. 146(A), category 116. -- Analyst]

The dance leader determined how many nights the dance should last. This varied from three to thirteen or fourteen, but was usually five or six. During the intervening days, the people slept, ate, and enjoyed a social good time. They began to dance soon after sunset and continued nearly to dawn. 796 574

One hundred seems to have been considered a fairly large congregation. People came from neighboring settlements, sometimes even from a distance requiring several days of travel. Except the host, whose power had commanded him to give the dance, no one was obliged to attend. Menstruating women were forbidden, though the informants could not explain why. Cecile said that a boy who had got his power but had not yet had the dream which authorized him to use it did not come to the winter dance, lest the power be stolen from him.

Among the properties used in the dance, the central and most conspicuous was the post called nīī'pōs or tēkīkstēn or yaīpostn Before the dance the host chose from the forest a straight fir sapling seven or eight feet tall, according to the height of the room in which the dance would take place. Thenceforth this object had religious or magical value. It was felled by a youth under the supervision of the man giving the dance, who told the youth on which side of the tree to stand, and who guarded him from harm. The youth carried the post home and left it resting against the outside of the house until other preparations had been made. When the people were ready to begin the ceremony, he brought the post into the house. It was trimmed of its branches and twigs, except for the uppermost section, and the bark was peeled off. It might be painted with a red spiral band about two inches wide or a series of encircling bands of the same width and color, or some other simple design. This decoration was not necessary, and other forms of painting might be applied according to the shaman's dreams. From the top or smaller end of the post the giver of the dance hung one or more of his power emblems. It was then erected in the center of the room, probably being tied from its top to the roof-frame as well as being stuck into the floor. Deer-hoof rattles, according to some of the informants, were tied to the upper end, a notch having been cut there so that they could not slide down. In a Colville story the man-eater had human bones hung on his dance-post "to make the cold and the snow come." As I shall show when describing the dance itself, the post contained during the ceremony a concentrated and dangerous potency. After the dance it was removed to the woods and placed upright against a tree, where it was abandoned. 796 778

[i.e, the Winter Dance. Analyst]

Mary Carden said that among her people the dance-post had gone out of use since modern houses came in (perhaps twenty-five years ago), because it was formerly set in the ground forming the floor of the lodge, and would now have to be nailed to the wooden floor. This seems hardly a sufficient 796 778 177

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reason to explain the loss of an important ceremonial object. 796

In more recent times, at any rate, the post has been more or less replaced by short sticks called cêl'acxin, which were carried individually by the dancers. Mary Cerden said that they were carried only by the giver of the dance; possibly she was referring only to the neophyte at his dance. Michel asserted that only about one person in twenty, a shaman of considerable power, possessed a dance-stick and used it instead of the central post. Suszen, on the contrary, declared that many people had them, having dreamed they were so instructed by their powers. Johnnie doubted that the Southern Okanagon ever used these sticks, though they were the usual thing among the Colville. (Colville shamans shot fire from their sticks during the dance.) They might be of any kind of wood, were three or four feet long, and had rattles of deer-hoofs or bear-incisors and the power emblems of their owners attached. Suszen, following his usual symbolic trend, stated that the sticks were sometimes painted: red by a fighter, black for ability to cure, yellow "to help people who haven't married because no one likes them." The painted decoration was straight lines, spirals, or circles, with the picture of the spirit animal. Though the stick acted as a vehicle of power during the dance, it did not become animated or hard to control in the shaman's hands, and did not permanently contain the power. The shaman "sent his power" through the stick as he danced. If a woman dancer, obeying her guardian spirit, beat time with a stick, people knew she had special power to dig camas root, or a man, that he had power to spear salmon. A man might sing with his power-stick before hunting in order to gain the ability to kill with his bow. 796 778 [177]

I have previously described the power emblems, the most virtue-laden if not the most conspicuous objects used in the ceremony. Some of them, having been hidden away in sacred bundles during the rest of the year, came to light on this occasion only. Symbolizing the guardian spirits, they were made, owned, and cherished by the individual, and were handled by him alone, with great reverence. Some he wore or carried during the dance, others he merely displayed, while one at least, if he were giving the dance, hung from the central post.

[In the Winter Dance. --Analyst]

Tobacco pipes played a minor part. People never smoked them while actually dancing, but shamans watching the ceremonies passed them among themselves, each shaman enjoying a few puffs. Only those who had taken a leading part in the dances might join in the smoking. Female shamans also smoked at this time, but not while the men were smoking, and they used smaller pipes. Johnnie said that if he saw someone smoking his power-pipe privately during the dance, he would surmise that the smoker was either defending himself against the power of another shaman present or was attacking another's guardian spirit. 796 276 791

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796 292 302 The shaman painted figures of his most powerful guardian spirit on some article of his clothing if the spirit had told him to do so and wore this garment at the winter dance only. Women did not do this, but might have special dance garments with perforations, or feathers attached to the shoulders, according to the dictates of their power. The marks which the dancer had painted on his face or body were determined individually in the same way. All such adornments helped the wearer spiritually and displayed his power. The dancers unbound their hair and let it hang loose during the ceremonies.

796 787 534 Deer-hoof or bear-tooth rattles or small bells acquired from white traders were used by the dancer if his guardian spirit had so directed. A rattle of any kind was called stca sls. Sometimes, as we have seen, a set of rattles may have been tied to the dance-post or to the small dance-sticks. If, in a dream, the shaman had seen his guardian spirit wearing rattles or bells in a certain way, on a thong around the neck or over the shoulders for example, he himself did likewise at the dance. The individual had only one set of rattles during his life, but he might add to it more bear teeth or deer's dew-claws if his power told him to do so. Unlike the power emblem, the rattles had no religious potency other than their musical value in the dance. Suszen said, "The rattles had no power, but they helped the power."

796 522 The young men who amused the people by mimicking animals at intervals during the night wore or carried animal heads. We did not determine the exact nature or use of these disguises. They were not sacred and had no direct reference to the guardian spirits.

796 534 According to most of our informants, the Southern Okanagon used no drums or wooden instruments of percussion at the winter dance. Suszen disagreed, describing a dance in which drums were employed.

796 [783] A feather, or bunch of feathers, was used at the beginning of the ceremony for the symbolic sweeping of the house.

Around the walls was hung a rope of rawhide line to receive the skins and blankets dispensed in the power potlatch.

796 535 In the dance organization[1] there were four special officers: the host, the interpreter, the door-keeper, and, when the host was a young man giving his first winter dance, a master of ceremonies. As leader of the ritual the host was called ha'tûc, a term also applied to leaders in other shamanistic rites (cf. the hunting ceremony). He summoned the people together, fed them and their horses, exhorted them to enjoy themselves and to be good to each other, procured and decorated the dance-post and hung on it the emblems of his own power, led the ceremonial sweeping of the house, performed the first song and dance as the central figure.

[1] [i.e., the Winter Dance. --Analyst]

796 and determined how many nights the dance
535 should last. He and his power were the center of interest. Apparently two people could act as hosts on the same occasion, for Michel described a dance given by a man and a woman, at which the woman was the first to sing.

The interpreter (cəxqElpitEm or tlspitum), a man or woman chosen for good stage presence, a strong voice, and general intelligence, stood beside the dancer and repeated to the people in loud, clear tones whatever the dancer said. Any adult might volunteer for this position. If he performed his work well he received a gift from the dancer, perhaps a deerskin, a blanket, a horse, or merely a favorable prediction for the next summer, but he never asked for recompense. The informants were vague as to the number of interpreters functioning at the same dance and their association with the dancer. Several interpreters sometimes took turns throughout the night, for their work was very arduous. On the other hand, the same one might work for all the dancers, unless a shaman from another tribe required one who could speak his language. The choice of the interpreter seems to have rested with the dancer himself.

Someone stayed at the door to prevent people from entering while an inspired dance was in progress and so endangering the dancer and themselves by "frightening away" his power.

The position and duties of the master of ceremonies have been described in the account of the winter dance for a neophyte. 1/A

1/A [Cf. pp. 145(A)-146(A), category 116. -- Analyst]

Women sat on one side of the room, men on the opposite side. Age-mates usually took places near each other. The host, if he were an amiable man, prefaced the rites with a little speech of friendship.

[783] The dance opened with a symbolic sweeping of the house, an act called c'inōūcōltn, whereas ordinary housecleaning was called klaxōulp. Several of the shamans assumed the common sitting posture, with both legs folded to one side and, led by the host, circled around the room in a counter-clockwise direction, dragging themselves along in this position and brushing the floor with feathers or with brushes made as the sweepers' guardian spirits had directed. The alleged purpose of this was to ensure the health of those present. If any of the congregation were about to die, this ceremonial cleansing saved their lives.

796 When they had gone around the room once
533 in this way, the host stood up, grasped the
535 central post and danced around it, holding both feet close together and advancing slowly forward in short jumps, with knees slightly bent and feet falling flat on the ground. In doing this he shook the post rhythmically so that the rattles hanging on it were brought into play. As he danced, he sang. Much of the singing was wordless and, theor-

etically, the songs of no two shamans were ever alike. The dancer sang "whatever his power told him to sing," the songs taught him by his guardian spirits in his previous visions and dreams. He declared in more or less veiled terms the identity of the spirit and its sex if it were female, named the mountain or other locality with which it was associated, and exalted the spirit's potency He also sang short prayers for the people's health and success. He did not mumble, but spoke or sang clearly, and his interpreter repeated his words to the congregation in louder tones. When he had finished he called out, "All right. You can dance now, if you wish." Another man or woman then came forward and performed in a like manner. 796 533 535

Through most of the night the congregation, except for those who danced individually and their interpreters, stayed in their places at the sides of the room and simply kept time to the dance by jumping up and down. As long as the leading dancer was standing, they stood; when he sat down, they sat down also. People entering the house joined the congregation at once, sitting or standing as the latter did. They did not enter while a dance was actually going on, however, unless given permission to do so by the dancer, since such an intrusion might frighten away the dancer's power and cause him to faint or die, as well as endanger the intruder. By dancing in this way and singing with their leader, the people helped him to control his power. As morning drew near they danced around the room in circular formation, with the same jumping step, each holding his feet close together. Following the instructions of their guardian spirits, they moved their arms in various ways while dancing, some holding their hands to represent horns or feathers on the head, and made noises to imitate their power animals or birds. All the people "who had their song," that is, who had achieved the initial power experience, might dance around the post in the throng, even the young people who had not had the dream authorizing them to dance individually. Those who had not had even their first vision danced around further from the post. 796 535

Mary Carden knew of four possible dance-patterns, any one of which the host might choose, but she had never heard of more than one being used at the same dance in a single night. In all of the dances, the leader and his interpreter, with the master of ceremonies if it were the leader's first dance, stood together in the center. In one, they were surrounded by a half-circle of men on one side and a half-circle of women on the other. In another form, a line of men danced in one direction on one side of the central figures, while a line of women danced in the opposite direction on the other side, the two columns reversing their directions at every few steps. In a third form, the two columns progressed in the same direction and reversed at the same time. In the fourth pattern, the dancers simply jumped up and down, without leaving their places

where they had sat, the women remaining on one side of the room and the men on the other. Mary said that there were three intermissions during the night, of about ten minutes each. During these, any guests who so desired might leave the room or go home, but they did not do so at any other time. To announce the intermission, the host told the door-keeper to call out, "Everybody can take a rest now." When the dance was to be resumed, the door-keeper cried, "The dance is going to begin." There was, Mary said, a door-keeper for every outside door. 796 535

Suszan's description of the dance was somewhat unique, mainly in including drums as an important element. He said that the people formed a circle around a central fire, or, if the house was low and narrow, formed two straight lines with the fire between them and a drum at one or at each end of the formation. The leader of the dance sometimes beat the drum while the people sang his power song. If two men were conducting the dance and there was only one drum, they took turns beating it. The congregation jumped rhythmically up and down; some remaining in one place, others dancing around the group in no particular direction.

One's actions during the ceremony depended largely on the inspiration which he received from his guardian spirit at the time. These spirits were closely present. A shaman felt his power and heard its song from within. Michel said that one saw his guardian spirit and conversed with it, though other people could not hear his voice as he did so.

When a shaman in the crowd felt his power come to him, he "went into a trance," became stiff, and was unable to dance with the others. Inspired by his power he began to talk. Anyone who wished to volunteer as interpreter came and sat beside him, repeating his words to the congregation. When the shaman who was then dancing at the center of the floor had finished, the newly inspired one arose and stood beside the post, followed by the interpreter, and continued to talk for a short while. He then sang his power song and danced around the post, accompanied by the congregation as described above, until he ceased to "hear" his power, when he suddenly stopped. Then the congregation stopped dancing and sat down until another shaman took his place at the post, when the performance was repeated. Between ten and twenty of these individual dances took place during the night. This probably means that each shaman talked, sang, and danced individually for not more than half an hour at a time. If one's power came to him and he did not stand up and dance, he was like one dead or in a trance; blood entered his mouth and choked him.

The shaman's grasping the post and shaking it brought his power to bear on the public welfare. Male shamans invariably did so, unless they used the individual dance-stick; but for female shamans this was op- 791

711 tional, and one informant stated that women never touched the post. If a person with insufficient power touched it, his hand "froze" to it so that he could not withdraw. Suszen, however, with his theoretical turn of mind, explained that a man with absolutely no power could not be harmed by doing this, since it was one's own power which punished him for it. Cecile said that no one except the shamans when leading the dance must come in contact with the post, and that if anyone, with or without power, foolishly touched it out of his turn, his soul (sinkakiūs) would leave his body and become attached to it. This was caused by the anger of one of the shamans at the offense. The latter preferred to leave the soul on the post to give himself the opportunity to cure the victim later on. If another shaman saw the soul's predicament, he might say to the shaman who had affixed it, "Take pity on him and take him away from there." The victim then stood beside the post and the shaman drew out the soul, rubbed it once or twice between his hands, and blew it back to its owner, who departed whole. If no one saw the soul on the post, or if the shaman declined to take pity the offender was doomed. When the dance had ended, the post was taken up into the hills and left standing against a tree. As it dried up in summer, the person whose soul was attached to it "dried up" also. He became ill, did not want to eat or drink, grew weak, and finally died. If not too far gone, he might be saved by a shaman, highly paid by the sick man or his family. The practitioner came to the patient's house, placed his hands on him, and sang his own power song. As he sang, his power went out into the hills, drew the soul from the drying post and brought it to the shaman, who blew it back to its owner.

791 778 784 774

796 535 776 A dancer using a small individual dance-stick instead of the central post held the stick with both hands, one hand near each end, and swung it repeatedly with a sweeping motion so that the end of the stick touched the floor.

If one had acquired the guardian spirit of his living parent through the latter's supervision of his quest, and the parent attended the dance, both of them danced and sang at the post together, for both had the same power song. Anyone else with power from the same animal, however, did not sing his song with them, for it was not the same.

Some were afraid to disclose the identity of their powers even at the dance. Michel's father and aunt never declared what their guardian spirits were, though they often sang at the winter dances. Others, who had great confidence in their power and had been commanded by the spirits to do so, made point blank statements such as "I'm a grizzly" and told what special faculties their power had bestowed. Usually one referred to his power in veiled but unmistakable terms while leading the dance. A certain man who had found a guardian spirit at a cave in a cliff, a power known as Story

796 Rock because a myth was associated with the
535 place, said as he danced, "Nothing can in-
776 jure me; my power even swallows the sun." The hearers all knew that this referred to the Story Rock.

791 Shamans used various other devices to display their power on such occasions. One might send out to the hills a boy who had never shot a deer, telling him that he would find one in a certain place and ordering him to shoot it and to bring back a certain portion of the kill, such as an ear, an eye, a piece of the nose or of the kidney. The boy then did so, and the shaman, obeying his guardian spirit, made a noise and swallowed the portion whole. The other men went out and brought in the remainder of the carcass to be used as ordinary meat. Any animal would serve for this display, but it was usually one not normally found at the place to which the boy was sent.

While attending a winter dance Cecile once saw a man with wolf power drinking fresh deer blood. The deer was hung from the ceiling near the dance-post, the lights were put out, and the man leaped up and drank the blood as it dripped from the deer.

Very few Okanagon shamans bled through the mouth when dancing. This was more a Colville trait. Johnnie's Colville uncle, when he danced, struck his chest to send a stream of blood from his mouth. Among the Okanagon, such bleeding was said to be the result of neglecting the command of one's guardian spirit to sing.

Colville shamans sometimes went into a frenzy while dancing and plunged through the mat wall of the tipi like an arrow. They had to be pulled back by their feet. A shaman who knew that he was apt to do this directed a friend to paint his face in a certain way during the seizure.

791 One of the shamans presiding at the
522 dance might tell some of the younger men, usually those who had got power but had not yet had the dream instructing them to sing, to get up and have a good time. They then put animal heads on their heads and amused the company with buffoonery while the shaman was singing, by talking, mimicking animals, and singing profane songs of their own. This burlesque did not directly concern power or other sacred matters, but was simply "for fun."

796 In an interval between performances, if
535 the congregation was thirsty they made a
[271] noise like frogs. If a shaman knew that
791 they were thirsty, he might sing as he danced, "Go and get water from such-and-such a mountain." The interpreter repeated this loudly. Someone then fetched water from near the house, not from the assigned mountain, for that was "just make-believe."

The ostensible purpose of the dance was to protect the health of the people, to help them in hunting, and to bring them general

good fortune. If any sick members of the congregation brought their complaints to the attention of the shamans, their health might improve. While leading the dance the shaman might say to the group, "Ask for whatever you want: a bear, a deer, a horse of any color you want, and when I get through dancing you can get it. If you call out, 'I don't want to get sick, and I want my family to be here next year,' I'll do my best so that your family and all of us will be happy again." The interpreter repeated this loudly to the people. In the intervals between the dances they called out their wishes. If a man had had ill fortune in hunting, for example, he went up to the shaman and told him about it in detail. The latter replied, "All right, I'll look around and see what I can find to help you." Thus the wishes might be communal or personal: the group's desire for life and health in the following spring, to be reunited at the dances next winter, or a man's wish to meet a certain girl "when the green grass comes." David said that the shaman's interpreter repeated the individual petitions to the audience, and that the shaman went to each supplicant on the last night of the dance and told him that at a certain time and place he would get what he wanted. 796 535 791

This occasion gave shamans the opportunity to advertise their profession. One revealing his power for the first time might say to those dancing for him, "I haven't anything to pay you, but if you ever get sick or in trouble don't be afraid to call on me. If it's at night and I'm asleep, just come and yank me out of bed and I'll go."

Shamans leading the dance, or even those dancing with the throng, sometimes had premonitory visions concerning an episode of war, the sex of a woman's offspring, and so on, of which they informed the people.

Suszen claimed that one's guardian spirit might bring another spirit with it to the dance, the second spirit then giving him additional power. No other informant confirmed this. [776]

At every winter dance property changed hands. In earlier times simple household commodities were distributed to the guests. A female shaman carried bundles of Indian hemp on her shoulders as she led the ceremonies and other women came up to her and took them. While the host was conducting the first dance of the night, his wife might give food to the congregation; and while singing on the final night of the assembly, he carried a basket of food, such as camas or service berries, and offered them to all. Later the guests commented on the quantity of hemp and food which had been given away. Lucy Joe believed that at about the time of the great earthquake (cs. 1872 ?) this custom gave place to a larger feast and a more formal distribution of blankets on the morning following the last night. She said that when she began to live at Kartar (which must have been after 1870) the final distribution 796 431

of blankets was already customary; but that she saw a gift-giving of the old style at sqwent when she was a little girl, so long ago that it now seemed like a dream. Mary Carden said that this type of distribution began after trading posts were established by the whites. 796 431

In its modern form the power potlatch consisted of an exchange of blankets or skins, contributed by all who were showing off their power at the dance, to all who were doing likewise, or to those who, having power of their own, accompanied the shamans by singing. Anyone who intended to take a leading part in the ceremonies had to bring a blanket, buckskin, or bearskin to be given away. He handed this to the host on the first night, and the host gave it to the interpreter for deposit on a thong or pole hanging from the wall. A shaman would not dare to conduct a part of the dancing if he had not brought this gift, lest he incur the anger and desertion of his power. The host seems to have contributed more to the fund than anyone else. Members of his family wanted him to make a good showing, so they brought all the gifts that they could afford. While a shaman danced and sang on the last night of the ceremonies, his friends threw upon him blankets, handkerchiefs, and the like, and his interpreter took these things and hung them on the pole or the thong. By the end of the rites the hanger was loaded with gifts. Early the next morning the host, the shaman, or the interpreter appointed by him distributed these objects among the deserving. The articles were gathered at the center of the house, where the interpreter handed them as the host told him. Those who had danced best and longest in accompaniment to the shamans, or those who had come to the assembly from the greatest distance, received the largest share or, if there were not enough gifts to go around, were the only ones rewarded. No one received the object which he himself had brought, and gifts contributed by people from one neighborhood were given preferably to people from another. Sometimes in recent years, but not in the old times, a gift left over after the division had been made was gambled for by the dancers with playing cards and stick-counters, the first player to win all the sticks obtaining the gift. As the objects were distributed the congregation sang the power song of the host. The gifts were used by the receivers as ordinary goods.

The host gave away, as we have seen, far more articles than anyone else. Though these were a reward to the people for helping him to control his power, they were likewise regarded as gifts to his guardian spirit. It was believed that the spirit would compensate its generous protégé by a run of luck in gambling or hunting in the following summer. David said that a shaman who received a blanket or other gift at the dance did not feel obliged to make a return gift, for this was like "pay" to him for his singing and dancing, and that the giver regarded the gifts as a simple loss of property for the

796 sake of his power.

431 This potlatch was the very last act in the ceremony. As each participant received his due, he departed. The host continued to sing until all the guests had left.

796 The following story, told by Andrew Tillson, not only illustrates a winter dance, but shows the humorous way in which such sa-
773 cred matters were sometimes treated in the mythology.

539 Coyote and Porcupine were partners.[1] Porcupine told Coyote that the latter's son, Muskrat, would lead a dance that night. Coyote replied, "Well, we'll go." When they approached the dance house, Porcupine warned Coyote, "You'd better behave yourself, because your boy is pretty powerful. He's liable to kill us." Coyote answered, "No, my boy's not ahead of me." When they came to the house, Porcupine said to Coyote, "Don't enter first; let me." But Coyote said, "No. My power's better than yours. Let me go ahead." So when they entered, Coyote went first. Muskrat had a lot of little maggots dancing for him. When Coyote saw his son dancing and heard him singing, he himself started to do likewise and told the maggots to come to him. [Andrew here jumped up and danced and sang, being somewhat drunk.] Coyote told the maggots to feed on him, and they all rushed upon him and ate him. Before he had danced once around, the maggots had eaten him all up. His partner Porcupine was behind him, but as soon as the maggots got on Porcupine he shook himself and they dropped off. Porcupine danced till he got to Coyote, and looked at him. He was nothing but a skeleton lying there dead. Porcupine took him by the wrist and told him to get up. Coyote yawned and made believe he had been asleep, saying, "I went this far and lay down and went to sleep." And Porcupine replied, "I guess you were asleep all right!" Then I came back.[1]

789 The power seance called skEtō'tsūt, "to be cut in two," in which a shaman with special power cut himself in two by a cord
796 around the waist, did not take place among the Southern Okanagon. Cecile reported it
[184] from a people "way up the Columbie," the sqElsiū ? (Upper Kutenai ?)[1] and Johnnie described it as practised among the Colville. To perform this feat, a shaman must have power from the kind of fish known as cpEpqōlī tc, translated by Johnnie as "the big ling fish." This spirit-fish came to the seance from the distant ocean and would not attend unless the shaman cut himself in two. It was the "boss" of all the other spirits that came to the seance and the most

[1] [For footnotes, see p. 152 (C), category 11b. -- Analyst]

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796 potent. A band of Colville held only one such ceremony each year. If they intended to go out to fight in the spring, they wanted the power and the advice of cpEpqōlī'tc, and his forecast of defeat would prevent them from going. The seance was held as part of the winter dances and transpired among the Colville as follows.

Before the people began to dance, three or four shamans hung up within the house a large mat, partitioning off a small space against the wall. A special door for the spirits opened into this compartment from the outside of the house. Nothing in the compartment was visible to the audience while the mat hung in place. The mat had been specially made before the dance and painted with human figures. Only the shamans handled it.

The seance was held after the people had danced for two or three nights. In preparation, the cpEpqōlī'tc shaman bound his waist tightly with a rope. His thumbs were tied behind him, and his big toes were also tied together, so that the animals could carry him conveniently by their tump-line. The other shamans then threw him under the mat partition into the sanctum. The congregation, having stopped dancing, sang his power song. When they heard the toot of a little whistle from behind the mat, a whistle which the shamans had placed there or had tied to the top of the mat, they knew that the performer had been cut in two by the rope around his waist. They heard cpEpqōlī'tc come into the compartment and take him away, but they continued to sing his song. With the spirit of the "big ling fish" entered those of other fish, animals, and so on. The people could not see these, and with the exception of cpEpqōlī'tc the spirits did not address them, but could be heard "thumping around." The ling fish, whom the congregation called by name, responded in a thick muffled voice, like that of a toothless old man, and answered their inquiries with regard to lost articles, lost relatives, or the prospects for the immediate future, such as success in a war expedition. After about an hour of this, he told them that he had to hurry away to a seance at another Indian village.

[787] CpEpqōlī'tc knew everything in the world. His special activities in locating lost things and lost people remind us of the Colville bluejay power. This emphasis on finding lost objects distinguishes the shamanism of the Colville from that of the Okanagon.

A large pipe of tobacco had been placed

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>1 2 Some say that Fox was Coyote's partner when he danced, others say that Porcupine was. This is the first time that Johnnie Louie [the interpreter] has heard that Porcupine was Coyote's partner. Margaret [Sereepkin 7] says that Fox was always Coyote's partner.

>1 3 This is the conventional ending of a tale. – L.S.

>1 4 Compare skalsi ulk, the name given the Upper Kutenai by the Okanagon groups according to Teit, Salishan Tribes, 202. – L.S.

1 [For context of these footnotes, see p. 152 (A), category 116. -- Analyst]

p. 152 (c)

in the compartment for him, and before he left he "smoked this to ashes in just one little draw." The spirits who had carried the shaman away to the mountains returned him to the house after four or five hours, and threw him under the mat into the public room. He lay there unconscious, but the people restored him to his senses by the smoke from xacxac root burned on a piece of bark. He then resumed his singing and dancing. 781 796

No power contests ever took place between shamans at this seance.

OTHER MEANS OF ACQUIRING POWER AND LOSING IT

Papaiôt, power inherited from a dead relative, belongs in a special category, for it came to one regardless of his wishes and brought severe difficulty and peril. It was somewhat rare, but came to people of all ages and sometimes even to an adult who had never received power before. One never sought it, but encountered it first in a dream during sleep. Apparently the sex of the new owner was not necessarily the same as that of the former one: a woman might receive her grandfather's guardian spirit as papaiôt, or a man that of his grandmother. A brother and a sister might both obtain that of their dead father. In this case, only the elder of the two used it for curing, though both sang the power song. Lucy Joe said that the descendants of a shaman noted for his medical ability often acquired his power as papaiôt, making a family line of famous doctors. On another occasion, however, the same informant declared that a professional curing-shaman must have found his main guardian spirit for himself; that it had to be sûmix, not papaiôt. Though Cecile stated that papaiôt came more often to children in recent times than in the old days when more children went out on the power quest, Suszen explained that nowadays, owing to the scarcity of wild animals, a dead person's power did not return to a member of his family, but was permanently lost. 778 787

One who heard or saw the papaiôt in a dream for the first time should send his guardian spirit out to capture and "tame" it He baited it, said our informants, as one would bait a fish, and by "easing it along" his power "made friends" with the papaiôt and drew it within him, where it remained as his own. This baiting process might take as long as a year. One with sufficient power of his own paid no attention to the papaiôt if he did not want it, and it could not harm him. If his guardian spirit was not strong enough to master or withstand the papaiôt, or if he could not comprehend and obey the orders of the latter, he might fall seriously ill. The shaman employed to cure him, having diagnosed the case, tried to discover the papaiôt and learn its song, which he and the people helped the patient to sing. This might bring the papaiôt under control. If the patient did not want it, the shaman sent it away to Moses Mountain or some other haunt of the spirits. On the other hand, if

the papaiôt was very "mean" these treatments did no good and the patient died. David explained that it killed one by stealing his power away, taking it under water or into the ground, or elsewhere out of reach. 778 787

Papaiôt demanded offerings more urgently than did other kinds of guardian spirits. It might, for example, tell a girl to give away many blankets, even if she had none, and unless her relatives supplied her with blankets to do this she would die. It liked to see blood; a man might help his daughter or niece who was afflicted with it, by cutting a cow's throat and letting the blood flow on the snow. After one had danced and given away things at two or three successive winter dances, he had his newly acquired papaiôt under his control. It was then as much his own as if he had got it on the power quest, though it could be stolen, just as could his other powers, by a sufficiently strong shaman. 778 787 782 431

In one account by Suszen, a dead ancestor's guardian spirit took a more amicable form. An old person who had never received power might dream that a deceased relative came to him and gave him his power and song. Since in this case the guardian spirit was brought by the relative himself, it seems doubtful that it was truly papaiôt. 778 787

Suszen said that one's elders knew when his dead grandparent's power had come to him, for they remembered it from the time when the grandparent had been alive, and they saw it, or signs of it, in the child. This, again, does not fit in with the usual description of papaiôt. Suszen seems to have had some original ideas.

Power could not be bought or sold; our informants laughed at the idea. But one person could steal it from another if his own guardian spirit was sufficiently strong. With the stolen power the thief obtained its song, which he sang when using the power for curing or other purposes. He could increase its potency by giving away property to the people at the winter dances, just as for power acquired in other ways. Power theft always resulted in the illness or death of the victim. A female shaman treating Michel's rheumatism diagnosed it as due to this cause. 778 424 [753]

Three occasions gave special opportunity to power thieves: sleep, illness, and the winter dances. One who found someone's power while dreaming in sleep, and tried to capture it, employed somewhat the same means as for the capture of papaiôt and incurred a similar risk. If the strange power was weaker than his, his own could control and strengthen it. If it were stronger, his guardian spirit might be afraid of it, and he would then have to "tame them and work them together." If he could not teach both of them to obey him, he had better let them go, because they might make him ill. To bring the new power under his dominance, he danced,

778 sang his own power song, and "fed" it by giving food away. If it asked for all his possessions, he would have to obey in order to
424 master it. A sick man who found power in a dream would let it go, not deeming himself strong enough to bring it under control.

Evil shamans might appropriate the power of a dying patient whom they were ostensibly trying to cure, and if they knew that someone with a desirable guardian spirit was about to die, they would send their own power to steal it.

778 Those attending the winter dance, especially the young neophytes, stood in dan-
796 ger of having their power stolen by malignant shamans who were there. The latter
789 sometimes banded together to do this, and if one of them succeeded, the power remained his and the victim soon died. Suszen emphasized this phase of the winter assemblies, and said that the chiefs prohibited power contests at the dances because they were so often fatal.

778 Only Lucy Joe denied that one shaman could steal another's power while the latter was asleep and that power conflicts took place at the winter ceremonies. She said that a person who had some power might hang up a bright blanket to attract more. If he saw a bird perching on the blanket he recognized that an additional guardian spirit had come to him. This was not confirmed by other informants.

778 Cecile told the following anecdote of power theft. Once when a shaman seemed unable to cure a woman suffering from papaĭōt,
791 her family called in four other shamans to assist him. This made him jealous. He said to the others, "You four fellows work first and I will be the last." He went aside and sat by himself till they had done all they could for the patient. When he returned to her he not only extracted the papaĭōt but stole her own power also. The patient's brothers, being informed of this foul act by the other four shamans, held a knife to his throat and made him drink poison. He ran out of the house in convulsions and tried, since he had fish power, to reach the creek, but died before he got there, so that his power could not help him. The woman whose power he had stolen died also.

778 When one became senile he failed to hear his power song and to receive messages
883 from his guardian spirits in dreams. Friendly shamans might try to find his lost power
763 for him by looking under the water, in the mountains, and elsewhere, by a kind of clairvoyance, but sometimes they met with no success. This meant that before long he would die. Suszen explained that power abandoned very old people because they were too feeble to fulfill its commands as imparted to them in dreams. It could in no wise be induced to remain with them.

778 Husbands and wives did not bequeath
424 their power to each other. Indeed, it is

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doubtful whether power was ever given away, except in the sense that an older person might help a youthful relative to obtain a guardian spirit which he himself had. At one time Suzzer said that if one gave away his power he would die, but at another he declared that most people who died in advanced old age had very little power left, since they had lost some of it gradually and had given the rest away. According to Johnnie, one could transfer his power to another by blowing upon him, at which the recipient swooned and then revived, but this probably refers to a method of curing, for otherwise it would conflict with other evidence. Michel and Johnnie said that nowadays, when young Indians seldom get power for themselves, some claim arbitrarily to have their father's power, but they cannot use this successfully for it is not their own.

POWER CONTESTS

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A shaman might bring his guardian spirit into conflict with that of another to justify a boast, to thwart some attempt of his opponent, or to kill him by annihilating his power. If one of a man's guardian spirits were killed, his others died also. We may best describe such encounters in the course of a few illustrations.

They were often visualized as a struggle between the animals and birds representing the guardian spirits of the opponents and were especially liable to occur at a curing ceremony. Three powerful men, Michel's grandfather, Swipkin, and another, combined against a Similkameen doctor called Ntluxuluxqê'n, whom they wished to destroy because they suspected him of killing people by his spiritual arts. They persuaded him to treat a case of sickness. He had the fish-hawk as guardian spirit; one of his assailants had the eagle. As Ntluxuluxqê'n was curing the patient, Swipkin's power fastened itself to the back of his head and the eagle grabbed his buttocks. His power tried in vain to escape, and all three rose a little way into the air, in mortal combat. Soon they saw the fish-hawk come tumbling down. The two powers that had vanquished it, separated, one going to the north and the other to the south. When Ntluxuluxqê'n had finished blowing on the patient, he said, "That's enough." He went to bed and by the next morning he had died. On another occasion, two shamans, one having the power of the hawk and the other of the chickadee, were trying to cure a patient. The chickadee succeeded. The jealous hawk shaman made his power seize the throat of the other doctor and the latter gasped as if being strangled. Suzzer declared that shamans working on the same patient did not usually antagonize each other, but that if they did so, the chief punished them for not cooperating. This idea of punishment, however, received no confirmation from other informants.

One shaman might kill another by sending his guardian spirit out to attack the other's while both men were asleep. Some-

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times when two shamans were jealous of each other they dreamed of this as they slept. Then the less powerful one was ill when he awoke, for his enemy had taken him by surprise. If one had the eagle and the other had the hawk as guardian spirits, the eagle seized the hawk by the middle of its body, and the hawk caught the eagle by the neck. The two contending shamans felt each other's grip in their sleep, and cried, "Let me alone!" He of hawk power lost a lot of blood around the waist; one could actually see it. The other made sounds as if he were being choked. Such injuries, however, did not leave scars. If the two powers were evenly matched, both shamans survived; but if the guardian spirit of one was killed, he himself died within two or three days. One who had thus lost his power and was about to die was called pq!ĕntm.

Sometimes a stranger's power came to the winter dance intending to destroy that of a local shaman. When the latter saw it approaching he told some of his professional friends and secured their aid. During the dance the battle between the powers raged. A storm came, thunder, a high wind, and intense darkness; then snow or rain fell. The people, observing this, said, "Shamans are fighting." But they continued to dance.

Shamans could assail each other in this way while sitting together. When a member of a shaman's family had been killed by a hostile guardian spirit, his own power came to him in a dream and revealed the murderer. He then went to visit the latter and during the interview the powers of the two men locked combat. They fought each other under the ground, or, if they were birds, in the air. That night one of them went to sleep knowing that his power had been defeated and slain, and within a few hours he died.

When smoking, a shaman might "put himself right in the bottom of his pipe." If an unfriendly shaman came to harm him, the smoker's power closed the stem and the bowl of the pipe, capturing the other's power within. As a challenge to power contests, shamans often passed their pipes to each other for a few puffs.

Johnnie's Colville grandfather dreamed that a certain Similkameen shaman had caught him in his pipe. He went to see the supposed offender, who suggested that they have a smoke. They sat down. The Similkameen shaman turned his pipe to the sun, puffed three times, and lit the pipe from the sun. When he passed it to Johnnie's grandfather, the latter put his thumb over the bowl and puffed three times and the bowl split in two. He said, "I'm sorry that I broke your pipe. I couldn't help it." That ended the contest.

The same man had the Story Rock power from a hole in a bluff where he had spent a

night on his quest. He could imprison another's power in this rocky cavern. When other shamans gave him threatening looks, his power backed up into the cave and the rock closed over it. He said as he danced, "Nothing can touch me or injure me; my power even swallows the sun." The listeners then knew that he referred to the hole in the rock.

When a salmon weir was being made, some jealous person might hide nearby and use his power to scare the salmon away. A shaman might detect him and overcome the power of the offender by his own. Sometimes two shamans cooperated to defend the weir. Suszen said that such contests over the bewitchment of salmon weirs often ended fatally for one or more of the shamans involved. The great public importance of the weir made them especially serious.

In Suszen's cosmogonic myth, the "creatures" had power contests among themselves while they were making laws for future mankind.

Suszen supplied the following description of a power-killing process which he said might be undertaken before many spectators at the winter dance. Some doubt is cast on the actual provenance of the trait by its close similarity to the method by which the Blackfoot, in Suszan's story about Sulktasku sum, destroyed the power of that hero.[1]

The shamans placed a flat basketry tray in a cavity in the wall of the house. Having spread in this tray a layer of bird-down, with three parallel rows of woodpecker feathers standing erect in the down, they put out the fires and left the room in total darkness. No one spoke above a whisper. When the power arrived, the feathers moved. The officiating shaman then took it in his hands and placed it in a wooden bowl or basket of water, over which he placed a cover. Having listened to its song and determined its identity, he removed the cover and, spreading his hands over the bowl, looked at the power from beneath them. He then lifted it out, holding his hands about three inches apart, and another man cut it to pieces with a knife. The bystanders could not see it, but they could see its blood drip from the shaman's hands into the vessel of water. This water was finally poured into the fire to insure the power's destruction.

Suszen's story of Sulktasku sum and the Blackfoot deserves to be quoted in full. Sulktasku sum, Suszen's mother's grandfather, was a very successful warrior, who used to go to the Blackfoot country every year after the fall run of salmon to hunt buffalo and to trade with the Plains tribes.

Sulktasku sum was born at Moses Coulee, where he was brought up. He married there

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[1] [For footnote see p. 155(c), category 116. -- Analyst]

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But the whole procedure is in keeping with Southern Okanagon, not Blackfoot, thought. — L.S.

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1/ [For context of this footnote, see p. 155 (B), category 116. -- Analyst]

159 and lived there with his people. There were horses then, but he was poor and had none. He had a little boy. They decided to move, so he and his wife carried their things in packs on their backs and his little boy sat on top of his pack. Coming over a hill, he felt queer, like a horse. So he bucked like a horse and his little boy fell off. Every body laughed at him.

Two years later they decided to go to the buffalo country. There he met the Blackfoot hunters. They motioned for a smoke and the Blackfoot agreed. They traded goods there on the prairie. Sulktasku'sum had a white horse which he wanted to trade for a Blackfoot horse. They talked sign language. The next day, Sulktasku'sum and his seven-year-old boy went alone to the Blackfoot camp to trade at the invitation of the day before. The inviter had not told the Blackfoot camp that Sulktasku'sum was coming. A Blackfoot watcher saw them coming and the camp attacked him, chased him, and shot him.

Finally the Blackfoot chief, whose feathers looked good, came close and tried to catch Sulktasku'sum's horse with his hand. Sulktasku'sum shot the chief with his gun and killed him. He was surrounded by Blackfoot, but they were amazed that their chief, who had never been shot before, was killed by this stranger. Farther on, he dismounted, poured his bullets on the ground, held his horse at the end of a hair rope while the horse ran around him in a circle, and Sulktasku'sum fought with them.

The seven-year-old boy, who had gone ahead, reached camp and told about his father back there fighting. Sulktasku'sum's people went to his rescue. He was wearing a red shirt. It was all torn by bullets, but the bullets never touched his flesh and when he pulled the shirt-tails out, the bullets fell on the ground from underneath. That was his power: like the rock. He was not a chief then.

He got his power when a small boy. Once he saw some boys shooting with bows and arrows at a magpie nest. Magpie nests are strong: arrows will not go through them. When the boys went away, Magpie told little Sulktasku'sum that he would have magpie power, never to get hurt from bullets.

So his people thought he had good enough power to be a chief.

They used to go every year after the salmon run in the fall to the Blackfoot country. They stayed there till the middle or end of winter before returning. After this, the Blackfoot were enemies.

When the Blackfoot danced in the winter their doctors tried to find what Sulktasku'sum's power was, so they could kill him easily. They saw his power sometimes but could not catch it. Finally an old woman told them that they should put feathers in a hole in the wall and when his power came they

159 should cover it up and put it in a basket of water and talk about what to do with it. The old woman said, "My power told me we have to put bullets with the feathers, not pretty girls: he doesn't care about them nor good clothes." So Sulktasku sum's power went right there and was caught. The Blackfoot knew then what his power was. They cut it all to pieces and killed his power.

The next summer when Sulktasku sum went there, they had a fight with the Blackfoot. He had one arm shot off. His people said, "Let's go." He said, "I've fought a long time. I will fight until I die." His people left him. The land there is level. His people watched him from a long distance. Soon his leg was shot and broken. Finally he was out of bullets. The Blackfoot cut off his head, his arms, his legs, and his flesh. They did a dance there.

In the evening the Blackfoot left. Sulktasku sum's people went there and saw him all cut up. His guts moved around until the next day, before they stopped. The Blackfoot danced until his guts stopped moving. Then their doctor said, "He is dead." After that Moses Columbia did not go to the buffalo country because they had no good leader. There were white people at Portland in those days, but the fort had not been built at the mouth of the Okanogan then.

Though this story is not entirely clear, especially as to the way in which bullets were used, it may have some value as an Okanagon's conception of a native hero and of Blackfoot shamanism.

754 In the old days shamans often bewitched people of whom they were jealous, or who refused to give them what they had demanded, such as food. The night following the provocation, the offender's child or wife might become ill and die within a short time. Just before death, the victim was possessed by the shaman, who might say through the victim's mouth, "If you had given me the food I asked for, this would not have happened." A stronger shaman could avert the death if he could "draw out the sickness." After extracting it he held it in his hands and asked the bystanders, "What shall I do with it?" Then he threw it into the fire, and the shaman who had caused the sickness died, while the victim recovered.

Cecile gave the following account: she had known the characters in the story. Joe Leo's mother, Suzanne, had grizzly power, one of the strongest of all. She also had other powers. If anybody got hurt, she could save him. Once, when at Okanogan, she was out of whiskey. There she met a woman from Nespelem, rich and handsome, with gold teeth. Both women were on horseback. Suzanne said to the Nespelem woman, "Give me a little drink. I'm all out of booze." But the other replied, "I don't drink with people like you. I drink with my own kind of people. I'm rich, and I'm good-looking besides. I don't drink with poor people like you."

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Then she rode away. But Suzanne called after her, "You won't be having a good time all the time. You won't be rich and you won't be handsome. Before very long you will die." The woman rode back through here (Disautel) to Nespelem.

It seemed as though she did not know what she was doing. At Nespelem the peopl prepared a nice place for a war dance, and sprinkled water all over the ground. No women were supposed to walk on the dancing ground, but this woman walked on it, and they wondered what was the matter with her. They went to her lodge to see her, but she was already dying. They got four Indian doctors: xōmas (who is still living at Nespelem), sEnōtanik, hEntEpūlamsū, and a woman called tōlEmaiat. These tried to cure her, but they could not find out what was the matter. They took turns drawing the sickness out of her. While they were doctoring, she sat up and spoke Okanagon, which she had never spoken before. She said, "I thought I was the head of all the Indian doctors: I always did think that." This was just what Suzanne thought of herself. It was Suzanne speaking through this woman. She went on: "What can you folks do with me? You think you are ahead of me [i.e., stronger], but you are not. You could not do anything." She laughed at them; talked and laughed just like Suzanne. The woman doctor asked her, "Well, who are you? Tell me your name." She answered, "I'm from nqaētqū. I've lived there all my life." She did not tell her name, but they all knew it was Suzanne. She said all kinds of things to them before she died. It seems, added Cecile, that when one is bewitched in this way one speaks a foreign language plainly. (Though this incident occurred only eight years ago, only one of the four shamans is alive, xōmas. He is very old, wears his hair in braids and talks like a little old lady.)

They finally got the best of Suzanne; that is how she died. It was a Yakima Indian who did it. He had killed another Indian doctor at Yakima and gone to Similkameen to live. Michel's sister, Nancy, was sick at Similkameen. Suzanne went up there to cure her. When Nancy got a little better Suzanne came back to Okanogan. But she left one of her powers in Similkameen to take care of Nancy. After Suzanne came back to Okanogan, Nancy got even more sick. They called this Yakima Indian to cure her. While he was doing his doctoring he looked up and saw Suzanne's power there. He thought it was somebody else trying to kill Nancy. So he grabbed that power right there. They had a fight, his power and Suzanne's; they flew up in the air fighting. Another Indian doctor saw them. They fought all the way to Okanogan. There they fell into the river, because Suzanne had some power in the water, but the man's power was stronger, so he tore her all to pieces. Then the Yakima shook himself and went back, leaving her there. This was in the autumn. In February she was killed by a train and cut all to pieces. Of course, after the Yakima's power had killed

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hers, she was bound to die somehow. Michel's sister's people were very sorry about this. They felt responsible for Suzanne's death, because they had called in the Yakima man to doctor Nancy. 754

Shaman's contests often took a milder form. Michel's father and another man were playing the stick game. Both had strong power. The other man took the bones. When he opened his hands the bones had been shattered. Michel's father got another set of bones and did the same thing. Though Michel said, "They must have been playing," he told this anecdote while discussing shamanistic conflicts. 789 791

A certain old man had a tobacco pouch made of groundhog skin on one side and spotted fawn skin on the other. A shaman asked him for tobacco. He threw the pouch at the shaman so that it landed with the skin of the groundhog uppermost. This insulted the shaman, who made a power noise to attract the old man. But the latter merely laughed and said, as the other walked away, "His anus is full of blue mud." [578]

Michel said that shamans never fought each other physically, but only in such acts of spiritual power.

USES OF POWER

The guardian spirits conferred on their wards many special faculties, such as clairvoyance, superhuman endurance and strength, immunity to certain dangers, control of the weather, the ability to transform oneself into the animal representing the spirit or to assume its most useful attributes, general skill and good fortune, and, above all, the ability to cure illness. One might employ his power for both private and public purposes. These various uses of power hardly lend themselves to a rigid classification, but I shall first discuss them as applied to individual enterprise, and then in their more communal functions such as hunting and war. Curing, the most professional activity of all, will be reserved for a special section. 776 778 791

One with a strong guardian spirit could easily see the power of anyone who was spiritually weaker, and could observe at any distance a person who was on the way to visit him or who was hurt. His guardian spirit warned him of impending danger. When he dreamed that harm was about to befall someone, his power might tell him to sing its song as soon as he awoke and thus protect the victim. Since he could not be approached while asleep without awaking, one might test another's power by coming to look at him while he was asleep. If the latter failed to wake, the other would say, "He's been lying. He has no power." A good shaman knew when he was going to die, even though other shamans were doing their best to cure him of his mortal affliction.

He could protect his friends by "put-

776 778 791 time them into his pipe." This probably means that he put their powers there. In one of the folktales Fox defended Coyote and Coyote's son and grandson from the Water Monster in this way.

776 778 Stories of endurance against fatigue, hunger, cold, and other hardships are commonly told to illustrate power. Once, when ice was floating down the Okanogan River at its confluence with the Columbia, two daredevils began a swimming contest across the Columbia, while the bystanders laid bets on the outcome. One of the contestants had as his guardian spirit a deer swimming across the river in winter. The other did not tell what his spirit was, but he made his clothes wriggle through the ice to indicate that it was the otter. A canoe followed the two. Since the deer power was not very good for swimming, its possessor got cold and stiff, and was picked up by the canoe. He nearly died. But the man with otter power swam across the river and back again. When he emerged he wriggled through the snow on the shore, again showing the onlookers from what animal he had got his power.

A boy hunting on snowshoes near Lake Chelam became exhausted. A freezing north wind arose. He thought, "Well, my power is the minnow [or a little trout]. Now I wonder how it will help me. I'll try it out." He submerged himself to the neck in water and stayed there all night. In the morning he went home. His people asked him how he had outlived the storm, and when he told them, they would not believe him until they had seen the place.

In time of famine one's power might allow him to live on food which would have been worse than nothing for other people. A man with a beaver as guardian spirit would "think of his power" and the spirit would tell him in a dream to eat some little twigs or pieces of bark, just as did the beaver itself. One with salmon power who desired some of this fish might eat anything at hand; it would taste to him like good salmon.

Power which a woman received from a bitch with young or from a female eagle with a brood enabled her to bear children successfully all alone, or when travelling. This was because her guardian spirit had its young "just anywhere."

791 754 Some shamans, both men and women, had a special faculty for preparing and projecting magical darts. The dart was called qwaqō'lx. The shaman took a hair, a feather, a blade of grass, or some other small, thin object, brought it "to life" by rubbing and blowing on it, and blew it toward his victim. Or he might lay the tail feathers of a robin and the down of an eagle on a mat, dancing and singing till the tail feathers stood erect, when they were ready for use in the same way. Though he did not sing or dance while shooting the dart, and said nothing to help it along, he could regulate its strength. Sometimes it killed the victim outright. Often

791 it caused only a painful swelling, which a
754 shaman might cure by one of the usual methods for disease extraction. If the intended victim had sufficient power he could see the dart coming and catch it, thus preventing it from harming him. The guardian spirits who gave the best power for shooting these darts were spider, rattlesnake, yellow jacket, or other things that bit or stung. A shaman who had this power might keep the small red tail feathers of the woodpecker, wearing one to advertise his ability. He did not tell people about it, but they knew what the feather meant. Though these darts were not a common means of hunting wild animals for food, horses could be killed thus, and our informants knew of one man who brought down flying swans in this way. The only beings recognized as immune to this were white men and cows. When the whites first came, the Indians shot these darts at them with murderous intent, but the shamans could see the darts fall to the ground after going just so far toward their mark.

776 Power helped people to play games. When
778 players of two tribes came together for a
526 match, each side might have a shaman who assisted his party before the game by smoking his power pipe in silence and solitude while thinking about his power. The guardian spirit of a stick game player might tell him to prepare his sticks in a certain way, and, when not using them, to hide them in an ant hill to guard them from the contaminating influence of women. Roots wrapped in buckskin and placed in an ant hill made "good power" for the stick game.

Power gave speed and endurance in foot racing. One famous racer, a relative of Suszen, was challenged by a man at Inchelium, in Colville territory. The latter said that after the race he would tell what his guardian spirit was. The two contestants ran faster than the horses of those who followed the race, but Suszen's relative lost. Shaking hands with him, the Inchelium man said modestly, "I'm sorry I beat you. I didn't expect to. When I was a little boy a mouse ran fast under my pillow and told me I would be a good foot racer. I tried that power today and won. Perhaps you have a better one." Suszen's relative replied, "I have a good guardian spirit, the sage hen. But you won with just a small power." He never ran another race.

791 Of all the animal benefactors, only bears and perhaps wolves, allowed their wards to assume their form. Billy Joe knew an old woman with bear power who could do this. When his wife's mother (a Wenatchi) and another woman had seen a grizzly and reported this to the old woman's son, he laughed and explained, "I guess it's my mother playing bear." This were-bear woman always wore as a belt a strip of bear skin cut from nose to tail, which was not only her power emblem, but the instrument by which she was transformed.

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Of shamanistic practices for the public good, the control of the weather was perhaps the most general in effect. Though the Colville sang their power songs for alternate freezing and thawing to facilitate hunting on snowshoes, the Southern Okanagon sang only for "soft weather." I have mentioned a phase of weather shamanism in connection with the winter dance. 789 791

Part of the technique of weather control was to let blood from one's head fall on the snow. One winter a horse belonging to Long Paul Timentwa's grandmother was wandering hungry through the deep snow in the hills. It returned to camp and chewed the tule mats with which the tipi was covered. The old woman took pity on her horse and sang her power song, accompanied by all her camp mates. Then she told someone to cut her head. When this had been done, she let the blood drip on the snow. Rain and wind then came and washed the snow away.

One very severe winter about twenty years ago, all the livestock were dying of the cold. An old woman who had power to influence the weather and whose aid had been sought by the people, "made some medicine" and asked her friends to cut her head. When her blood had fallen on the snow, a south wind at once brought rain. Those who had livestock contributed to pay her fee.

In the Colville tale of the boy hero, the latter "took his little power and stuck it up on a little bush ... and it started to rain ... and the crane who was guarding the service-berry bushes from which the boy wished wood for his arrows put his head under his wing." Later in the story the boy sang the Maneater's power song to make the snow and the rain come, and then changed his song to make it freeze.

Guardian spirits also aided in house building. When a large semi-subterranean winter lodge was to be constructed, the men of the group decided among themselves who had the best power to superintend the work. For obvious reasons, power derived from some burrowing animal was especially appropriate. Other people, even women, might help the work by "keeping watch with their power." 342 791 825

A shaman with special power for hunting deer was called tlakwilɑx sasiʔs kélaspi xEm. Women did not customarily hunt deer or bear, and one who did was publicly credited with very special power for this purpose. A woman might delegate to a man, usually her husband or brother, her power for hunting or fighting, though not her power for curing. One woman whose guardian spirit was "the biggest and oldest of all the deer, so old that it could hardly stand," lent her deer hunting power to her brother, since she had no husband. When she wanted a deer she told him where to find one; he followed her directions and was always successful. Before the deer thus obtained was eaten, she cut from it a piece of the ear and a piece of the lower lip, burned the hair 224 791 562

off these pieces, and ate them. Other people were then free to enjoy the kill. If her brother brought several deer from one hunt, she ate the ear and lip pieces from only one of them. The same power enabled her to cure illness. When a man went on the warpath his wife might help him by thinking of her power and by singing her power song in the evening. 224 791 562

If a group of hunters met with no success, they asked aid from one of their number who had the appropriate power. When evening came he sat with his back toward the fire and sang for a long time. Then he told his companions to go to a certain place and kill the youngest deer that they could find. If they did so, they afterwards had better luck. This performance was called cqwəlhūmēst, "doing the best that one can." Another procedure was for them all to sing their power songs in the evening and on the next morning to go out and find deer. The leader of the party (xatō'ɛ, a leader in a shamanistic ceremony), who had deer power, killed the first one they found and ate a piece of the liver while it was still warm. He then gave each of the other hunters some of the liver to eat. Those of them who had power from carnivorous animals also drank some of the deer's blood as soon as they had made the kill. 224 791 789

Sometimes a man with deer power threw out all the entrails of the deer, with the kidneys, heart, and liver, to "feed one of his other powers" which had helped him." Cecile told of a man who had hunted for four days and got no deer. On the fourth night, coyotes howled around his house. He told his wife that the coyotes were about to aid him. The next morning he killed a big deer and threw out the entrails for them.

One might be walking through the woods singing his power song, when suddenly a deer would appear and he would kill it. Anyone so favored would know that he had deer power. His song called the deer, which complacently stood in his way and waited to be shot. 224 778

During a very bad winter, when David's people were starving, a man with strong power for hunting went out with his dog. The dog drove a deer down into a lake, but the hunter could not get near enough to shoot it. A second time the dog drove the deer into the lake, but again the hunter failed; and a third time. Then the deer tried to escape. As it was about to run out of sight around a hill, the hunter yelled as loudly as he could. The deer fell dead. When he told his friends this they would not believe him till he had showed them the tracks. Then they had faith in his power. At another time, when he had stalked a flock of swans unsuccessfully and they had soared into the air, he looked up and hoped for one. It dropped dead at his feet. This was due to another power which he had. Many winters this man saved the people from starvation.

A hunter with a grizzly bear as guardian spirit could kill a grizzly with ease. It 224 776 778

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224 776 778 did not resist him when he walked up to it and stabbed, shot, or clubbed it to death. Mary Carden's uncle used his grizzly power when hunting a bear which had been worrying the women. He painted his face with a design representing the claws of the grizzly and rode forth on his horse attired only in a breech-clout and singing his power song. The bear threw him down and mauled him, but his power saved his life.

226 778 Power was often brought into play at the fisheries. Michel's father told the people during a winter dance that he intended to go salmon fishing near Malott. When the season came they all helped him to make the weir. People came from Nespelem, Kartaro, Sanpoil, and near Chelan. After they had caught a few salmon, dried them, and distributed them among the families, the salmon stopped running. Most of the fishermen then moved away, leaving only a few at the weir. Michel's grandmother, who had salmon power, cleaned the weir and sat down near it. She sang no songs; she just "thought about her power" and went away. Very late that night the salmon began to run again and by the next morning they had filled the weir. The people took them out, but salmon came up abundantly for several days afterward.

Lucy Joe told the following anecdote which, she said, shows that the people long ago really did have power. Nmaskwist, her father's sister's son, once made a salmon weir at Malott. At first it was unproductive. Nmaskwist's grandmother, Sikŭntalŭqs, said, "I'm going to the weir." She walked along the weir to the opposite bank of the river and lay down there. Soon after sunset she heard the kingfisher (starès) flying over the camp. She thought, "Now we're going to eat." She lay there and slept. The salmon came. By daybreak a great many had been caught in the weir, and she called to the people, "Your weir is going to overflow." Then the fishermen all ran down with their spears and other equipment, without stopping to put on their shoes, and took out two hundred salmon. When they had got these, the weir broke. Sikŭntalŭqs took off her moccasins and went swimming just above it. The people said to her, "What's the matter with you? You shouldn't swim up there." But that was her power. She replied, "I was the one that made the salmon come. It's all right if I take a swim." When other camps heard that the fishing was so good there, they came from Nespelem, Similkameen, and other distant places. In the evening Sikŭntalŭqs lay down again and "fixed the weir." In the morning a kingfisher was found dead on the bank, and the weir was full of salmon. The kingfisher must have been Sikŭntalŭqs' guardian spirit. When she sang, she said, "I'm an eagle and its little sister, the kingfisher."

1562 784 Though women should not come within half a mile of a salmon weir, those who had salmon power, or who were attended by a man who had such power, could do so with impunity.

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226 789 In the "very old days," long before Suszen's father could remember, some shamans were always doing harm. They delighted especially in spoiling the salmon fisheries by letting all the salmon go through. The people had to watch these "mean doctors." They gave them food whenever they wanted it and were otherwise good to them, for they were all afraid of their great power.

726 789 In war the guardian spirits came to man's aid in numerous ways. They warned and advised him, gave his family immunity to arrows and bullets, enabled him to escape from his enemies by becoming invisible or by assuming animal attributes, fortified his morale in battle by allowing him to sing their power songs, and sometimes even restored him to life when the enemy had left him for dead. A man who had special power for warfare was much desired as a housemate because he could foresee an attack by enemies, though he never set himself up as a rival to the regular chief. Although no power songs were sung at a war dance, the warriors often took this opportunity to display their power emblems and to tell the people what their power was and how it had helped them in their exploits. A few instances will illustrate the many methods of employing power in war.

726 773 In a story told by David Isaac, the hero Ktsasikwa when pursued by the Shuswap had made a fire to heat the stones for a sweat house. But as soon as he had a good blaze, his power told him, "Your enemy is near you; it's going to bite you." Ktsasikwa then threw water on the fire and the pursuers, seeing this steam from afar, thought that it was only a natural mist. Later he and his brother outwitted the enemy by changing themselves into wolves. Wearing a cap with a wolf nose in front and a grizzly nose behind, he took the scent of some Shuswap tracks by turning the grizzly nose to the front, thus using his grizzly power. Still later in the tale, when Ktsetsikwa had caught on a snag while swimming under water, his frog power saved him from drowning and he made a noise like a frog.

Once some old people, some children, and one young man were making a salmon weir at Okanogan while the rest of their band were out hunting and picking berries. A war party appeared on the opposite bank of the river. The young man came out of his tipi and gave them signals for peace, but they replied in the sign language, "We want to eat and sleep. Tomorrow we'll fight you. Get ready." The young man immediately sent a boy across the river with some salmon for the enemy. He did the same the next morning, when he again urged the hostile party not to attack and signalled them that his people would give them whatever they wanted.

Now he happened to have thunder power. When he was a little child he had made, according to the command of the spirit, two sacred arrows: one painted yellow, the other red, white, yellow and black. He had kept

them high up in his lodge, and no one, not even he himself, ever handled them. Thunder had told him to make these arrows for use in such an emergency as this. He now explained to the people, "I don't want to fight. I only want to try my thunder power with these arrows. That is why I have never played with them or used them for hunting, but have kept them carefully for so long!" 726 773

Having motioned to the enemy that he was ready to fight, he jumped about, hollered and shot one arrow straight into the air. It soared on for about ten seconds. It was just like waking up the thunder. There was a loud noise. When he shot up the other arrow, the thunder realized that its ward was in danger. Then thunder and lightning came and killed all the enemy. After this the young man explained his power to his fellows

When a little bird first came to a boy as guardian spirit, hail might fall and the bird tell him, "These hailstones are like bullets and arrows." This meant that he would be immune from bullets and arrows in war. In the account of Sülkteskū'sūm given by Suszen, the hero had received his power from a magpie when a child, and no bullets could harm him. 726 787 789

In other cases, such immunity was a natural quality of the guardian which it imparted to the warrior. Sērsēpkĭn, a chief of the Northern Okanagon half a century ago, had got power from a pitch-pine stump at the foot of a rock-slide in the Similkameen valley. The stump had been worn smooth by rocks and gravel. Just before the battle of McLaughlin's Canyon, in which Sērsēpkĭn came to blows with the white soldiers, he told his men that this stump was his guardian spirit, and ordered them to shoot him to prove his power. When they did so, the bullet flattened out against him and left him unscathed.

One's guardian spirit might come to him in his sleep and say, "Tomorrow you'll be shot. But if you paint yourself with red paint like a bullet wound, the bullets won't hurt you."

No less remarkable were the ways in which power enabled one to elude his enemies Sērsēpkĭn and two of his warriors, qōwēcElExkĭn and sqElūxtcō, were leading a war party against the white soldiers who were encamped by the Okanogan River. Sērsēpkĭn and qōwēcElExkĭn left their guns with sqElūxtcō and walked into the enemy's camp. They seized two guns from the soldier's stack. When the soldiers tried to catch them, the two warriors leaped around like animals and finally escaped in one great leap. Their white foes shot at them but could not hit them. QōwēcElExkĭn's power was an eel: when you grab an eel you can not hold it. At a war dance qōwēcElExkĭn recounted this adventure himself.

A girl and her mother were once attacked by Blackfoot and escaped by invoking

their guardian spirits. The mother, who had deer power, pulled her dress over her head and ran away naked like a deer; while her daughter, whose power was the eagle, took some eagle feathers from the inside of her dress, put them on her head, and flew away. 726 787 784

Once the foe made fires all around a village in which there were four men, so that the latter could not leave the village without being seen. But one of the men used his power to transform himself and the other three into mice, and in this guise they all escaped.

A passage in the Coyote tales informs us that Coyote's faeces, his special guardian spirits, advised and enabled him to transform himself into a wooden pan in order to outwit the Bird-women. In another tale he eluded his foes by invoking his power to make the air dark and foggy. 773

In the story of Marten and Fisher, Marten "thought the cottonwoods to grow right around the tent," that is, used his power to make them grow there with miraculous speed, so as to hide the tent.

In comparison with the preceding instances, the following seems more dramatic as well as more credible. Two Okanagon boys and their mother were camping on a ridge between Oroville and Osoyoos to avoid the mosquitoes. One of the boys had been sick and paralyzed for a long time, so that he could hardly move. During the night, when the old woman went out to urinate, she saw Shuswap warriors lying all around watching her. She thought if she showed fright they would kill her, and wanted first to let her healthy son know, so she pulled her dress way up and scratched herself as if she did not see them. When she told her son about them he prepared to fight. As soon as dawn came he jumped out of the tipi and shot at the Shuswap, who returned the fire. The sick boy did his best to escape, his mother walking behind him. When he tried to climb the hill, he fell back. His warrior brother turned around and continued to shoot at the Shuswap. Again the sick boy tried to climb the hill, but fell back. His mother was nearly helpless also, and the Shuswap realized in what a plight all three of them were. They wanted to terrorize the fighting boy, so they hollered at him and blew their flutes[!] and made all kinds of ugly noises. The sick boy was still trying to climb the hill. He did not succeed till the Shuswap, by pure chance, made a noise like the sound of his power animal. Then he ran up the hill full speed and his brother followed. The Shuswap caught the old woman and were going to kill her, but she had some fine swan's feathers sewed on the sleeves and shoulders of her dress. She tore these out, threw them behind her, and ran away. When the Okanagon saw them coming down the hill toward Oroville, they said, "The Shuswap must have attacked the boys and old woman and be chasing them." So they took their weapons and went out to meet the enemy. 726 778 784 539

Sinkaietk
Colville

776 Guardian spirits might bestow miraculous vitality on a warrior and restore him from death. Suszen said that after the
778 great hero Sulktaskū sūm had been cut to pieces by the Blackfoot, his entrails moved until the next day. In the Colville story of Quinmūsq, the hero, finally done to death and thrown into the river by his Spokan enemies, was "put together" and revived by his power animals. Johnnie's great-grandfather, probably a Colville, had a dream of killing the Kutenai. Later, in a battle, he cut off the head of a Kutenai warrior and threw it into a lake. But the head revived and animals surrounded it as it floated on the water. This manifested a special power of his.

Suszen showed a picture of a man lying on his back in the forest, scalped and dead and surrounded by many animals. The man had power from the chief of these, and he had also summoned the others to help him. The crow found his scalp and brought it back to him; then the beaver brought him to life.

776 Suszen related that once, at Fort Spokane, the white soldiers were preparing to fight another group of whites who were known
778 as the Red Shirt People. The former had with them as allies some Nez Percé braves
539 from Nespelem. They had sent a challenge to the Red Shirts. While they were waiting for a reply, in war dance formation, Indians and soldiers all together around the fires, a Spokane warrior offered to predict what the reply would be. He said that he would twice start to leave camp and twice return, and he directed one of his friends to kill him with a club as he was about to leave camp the third time. He explained that his spirit would go to where the fight would take place, would learn the result of the battle, and would return to tell their captain. The friend killed him just as he had suggested, where all could behold the deed. Then they held the war dance. An hour after this requested murder, the slain warrior revived and informed his comrades that at noon on the next day, when the two forces met for combat, the leaders would hold parley and come to terms. His prediction was fulfilled. Though Suszen told this anecdote as evidence of power, it involves some confusion between the guardian spirit and the soul, since the warrior's spirit had to be released by his death before it could accomplish its errand.

778 Among the Colville, power derived from the bluejay differed from any recorded for
776 the Okanagon, for it especially enabled its possessor to find lost articles and people,
791 and sometimes impelled him to flee human society and lead an insane life in the woods. Bluejay shamans used black face-paint. A man with this power once disappeared from a settlement near Marcus just after the winter dance and was not found till the next autumn. His brother dreamed that he might be discovered with a group of wild horses at noon on the day following the dream. Enlisting the aid of a few good ropers, the brother went out to capture him. They found him as foretold in the dream, leaping from one horse's

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778 ...ger to another. The horses escaped, but the
776 ...ger was bound, fumigated with zecxac root,
791 ...ght to normal life. David, the narrator, knew of no other instance of this ...but Teit's account of the behavior ...ellow bluejay shamans when they went ...t from lost things, and the repeated ...tement that they "turned into bluejays," ...licate a much more violent form of spirit ...session than occurred among the Okanagon. ...nnie recounted that those with this power ...rned into bluejays at a dance, which no ...e was allowed to leave. They would fly ...t through a crack in the door. They would ...y naked in the mountains for months, living only on pitch. One such named inyds (Aeneas, Ignace?) could jump up a tree and dance on one foot on its tip. People "spoke backward" to him. If a man was lost in the mountains or drowned, or if horses were lost, he was asked to find them. He hopped out on one foot, reporting on his return, "I did not find him," meaning the reverse. Another named qlaÎ fyā would hop out and find a coin secreted in the snow. In all the cases given, the shamans had possessed their bluejay power for some time; we obtained no account of their conduct soon after getting the power.

CURING

757 Two schools of Okanagon medicine are clearly to be distinguished: one secular, employing splints, bandages, hot and cold applications, herbs, and so on, and open to all who could learn the techniques; the other religious, closely bound up with power, entered only by those whose guardian spirits, especially strong, had directed them into the curing profession, and who, usually, had given several winter dances. I shall first discuss this latter, shamanistic kind of therapy. Let us bear in mind, however, that though certain complaints were more amenable to the secular art whereas others were seldom treated in this way, a large number of cases might be treated in both ways, a shaman being called in after secular methods had failed. Some said that a white physician could never diagnose or cure an ailment from papaÎst or from other magico-religious causes, but that an Indian shaman had no ability to treat smallpox, influenza, and similar diseases recognized by the whites. This was probably a rationalization in defense of native methods.

756 Of all the purposes to which a Southern
791 Okanagon might invoke his guardian spirit, healing and curing were the most professional. Though every normal adult had at least one spirit, proficiency as a physician marked the individual as a true shaman. The word tła kwilEx designated any person who had power, but those who employed their spirits for curing were referred to by terms denoting the techniques which they used. Such specialists were the tła·kwilEx xal'sła·pEm or tła·qwi·lEx xEl sixElōs, who cured by sucking; the pōxpōxūmēlh, lit. "blowing all the while" or pōxūmēmin, who cured by blowing; and the tła kwilEx xal·aspūxEm who

cured by blowing and manipulation. The proportion of shamans to laymen varied greatly between villages. Both men and women could be shamans, but men probably predominated. 756 791

Though all shamans had some general curing ability, their powers were usually specialized. Thus, spider power and rattlesnake power were employed respectively to treat the bites of these vermin, but power from certain kinds of hawks and other birds which kill snakes also served against snake venom. A shaman with spider power could see a spider-bite, even through clothing, without being told that it was there. When a certain small boy had been bitten by a spider, his father went from the Omak district all the way up to Loomis to procure a shaman that he knew of, only to find that this practitioner could not effect the cure because he had not the spider power.

If a shaman had several powers and did not know just what was wrong with the patient, he tried first one and then another in his attempts to cure. A mistake in the treatment might bring the sickness on himself. In cases of very serious illness, several shamans might cooperate. Four, three men and a woman, struggled to save the life of the woman who had been bewitched by Suzanne. They took turns in trying to draw the sickness out of her, but to no avail.

Sometimes a shaman dreamed that a certain person was sick. On awaking he sang for a while and then went to the prospective patient and offered to cure him. He sometimes had to travel a long distance to his case, even in the days before horses when he had to go on foot. If the cure was successful, he received a small gift; if not, he gained nothing. The amount was not stated beforehand, but was as much as the patient or his family wished or were able to give: as little as a blanket or as much as a horse. The patient never gave his daughter to the shaman as a fee. Lucy Joe said that she would return the fee if her patient died. In recent years, since the white doctors are paid in ratio to the distance which they must come, some shamans require a large payment before attempting the cure. Despite the time they spent in visiting patients, shamans had to engage in the same everyday occupations as did laymen. Only Suszen declared that a shaman who refused to attend patients because of malice might, after due warning, be killed by the "chiefs and the people." They clubbed him to death, hanged him, cut his throat, or bound him, weighted him with rocks and drowned him. Arrows were not used for this purpose because many shamans were immune to them.

Aside from the more obvious cases of physical injury, the Southern Okanagon attributed sickness chiefly to the intrusion of a tangible and more or less animate object into the victim's body, to power-theft, to soul-loss, to insubordination to one's power, or to violation of a religious taboo. 753

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Intrusion was the most common cause and was often traced to the activity of a malignant shaman. Cecile related that a certain old man went three times to a family, asking for food, but they gave him nothing. "Well," he thought, "because they are so stingy I'll fix their little boy so they won't be happy all the time." That night the boy fell sick and they implored the old man to come and cure him. He refused, so they obtained another doctor. When the latter drew the sickness from the lad he had to pull very hard; it was so strong that he could scarcely hold it. Soon it became more quiet, and he pulled it out until it was about eighteen inches long. It was soft and as white as paper. They cut it in two and saw it bleed. This killed the old man who had sent it. 753

The intrusive element was sometimes a magical dart, such as I have described above. Nose bleed and headache, as well as local congestion, were symptoms of this affliction.

Rattlesnake bites belong in this general category. The toxic element was sometimes a small object, pointed at both ends, which had entered the body of the patient and caused swelling; sometimes two of these "teeth" entered at once. A rattlesnake shaman extracted and displayed them. The swelling might also be caused by the snake's poison, without the intrusion of the "tooth," and could be healed by the shaman touching or massaging the afflicted part "to kill the poison." He did not suck the affected part. 755

Blowing, massage, and sucking were the most usual means of cure. The word pōxpōxūmēlh for a professional curing shaman refers to the belief that he could, by blowing on or toward the patient, either expel the source of the complaint or project into the patient the later's lost soul. Sick people were heavy, but when doctors blew on them they became "as light as a feather." A shaman might cure "summer complaint" (sunstroke rather than diarrhea ?) and other diseases by blowing on the patient's head. One cured Johnnie's sister of a toothache by blowing on her sore cheek, after which she took from her mouth a little yellow worm. Sickness caused be extreme grief (papasī'lEx) was also amenable to this treatment.

Blowing was often combined with manipulation or massage. Fly power enabled its possessor to cure scrofula by blowing on the afflicted part and subsequently extracting the "worm" by the motion of his hands. This was done also for toothache. When a malignant shaman had blown a magical dart into his victim, the doctor employed for the cure would blow the dart out of the patient, catch it between his hands, plunge it into water to cool it, and afterwards show it to the people. To restore the soul to a person who had lost it by foolishly touching the central dance post, a shaman drew the soul out of the post, probably by manipulation, rubbed it once or twice between his hands, and blew it back into the patient's body.

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755 A cure involving both manipulation and blowing was described as follows by Cecile. The doctor first sang for about ten minutes, presumably his power song. Then he worked his hands over the reclining patient from feet to head and grasped the sickness over the head in both hands. One or two bystanders sealed him "to prevent him from dying or being carried away by the strength of the medicine," and plunged his hands, which still held the sickness, into a vessel of water. When the sickness had become quiet, the doctor took his hands out of the water and "threw away" the sickness by blowing on it. He repeated this process four times, twice working his hands up from the patient's feet and twice down from the head.

For rheumatism the shaman blew on the sensitive place and rubbed it with his hands. Then he caught the illness over the patient head, rolled it between his hands, and displayed a slender dark object which he said he had extracted. Josephine, the interpreter for Mary Carden who described this method believed that this object was only dirt which the shaman had rubbed from the patient's skin. But Mary insisted it might have been projected into the victim by an enemy. When placed in water it moved like a worm.

Another method of extracting blood, worms, general illness, poison, or other injurious things was that of sucking. Shamans proficient in sucking blood wore a tattooed line from each corner of the mouth down each side of the chin. Certain guardian spirits gave power for this, notably such blood-sucking insects as the mosquito and the horsefly, and animals which were often shot or hunted, such as deer and salmon. The shaman sometimes sucked the patient's blood between his (cupped ?) hands placed over the afflicted member. After the treatment he deposited the blood or other cause of trouble in a vessel of water where it would cool down and become quiet, that other people could see it. No visible break remained in the patient's skin as a result of the sucking. Among ailments cured in this way were wounds and hemorrhage, appendicitis, a fish bone in the throat, blood-poisoning, toothache, extreme grief.

Fifteen years ago, when a man called Sam George was at the Cook Agency, he suffered a severe internal injury. The white doctor held his wrist for fifteen minutes (fifteen was apparently a "pattern number" for Quozen, the narrator) but Sam died anyway. A shaman then sucked poison from close to Sam's heart and put it in a cup of water. The agent and the white doctor looked at the poison. There was no hole in Sam's skin where the doctor had sucked. Sam got well and still lives. Harry Timentwa and Old Harry's grandson both testified that they had been cured of illness by the sucking treatment.

755 791 Some shamans sprinkled water on a patient as they walked around him. If he show-

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755
791

see no signs of improvement at the fourth [illegible]. His case was hopeless. Billy Joe told of a cure performed by his wife, an old Sanpoil woman, by this method combined with blowing. A man had been stabbed all over his body, and lay motionless and unconscious. His friends sent for Billy Joe's wife, who at once saw that the patient was nearly dead. Singing her power song, she sprinkled water on him as she walked around him three times. Still he did not move. She said, "If he doesn't move when I sprinkle water the fourth time around, he's hopeless." For the fourth time she walked around him sprinkling the water. This time he moved. She blew on him, his friends took him and bathed him in the Columbia River, and he got well.

A shaman with tobacco power smoked his power pipe and blew the smoke on the patient. A girl who had this power kept secretly a little pipe as a power emblem. If she were very ill, her guardian spirit told her to smoke this pipe. She did so, using tobacco and kinnikinnik: the smoke went all through her body as a medicine. When the community heard that she had cured herself in this way, her services were demanded for the benefit of others. Even if she had never smoked before, but was told by her spirit in a dream to go cure a certain sick person by smoking, she took her little pipe to the patient's house and smoked it there. The patient's relatives then understood and offered her money for the treatment. She refused the money, but agreed to perform the cure. This she did by smoking the pipe and blowing the smoke on the patient.

Sometimes in such cases as poisoning of the blood one touch of the shaman's fingertips sufficed for the cure. One old woman with spider power saw a horse bitten by a spider and said, "He's been bitten right by that rib." She then put her hand on the bite and healed it. Rattlesnake bite could sometimes be cured by a rattlesnake shaman in the same simple way, though the poison had even infected the bone.

One old woman who had power from the largest of the deer could cure a sick baby by simply carrying it about. Johnnie's sister had had several children, all of whom had died shortly after birth. When her last child was born this old woman made a cradleboard and placed him in it and he survived.

To treat a sickness caused by power theft or power loss the power had to be recaptured. We did not obtain specific information as to how this was done. Presumably the shaman who was employed for the cure projected his own power out and enticed the lost power back into its owner.

The tail feathers of a robin, prepared as described for power capture on an earlier page, might also be used in curing. At night the shaman put one of these feathers in his hair. In the morning he found the feather back on the mat. Then the patient recovered.

Aside from the essential therapeutic act, be it blowing, sucking, manipulation, or touching, the practitioner did certain things to invoke his guardian spirits and to express his power. Thinking about the power, singing its song, and sometimes declaring the identity of the spirit, not only prepared him inwardly for the business in hand, but inspired the confidence of his patient and of the community. He also sang describing the condition of the patient and the gestures and methods which he would use in the cure. No two shamans sang alike, but each as his power had dictated. He sang the song which he had heard his guardian sing to him as a child. If he had several powers and did not know what was the patient's illness, he tried his powers one after another. While curing, the shaman wore no special clothing and did not carry or wear his power emblems, articles which he employed only at the winter dances. But he usually smoked his power pipe before beginning the treatment. Sometimes he danced if he had been so instructed by his guardian spirit. A passage in Suszen's evidence indicates the importance of dancing as a part of the curing process. Suszen said that the more shamans there were at a curing, the more nights they would dance and the better it was for the patient. When only a few shamans were there, they would grow tired sooner. Some shamans had to play the stick game as part of their curing technique, and hit the reclining patient with both hands on the stomach and chest, if these had been activities prescribed by their spirits. A certain shaman who had skunk power stamped his foot on the ground as he extracted illness and told the bystanders that he was a skunk. 756 791

Curing by means of herbs and other medicines was called mentmen. There was no special word for those who did it. It was practised mainly by aged men and women who had learned the art more or less secretly from other old people. They had not paid for this instruction. They did not have to possess any special amount or quality of power, though they usually had some and might even be professional power shamans. One might be called to a case from a long distance, just as were the shamans, but the fees for secular medicine consisted only of food and other provisions and were less than those given for the more mystical treatment. Some practitioners specialized and became so famous for certain techniques that they did not have to go hunting and food gathering, but were said to receive all of their living from their practice. But each doctor usually knew a number of medicines and treatments In preparing his medicines he took great care to guard them from enfeebling influences, such as the glance of menstruating women. 757

The Okanagon believed that they suffered less from diseases before the whites came They said that in those better days they had no venereal complaints and that smallpox, chickenpox, measles, rheumatism, pneumonia, and colds had been less common and virulent. 164 753

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For a cold (c'aha) a plant called Entáq'qūl'nlk was dried, steeped in water, and the water drunk. If the patient was up and around, he took this decoction when troubled with coughing; if confined to his bed, whenever he wished to take it. From dried "rock sage-brush" (ẽntāktākqwaln^{xū}) a strong tea was prepared for the same complaint. Ẋaẋaē'lp, "wild fern," which grows along the creeks, was administered for colds as well as for consumption, but we did not discover how. The root of the plant called ẋwait was soaked in water and the yellow liquid drunk for colds. 757 278

Tuberculosis (xqExōhōm), diagnosed from coughing at daybreak and in the evening, was said to have been known before the whites came. Mary Carden said that the Okanagon believed that this disease was caused by two small "germs," male and female, which looked like tiny fish-bladders and which multiplied and killed the patient. Before recovering from the disease, the patient had to vomit these two objects. In addition to the "wild fern" already mentioned, tea made from young red willow was drunk in large quantities to ease coughing; about two quarts at night and two quarts in the morning. [753]

The informants said that "galloping consumption" was unknown in the early days.

Rheumatism (cqâlqâlstsĭ'm, lit. "sickness bone") was believed to have been absent in aboriginal times and to have come in with the white man's food. To treat it, hot dirt, hot ashes, or a hot stone wrapped in buckskin, canvas, or scraped pine bark, was applied to the sensitive area. Water from Omak Lake was also used; one summer a couple cured their rheumatism by swimming in the lake. Johnnie described the following cure by cautery. The skin above the sore place was moistened with spittle and a small piece of a certain plant was stuck to it. This was then ignited and allowed to burn down to the skin. If the weed exploded the cure was successful; the rheumatism "jumped out."

Anemia, symptomized by loss of weight, loss of energy, and of appetite, was combated by tea made from the tip-top branch of a fir tree, the patient drinking as much as possible of this four or five times daily. This was an emetic.

Fever (stciix, lit. "hot," or tcēxtcūltcq!ēlt, lit. "hot sickness") was apparently not treated as such.

Syphilis was called tci'nūk, because it was believed to have come from the Chinook Indians. No venereal diseases were known before the whites entered the country. We obtained no native remedies for them.

To treat smallpox, a sprig of white sagebrush was broken off close to the ground, boiled, and the infusion drunk. During the smallpox epidemic a woman dreamed that the odorous fluid of the skunk would cure this disease. This was given to the dying and they recovered. [787 825]

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757 For "summer complaint" (perhaps sun-
278 stroke), called cintca'xqē'n, symptomized by headache and bleeding at the nose, a plant called tEwatē wa ("wild peppermint" in the local English) was administered.

For stomachache the roots of a plant called t'sīt'sīxa'īlp were boiled and the infusion drunk. Water in which rock sagebrush had been steeped was also drunk for stomach trouble.

Headache (cqē'lqin) was treated by binding "some kind of a weed" against the temples and stuffing it into the nostrils. Michel said that "any weed" was used for this; Johnnie stated that one sometimes used red willow (ctiktikstcxwī'lph). Also the root of a plant called xwa'īt was chewed.

For constipation the following remedies were taken internally: tea made from the grass called xaxalahō'pc, or the bush known as tāptēpcalqūh; water from Omak Lake or Goose Lake.

Swooning, fits and other losses of consciousness or control were treated by burning the root of a plant called xacxac and blowing the smoke on the patient. A fragrant fir bough (mErīłp) was also used to revive one who had fainted.

Nose bleed (ckwatsks) was treated by bathing the back of the head with cold water.

To boils was applied the foul juice from a smoker's pipe or a poultice of hot pine pitch.

Sores were treated by applying warm rocks or dirt.

Skin irritations caused by poison ivy were smeared with the milky sap from a broken stem of sumac.

For wounds, a weed called xaRxARīEmA', which was something like pigweed, was mashed, dampened with water, made into a slimy paste, and applied as a poultice. Buckskin bandages were also used. Wounds on the skull were treated in the same way, no trephining or cautery being practiced for them.

Though many shamans knew how to set bones, it was not a professional art and relatives of the patient usually performed it. Flat splints were bound to the broken limb with buckskin bandages. Sometimes the pulp of the inner bark of the red willow or the pine was placed on the limb, which was then wrapped tightly with a small twined tule mat and held in cold water for as long as the patient could bear it.

Sore eyes were bathed in water from Omak Lake.

Toothache (snEk!ēlīc, from k!ēlīc, "it

6 See Individual Life Cycle.

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757 hurts") yielded to no secular remedy. Only a
278 shaman could cure it, by methods described above.

Abortion was called cxēntst; simple mis-
847 carriage was cxēnt. Since abortion was sin-
278 ful, the herbs used in procuring it were kept secret. Johnnie, however, told us in a whisper that strong pine needle tea would have this effect.

231 Distemper in horses was treated by fumi-
278 gation with certain roots.

CHARMS

Though trees were not classed as male
778 or female, some plants had sex, determined
789 from the shape of the roots, especially sun-
832 flower and the plant from which love medi-
824 cine was made. The roots embraced each other as if sexually. If a woman coveted another's husband, she cut off the female part of the root, named it after her rival, and put it away where it would dry up. She then severed the same part from another root, representing herself, and planted it with the male part of the first. These two parts then grew together. To alienate the affections of a married couple or pair of sweethearts, one took two very small pine sprouts, named each one after one of the couple and wrapped each sprout with some of their hair. Having peeled off some of the bitter bark from a cottonwood tree, he stuck one of the sprouts into the trunk, and uttered a spell to make one of the couple bitter against the other, just as the bark was bitter.

Love medicine (plax or płaɬ) was made from the heart of a humming-bird and some kind of flowering plant that grows high in the mountains and smells sweet. The stalk of the flower and the heart were pounded up and mixed with red paint. This medicine was kept wrapped in a nice cloth. If one used it as a rouge just at sunset, smearing a little of it on face or shirt, he would be thought of at that time by the beloved. Both men and women might use this. Billy Joe claimed that experts sometimes got as high a fee as fifty dollars for this love medicine.

778 No amulets or talismans were ever carried except objects connected with power.

Black magic by making the image of the
754 victim and abusing it was never practiced by the Okanagon.

MISCELLANEOUS BELIEFS

851 Parents often disciplined their chil-
825 dren by telling them that the owl (snēna') or the night-hawk (kwaćwil) might bite them, especially at night when these birds were heard.

700 The ant and the yellow jacket wanted

The ant and the yellow jacket wanted 825
people to die, because they themselves were grave diggers, as shown by their being "pinched tight around the waist."

When children threw rocks into a small, 869
deep lake, the older people told them to 821
stop lest the wind start to blow.

If a person who was badly hurt made 821
much noise, it might cause a storm. Thunder and lightning also came up when a shaman died.

The informants had never heard of passers-by throwing rocks on a cairn. 823

Though the bat (stĭntanEwaĭa) appears as a character in the mythology, it had no 825
special powers or magical functions.

When one sneezed, it meant that someone 827
was talking about him.

The weather on the day of one's death 821
was the same as on the day of his birth.[1] 761

If one played with a frog till it was tired and then turned it on its back, it would "urinate into the sky" and thus produce rain. Cutting a frog to pieces did not have the same effect.

In back of a salmon's head one can still 825
see a little flint arrow point with which Rattlesnake shot Salmon according to a tale.

GODS, SOULS, AND GHOSTS

Sweat House (qwi'lstEn) was a diety. In 343
the naming myth Qōlūncōtn assigned it an essential place in Indian life, a tradition 773
justified in actual practice. Constructing a sweat house or using it had spiritual value and should not be undertaken lightly.
Boys probably did not take sweat baths be- 515
fore the age of twelve or thirteen, when they learned to do so as part of their train- 788
ing for manhood. Sickness or other ill fortune befell the man who treated the house irreverently; if, for example, he lost his temper when heating the stones and kicked the firewood about. As one dashed water on the hot rocks, he chanted prayers to Sweat House for health or for success in hunting, gambling, love, or any other enterprise of the moment. These were the opening lines of the sweat house prayer: [539]

yaĭ yaĭ yaĭ yaĭ qwi'lstEn
O! O! O! O! Sweat House
qūwa'ksEn qwánēnmĭ'nEm
Take pity on me,
nōlaūtiksq'ūal
Let me live to be old,
kūwá'kskĭnxĭ'tEm
Help me.

Then followed a request for special aid, such as

[1] [For footnote, see p. 167 (c); category 116. -- Analyst]
p. 167 (A)

nōkānspàlsq'ē'lxwa
So I can kill deer,
Iati'sak'latsī'nEm
Deer.
Young boys would repeat the first line, calling on Sweat House, as they heated the rocks. 515 788 [539]

The bath not only contributed to one's physical health, but purified him spiritually, and was advisable or even necessary before enterprises in which luck was a strong factor. Before setting out on a gambling expedition, the players took a number of sweat baths and abstained from sexual commerce. If one violated the latter tabu during the expedition he had to take the sweat baths all over again. In attending several sweat baths I got the impression, though it was not substantiated by any direct statement of the informants, that men together in the sweat house felt a strong bond of familiarity and exchanged many confidences. 515 783

The Okanagon conception of God, the creator and supreme being, has developed largely under Christian influence. Though present in the folklore, it played a very small part in the old religion, and did not become the basis of a cult until the arrival of the Dream dance.[1] 776 177

Our informants showed the implicit distinction between the old God and the new when, after telling the myth in which the "Great Man" gave names to animals and the sweat house, they declared that God was unknown to the Indians until shortly before European contact. The aboriginal idea of God seems to have included his title of "Great Man" or "Chief" and his functions as name-giver and general overseer of the world. He was not identified with Coyote (sinkalī'p) nor was he localized to the north or the south. His present name, qōlūncō'tn, translated by the informants as "man-maker," "he who made us," "he who created everything," refers to a creative function which he did not perform in the folktales, and its indigenous character therefore lies open to question. Cecile carefully explained that though people called him this, he was really nameless. As a giver of prophecy in dreams, qōlūncō'tn appeared as the great deity of the Dream dance cult. Conceptions of him as a White God who made the Indians, and as a White Child, had almost certainly a Christian origin. Under missionary tutelage, the Okanagon believed that he lived in the sky, and they taught their children that good people went to him after death, whereas bad ones went to the Devil. Cecile said that he had a wife, a daughter, and a son, but we obtained no other information on these characters. Suszen stated that "before the whites came" God looked like the rainbow.

The Devil, a figure derived from Christ-

1 [For footnote, see p. 167 (c), category 116. -- Analyst

p. 167 (B)

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ooo

1/ ? See Individual Life Cycle.
2/ ? This historical interpretation seems doubtful to me. — L.S.

1/ [For context of footnotes, see pp. 167(A) - 167(B), category 116. -- Analyst]
p. 167 (c)

776 177 ianity, was called chwailEmEn(or sxwélEmEn), "something thrown away or discarded," because he had been cast out of heaven by God. He therefore lived under the earth, where it was hot. Suszen's account of the attempted conversion of Chief Moses illustrates the foreign nature of this divinity. The Government had taken Moses' land away from him and had sent him to Nespelem. There the priest wanted to baptize him and teach him to pray, and a government officer told Moses that unless he was baptized he would go to hell, where the Devil would burn him. Moses denied this, objecting that if there were fire inside the earth the water in the white men's wells would boil. He was never baptized, "and never went to church because he didn't believe in the Devil."

774 The spiritual parts of the individual hardly lend themselves to rigid definition. Apparently there were five: the mind, the shadow soul, the breath soul, the immortal soul derived from Christianity, and the ghost.

Of the first, the thinking element, we have only a scrap of evidence. It seems to have been identified with the heart (cpõõ'c or põõ'st); the phrase hacpõõ's,"your heart," being used to express approval after a suggestion had been made. One sick from extreme grief was called "broken-hearted" (maõ'ts põ'õst), but this conception may not have been aboriginal.

The shadow of the individual or his reflection in water represented his soul, the cqaqElaûh. This word meant shadow in the ordinary physical sense, but in the present connotation it signifies the vital principle. Though a corpse cast a shadow it had lost its cqaqElaûh. Various precautions were taken to prevent the loss of this element. One should not sleep in the late afternoon lest the sun carry his shadow down with it and thus shorten his life, and if a child developed this habit he would die in his next illness. One incurred the same danger by allowing his shadow to fall in an open grave. If one walked close behind a person who was smoking, eating, or drinking, his reflection or shadow might fall on the smoke, food, or drink and be swallowed with it, especially if the consumer had strong power. The spirit of a child was particularly liable to be consumed by a shaman in this way and within a few days the child would succumb. Power plays a part here, since, if the father of the child were near him and had stronger power than that of the shaman, the latter would choke at the mouthful and might even die. This applies to any case where a person of strong power walked behind another who was eating, drinking, or smoking and whose power was weaker. If the former took pity on his victim, he could save him from choking by striking him on the back, bringing up the smoke, if he had been smoking, in a

774 little ball of blood. Sometimes the informants spoke of this situation as if the individual himself entered the other's mouth and choked h__. It was dangerous for a person who was eating to be frightened by someone from behind.

The cqaqElaûh seems to have been closely connected with the sweat, spittle, hair, underwear, and other materials intimately in contact with the individual, for these, as well as the shadow, should not be allowed to fall into an open grave. One person could bewitch another by throwing such personal leavings into a graveyard and beseeching a buried corpse to keep them until the victim was as "poor" as the corpse itself. The victim lost his property, fell into consumption, and died.

The shadow soul was apparently not a widespread belief, for neither David nor Chilowhist Jim knew anything about it.

The breath (slExEntcôt) was sometimes mentioned as if it were also a vital element, similar to the cqaqElaûh. If one slept facing west in the afternoon, said Johnnie, the sun might take his breath down with it.' Animals and birds probably lacked such a soul: though a chicken's breath was called by the same term as a man's, "it was not the same." The primary connotation of the word tlal, "dead," was "can't breathe any more." David said that the priests told the Indians that their "breath" went to another world where God judged it.

Whether the "breath" or the "shadow" was regarded as the vital principle, a general belief prevailed that a dying person would expire either at twilight (slnsôxôtcin) or at dawn (slnpaktcin). This weighs slightly in favor of the shadow soul.

774 177 The soul most commonly referred to in relation to life after death, to soul theft, and to dreams, was called sinaxpê'ôs or sinkaklû's. Sinaxpê ôs was derived from the Okanagon naxpêôsnt, which meant "to lay something over itself, to fold over once," and was said to have been more or less coined by the white priests. Sinkaklû's, a Spokan word adopted by the Okanagon under Christian direction, meant "something between two folds." Neither of these words was in use among the Okanagon before white contact. The soul concept itself may have been imposed upon the Indians by the Catholic fathers, who were ignorant of the indigenous types of soul, or found them unsuitable for Catholic doctrine. Since the Dream dance faith, however, had emphasized an element in man which could dream and survive death, it probably led to the development of the primitive cqaqElaûh (shadow soul) idea into a more active soul. Lucy Joe said, "You have a shadow when you walk, and there is another little shadow, the sinkaklû's." Later the

> For the belief regarding sleeping in moonlight, See elsewhere.

p.168(B)

priests may have seized this concept and given it this name. Lucy Joe ascribed the idea of the sinkakiū´s to a prophetic dream by Chief SuēpEqEn, and the word to the Catholic priests. 774 777

The relation of sinkakiū´s to power is still more perplexing. Suszen explained that whereas power came from animals, the sinkakiū´s came from qōlūncō´tn (God), and that the sinkakiū´s was more important than power because the loss of it actually killed a man. In Suszen's view both elements seemed to blend, power, he said, could be stolen without stealing the soul, but the theft of the latter, as we shall see in a moment, involved that of the former. 774 778

A shaman of sufficient power could steal one's sinkakiū´s as the victim slept and when the latter awoke he would be ill or insane. The soul might be restored by a shaman strong enough, just as lost power was restored. Suszen gave us the best account. The prospective thief saw the sinkakiū´s in a dream, distinguishing it from a "real man" by its 'going fast without walking." One would not wish to steal the soul of a worthless person, but one who had stolen a worthwhile soul might "keep it for several years and get its power." If his own power was strong enough he could "tame" the sinkakiū´s, by feeding it, for example, if it told him to do so. He tried to hide the stolen power in the mountains, in a river, or in some other lonely place, but we are not told what he finally did with the soul. All this happened in his dreams. After one's sinkakiū´s had been stolen he went insane, or at least became lazy and idiotic, and unless he could get it back his days were numbered. He sometimes employed a shaman to locate the thief and restore the soul, or, if he had strong enough power of his own, did so himself. This was accomplished by concentrating on his power and that of the thief, bringing the two into conflict and ultimately vanquishing the latter. The sweat house was a favorite place in which to concentrate and struggle in this way. All this sounds suspiciously like the theft of power, especially since Suszen, a very confusing informant, was the only one who described it. At any rate, soul stealing had not been done recently and no one told of an actual case. 754 774 778

Each individual had only one sinkakiū´s. It looked like him, but it could "go fast without walking," "like thought," and could fly. It was the part of him which dreamed: it left the body during sleep and fainting. Its failure to return to the body meant death. After death it departed to the Catholic heaven or hell, or returned as a ghost. 774 787

The land of the dead (stqama´skūt), often dreamed of by the living, was in the sky. The way thither gradually ascended, but its direction was not known. Suszen believed that it was divided; that good people went to a good place after death, where they could have lots of fun, whereas bad people went to an evil place of continual strife 775

and killing. David claimed that before the white priests introduced the concept of the soul, the Indians knew nothing of life after death and thought that they just died like animals. He was probably right. 775 [177]

The ghost (tūqtūqEnēð'laūh or tūk'tūk'ðnE'ðna) was similar to those in European tradition, having a few vague and general traits not standardized in detail, and widely open to foreign suggestions which make a "better story." Therefore any attempt to separate the aboriginal ideas on ghosts from those which have been imported seems quite futile.

The ghost was not the disembodied shadow (cqaqElaūh), but was sometimes identified with the sinkakiū's of a person not good enough to "go to a good place" after death. Ghosts were usually of the dead, but some emanated from the living who were about to die or who were absent and thinking hard of home. Suszen explained that when a dead man's guardian spirits restored him to life, his ghost returned to him. The ghost of the dead lingered near his house or his grave, where it might appear in several ways: sometimes as a flame which came out of the grave with a rattling sound and pursued the beholder, sometimes as the double of the deceased, which disappeared as it came nearer. Ghosts often indicated their presence by a rattling sound, as of dried deer hide or tin cans. They laughed, shouted, screamed, whistled and coughed. Suszen said that they talked, but Michel denied it. Sometimes they even threw stones. They moved as fast as a man could run, yet without moving their legs or leaving tracks. They were all feared, but especially those of suicides, which were visible every night near the scene of the tragedy. Ghosts pursued people in lonely places, deprived them of their wits, frightened or froze them to death, or made them ill. Whistling might attract them and was avoided by timid persons when alone at night. One pursued by a spectre along a path could evade it by stepping aside from the path and letting it pass. Recurrent troubles in a house were often ascribed to a haunting ghost. For this reason a baby was never left alone in a house where someone had died, and a fir bough and a sprig of wild rose bush were hung in the room of a dead person to keep the ghost away. Rocks were piled over a place in the woods where someone had been frozen to death or had perished by violence, perhaps to lay the ghost, perhaps as a warning to passers-by. A few anecdotes will illustrate the variations of the ghost theme in more detail.

Mr. Richard Post has a good one. "One dark night at Chilowhist Jim's, just after we had said goodnight and the Indians had retired, I walked silently by their tent on a bit of sandy ground. A boy of eleven saw me and called out 'Who's there?' I made no reply, but hurried right on without turning my head or changing my direction. He called two or three times and, when I disappeared, returned into the tent.

7 P. 169 (B)

775 "Next morning when we were talking about ghosts, he told me that he had seen one the night before. At daybreak he had looked for tracks, but seeing none (except my own, which were numerous anyway) he was convinced that it had been a ghost.

"He said that he had never feared ghosts, and had seen many, some of which he had chased and pelted with stones. They were neither good nor bad, but were merely wandering spirits of the dead: spirits of people who were not good enough to go at once to kul'ntcolin, and who had to serve atonement on earth for a while, but who were not bad enough to go to the Roman Catholic hell. He called this form of spirit the sinkak'iu's."

Johnnie was about to start on a journey with another man, who had told him to whistle when he was ready. Johnnie stood near a fence where a rocky trail went by, and whistled. Something whistled back. Thinking it was his wayfellow he called to it to stop, but instead of answering it whistled again. He finally came to the top of the trail where the other man's horse was tied, and called, "Here's your horse; where are you going?" Only the whistle replied. Johnnie got cold in the spine and returned.

Living people who were absent could sometimes be heard talking. One evening when Johnnie's uncle had been away and was expected home, his people heard him singing outside the house, but as his voice came nearer it died away. He did not return for two or three days. Johnnie explained that the uncle must have been thinking "strong" of coming, but was unable to return so soon.

The woman who made the poison with which the jealous shaman was killed in the incident related above, later became a convert to Catholicism. A light shines in the deserted house where she died six years ago; her ghost still lingers there. Sometimes people deserted a house because of recurrent deaths, for the ghost of its first owner might be seen around it, looking and acting as he had in life.

Once Mrs. Louie's brother heard the ghost of a woman screaming in the woods near Kettle Falls.

After a boy had committed suicide near Curlew, his father killed the boy's horse and spread the hide over his grave. On the next day, and for many years after, the ghost of the boy was seen riding on this horse.

One night Johnnie heard an adult weeping in the next room which was supposedly empty. On the following morning it became known that the owner of the house had died.

One night near a graveyard Johnnie heard someone sigh behind him. He heard

[For context of footnote, see p. 170(B), category 116. -- Analyst]

10 I.e., French-Canadian.

775 this four times. When he had made a light to discover the source of the noise, he thought he saw a man in white confronting him. It was a Holstein cow with a white face. This was the only ghost he had ever seen.

He once saw a blue flame rise mysteriously from the ground about twenty feet high and change into a ball of fire (probably marsh gas). He felt that this was supernatural, but did not claim that it was a ghost.

VARIOUS SUPERNATURAL BEINGS

776 Giants (tswaïnaïtEm) lived in the mountains. They measured about twelve feet in stature and clad themselves only in bearskins. Those of the Shuswap country, at least, smelled like burnt gunpowder. They carried little flutes, by blowing which they mimicked the sounds of birds, squirrels, and other small creatures. An old Okanagon and an old Wenatchi man once saw a giant's den, which was made of sticks.

In the wilderness dwelt also a race of dwarfs called ntsïtsïmasqelaüh. Though seldom seen, they were known to have long beards, to dress like Indians, and to live in rocks or in caverns as large as log cabins. Sometimes the Indians found their tiny footprints in the woods, but to see the dwarfs themselves presaged death. They might appear suddenly to the traveller in the wilderness, who saw them jumping around and heard them singing, but they would quickly vanish as the beholder fell into a dream. If a man wanted rain, he might induce it by throwing stones into the caverns inhabited by dwarfs, but as the dust rolled out of the hole he ran away lest the dwarfs deprive him of his wits and capture him. StlElqa (stłałka or stł'alka') were a separate race of female dwarfs inhabiting the streams, which could be heard talking and laughing there.

In the hills there wandered a supernatural person called sEm'ô'laüh (sama'ôlaüx, from sama, "Frenchman," "land" and ôlaüx, "land") or skêlEôlaüx (from skê'lüx, "Indian," and ô'laüx, "land"). He was not a dwarf, but seems to have had light skin, so that after the Indians had seen the French they called him sEm'ôlaüh instead of skêlEôlaüx. Michel denied any knowledge of him, and said that the above words meant only "Frenchman's land" and "Indians's land" respectively.

It may have been this "Frenchman" that a Colville man, a relative of Andrew Tillson, encountered many years ago when he was hunting. Having followed a deer for nearly a week, the exhausted hunter made a fire and slept. When he awoke a man with a gun appeared and said to him, "Your deer is not very far from here, but you won't kill him. I'll follow him myself and you'll hear me shoot: in the morning you'll find him lying

[For footnote, see p. 170(A), category 116. -- Analyst p. 170 (B)

dead." The speaker had a gray horse; he gave the hunter power to get gray horses as well as to kill deer. 776

TsEatlEmûx was an old woman who travelled through the tree tops with a baby on her back. Wherever she passed she left the trees scorched as if by fire. Her baby cried ceaselessly. Sometimes she descended to the ground, climbing on all fours and head first down the tree trunk, while neither her long hair nor her infant changed their position. Many people had seen this old woman. She did neither harm nor good, but simply moved on through the tree tops as she would do till the end of the world.

Water-monsters of unknown form infested Lake Omak and perhaps other lakes. Michel and Johnnie referred to them as "sea-cattle," though they may or may not have had horns. Michel reported that about twenty years ago some white people saw a large dog-like animal rise out of a lake and drag down a goose which they had shot. Fangs projected from its lower jaw up over its upper lip. This animal, said Michel, had never been seen by Indians. Michel's father once "saw something" under the surface of a lake, which appeared to be an animal about twenty feet long.

More specifically, a large moose with enormous horns dwelt beneath the water. He was called simply papala'tse, "moose." He played a part in the myths and may still be alive. 776 825

Children might receive power under the water from animals called nExaxa'itka, but this word may refer to all animals living within the lake rather than to any particular kind.

Nhithitwulh was a large bird about the size of a condor. No one ever saw it, but the trees rang with the great noise which it made, and when people heard it they became numb and did not feel right again till it had flown overhead. It could transform itself into any large bird, such as an eagle, or into a deer, etc.

In several instances rocks or groups of rocks were regarded as petrified people. Just below McLaughlin's Canyon, between Tonasket and Riverside, lies a large boulder or outcrop of curious shape, the remains of a man and woman who, asleep in each other's arms, were turned to stone "when the world turned inside out," that is, at the end of the mythical age. This landmark is called kitlEqôlôtpâcxîn, literally, "lying by a rock." The same thing happened to a number of people who were trapping fish at a place beyond Nespelem. Two women among them were fighting; they, as well as all those who were with them, can now be seen as rocks. This occurrence is, like the previous one, as 776 823

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cribed to a reversal of nature which took place at the beginning of the present world era. On the summit of a mountain between Oroville and Chesaw appears a rock called nsemtûc, literally, "set on top of a ridge." This is the woman who came bringing camas from the east, over whom the mountains fought in the mythical times when mountains were men. Indians sometimes made offerings there.

DREAMS AND OMENS

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Dreams about the dead showed that the dead wished the dreamer to think of them. If he saw one of his living friends or relatives among them, this foreshadowed that person's death. One winter Johnnie had a dream of this kind, in which he saw his mother among the departed. She died very soon afterward. If one dreamed that he was in a strange country that he had never seen before, his death might follow.

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Most omens foretold death. Seeing a flying squirrel (sxû'phûp) was interpreted in this way. Lucy Joe and her little daughter once went way up in the hills, cut down a tree and found the nest of a flying squirrel inside it. The little girl died soon after. Billy Joe said that if a ground-hog was seen climbing a tree in front of a house, someone in the house would die soon. (Johnnie had never heard this.) The ô'hô'lûm (prairie dog ?, "a dog-like animal about six inches long, which barks like a puppy) might be seen or heard by a family soon before one of their members died. Cecile's husband once woke in the night at Tartaro, saying that he heard one, though Cecile herself did not hear it. Shortly afterward he passed away. In the old days when people heard a coyote howl, they said to each other, "We are going to have a death;" but in more recent times they merely believe that this indicates that the coyotes are mating. If an owl talked to a person it might tell him which member of his family would next die. Billy Joe said that an owl talked to him before he lost his step-mother. On a dark night as Susren was walking home, an owl said over and over to him, "I am hooting at a caller you will have." After that his mother, sister and brother died. A bird flying into a house, a frequent occurrence in modern times, since the doors are left open and many of the windows have no panes, presaged a death in the family. Josephine said, "Last spring a bird flew into the house and lit on my baby girl's bed. Several days later she fell from the hammock, and the next night she had a fever and was very ill. The doctor said she had spinal meningitis. Four days later she died." Johnnie had never heard of this as an omen. He said that if a hen stood in front of the house and crowed like a young rooster it might mean a death in the family; but he once killed a hen which had done this, and found a stick lodged in its throat which had choked it and made it crow.

1/A [For footnote, see p. 171 (C), category 116. -- Analyst]

P. 171 (B)

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11 This is doubtful, since the pre[illegible] dog is not on record from this region. — L.S. 1/2

1/2 [For context of footnote, see p. 171(B), category 116. -- Analyst]

p. 171 (c)

800 it and made it grow.

The following customs of the Blackfoot were told to Lavit by a Kalispel who had wintered among them. A warrior announced his intention to undertake a raid for horses, by entering the camp circle in the evening dragging a piece of buffalo hide and beating on it with a little stick. Two or three followers gathered around him. They started on the raid wearing their old moccasins, but carrying with them a good supply of new ones. The first man to wear his old moccasins out sat on the ground and threw them over his head before he donned his new pair. If they fell to the ground inverted, he would die on the raid; if they landed on their soles he would come home victorious.

THE DREAM DANCE

171 The Dream-dance complex, at least so
179 far as it incorporates elements derived in
recent decades indirectly from Christianity,
seems to have taken a less consistent form
than that of the indigenous cult.

169 The background for the Dream dance is found in a pattern common through the Plateau area both north and south. A man "dies and returns from the dead with a message to his fellows to lead a more upright life, at the same time announcing the impending return of the dead. These contacts with the supernatural follow the traditional power quest pattern. It is quite evident that this complex, which closely resembles the doctrine of the Ghost dance movements of 1870 and 1890, is of very considerable antiquity.

116 The following account of such an experi-
39 ence dates from the days of Susxen's great-
127 grandfather. Susxen, who related this and coached it partly in the first person, is responsible for the infusion of Christian theology, but the tale as a whole is undoubtedly in traditional form.

Here dead Indians come alive. When these die, they come alive again and tell a story.

"It is just like sleeping. I see a road and I follow a good road. A little way on I hear dancing and lots of fun. Lead relatives are there and they say, "Come in. Let's have fun." I went by and never heeded. Farther on there was gambling. They tried to stop me to play with them.

I never heeded them and just went by there. A little farther I saw people committing sex offenses, who said, "Come and join us." I never heeded them. I just went ahead. A little way farther dead people said, "Come, we are stealing things from our people here. It is easy." I never heeded them and just followed the road.

1/A [For context of footnote, see p. 172(B), category 116. -- Analyst]

12 The proper date is about 1790 (see below) — L.S. 1/A

769 These things are at the side of the road. A little way beyond some dead people there said, "Come on. We're killing people
539 here." These are murderers, fighters. I never heeded them, just followed the road. A
787 little beyond I saw on the road a man and woman in flagrante delicto. I saw an unborn child in the woman's belly. These two can never leave there.

I saw white peoples' house and a man standing by the door. The man opened the door and I went in. The man stood there and said, "You can put your knees in those two holes and must pray to the Father."

This Indian in the dead land did not know what he should say, but he put his knees there and said three words, "Father, help me." He did not know why, but just did it. The man opened a door and three stood there together. There was an open place outside. He saw many people join hands and dance in a circle. Policemen with wings stood all around. The chief policeman, standing under a tree, said, "You are coming? These people are all under sentence here now. You have not paid for your evil ways. You must work off your sins if you want to come in easy next time. We will not keep you now. You still have your sins."

He came to, woke up where he was dead and thought he had been sleeping for two nights. The people were scared. They said, "This dead man got up again." "No, I have just been sleeping." "No, you were dead." "Maybe that is right." And he told them all that he saw.

787 About 1840[1] a substance resembling "dry snow" (m'qwaw xlōqūlahū, "snow dirt") fell
796 from the sky so heavily that it covered the ground to a depth of several inches. Deposits of this may still be seen in the
821 earth. It frightened the Indians very much. There is a question whether this led to the performance of a Dream dance. However, Lucy Joe said, "The people just danced and danced until they had nothing stored away for the winter." This was the only summer dance of which she knew.

787 Years after this a Keller man [Sanpoil or Colville ?] called mcel (Michel ?), as
792 the result of a dream in which God talked to him, prophesied the coming of the white men. He was virtuous and did not seduce girls as the later prophets did. Shortly before he died, God promised him that he would receive him. This seems to be our earliest hint of the Dream dance among the Okanagon.

Some time later there appeared another prophet, of whom the best accounts come from Mary Carden and Cecile. (The reference below to the earthquake fixes the time in all probability circa 1872. David also referred to the boat-building episode as happening

1 [For footnote, see p. 172(A), category 116. -- Analyst]

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fifty years ago.) A young man called qwElaskEn was an orphan who had been brought up by his grandmother and who suffered from rheumatism in the hips. One autumn when his band moved from their camping ground at sinak'a'ilt, above Keller, qwElaskEn was too ill to accompany them, and they left him there with his aged guardian. In November he died. His grandmother, after covering his body with blankets and letting the tipi fall over on it, started out alone in search of people. After two days she found some Indians ensamped near Whitestone and told them of the death. Seven days later a party went out to get his body. As they approached, they heard him singing. Not knowing whether it was he or his ghost, they asked him if he had come back to life. He answered, "Yes." One of his legs had been frozen, crippling him permanently, and he was brought to camp on a horse. 787 792

Thereafter he prayed and sang continuously, and exhorted the people to prayer and to belief in God. He was not a Catholic; had, indeed, never heard of Catholicism. At first they laughed at him, but in the winter about Christmas (or in the fall) — according to Cecile they were then at Kartero — occurred a severe earthquake (hi mEmpEn, lit. "the world moved"), which so terrified them that they ran to his tipi and asked him what he had seen during his death. He answered that God had warned him of this earthquake, and that if they failed to believe in God and to pray, the world would come to an end in forty days. They believed him, and following his wish to be taken to a better and more populous location they conveyed him by horse to Whitestone. 787 792 823

A few days later came another earthquake (two days later according to Cecile), and a great mass of rock fell into the Columbia River and caused it to overflow.[1/2] Now quite in a panic, the band moved on and joined a still larger settlement at AnpuxwE'lqX. Now they believed rich people asked to care for him.

God used to come to qwElaskEn every night in his dreams and tell him what to do on the following day. qwElaskEn assured the people that Jesus Christ was right, that he 787 792 776

1/2 [For footnote, see p. 173 (c), category 116. -- Analyst]

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himself had been to purgatory to do penance for his sins, and that, like the Lord, he had returned to life to teach mankind. At one time he told them that the end of the world would come ten days later, or if not then, in eight years. He advised them to build a long house for nightly congregations, and warned them that if they did not know how to pray when doomsday arrived they would turn into birds, rocks, and other non-human things. They were very frightened and obeyed him implicitly. Their anxiety was increased by the loss of a girl who had run away from fright at the time of the earthquake and had not since been seen.

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As disciples qwElaskEn chose seven young men and seven young women. At night he taught them prayers and songs — prayers somewhat like modern Catholic prayers; wordless songs which resembled Catholic hymns — so that they could teach them to others during the day. Every night these fourteen disciples carried torches of pitch pine when they accompanied the master to the big house.

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One of the seven females, a "real tough girl," fell in love with him (he was very "nice looking"), and he told her that unless she came to live with him she would go to hell when she died. She came and lived with him.

God had said to him, "If you want to come to me, make up your mind and you will soon die. But if you do not want to come, you will live longer." QwElaskEn had, however, added something immoral to this dream: he told all the young girls that if they believed his doctrine they would accompany him to God. They believed, and he had intercourse with them, shocking the people deeply. On one occasion, when a maiden had refused him, he "played dead," being able to live by breathing very little, and thus lured her to his house, where he lay with her. But these girls outlived him in spite of his promise.

He commanded the people to buy hatchets and axes, to cut timber, and to build a house that at Whitestone in the Columbia. They were afraid, so they did as he ordered. Some even went to Walla Walla to buy ripsaws for this work. The laborers suffered

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13 We have the following to date this quake. Cecile, now (1930) about fifty-eight, had just been born. (The quake was felt in her own country, the Kalispel.) Lucy Joe, now over seventy, said she was then fourteen and married about that time, but Cecile stated that Lucy Joe had told her she already had children. (Lucy Joe said the earthquake rattled houses and continued for a year.) Julie Josephine, probably about eighty, already had a child at the time. These data place the earthquake in the early eighteen-seventies.

The best identification of the earthquake would seem to be the very strong shocks of December 10 and 11, 1872, centering at Helena, Montana. This fits best with the statement that the shocks occurred on two separate days about Christmas. There are two other possibilities: the destructive quake of March 26, 1872, centering in Inyo County, southeastern California (which was felt as far away as Mexico City, Oregon, and Missouri), and the widely felt shock of November 22, 1873, centering on the southern Oregon coast (Heck, Earthquake History of the United States, 49; Holden, Catalogue of Earthquakes on the Pacific Coast, 88-92, 96).

The fall of rocks on the Columbia which accompanied this should be dateable, but I have been unable to find adequate references. William S. Lewis states that it occurred in 1874, but without citing his warrant (Coone, Reminiscences of a Pioneer Woman, 20). No severe shocks in this area during 1874 are listed in the authorities cited above. - L.S.

1 [For context of this footnote, see P. 173(A), category 116. -- Analyst]

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792 badly for lack of food and many died. He as-
159 signed various parts of the construction to groups of men, and appointed a policeman to stand over them and keep order. Someone had an argument with this overseer and killed him.

This angered Chief Moses and he reported the affair to the Government officials, who arrested qwElaskEn and took him to Washington, D. C., for six or seven years. They did not release him till he had promised to give up his strange religion. By this time the Indians knew that he was a fraud, and when he returned they did not honor him any more.

787 Another dreamer of about this time was
792 sūlpEqēn, the last chief of the Nartar
177 band."½ A few years before the priests came
159 into the region, sūlpEqēn dreamed that they would arrive and that the Indians would receive money from the Government. At that time Lucy Joe's people began to pray, to use the sign of the cross, to sing religious songs of the Dream dance type, to believe in the resurrection of the dead, and to leave their children unburied for three days after death. SūlpEqēn did not prophesy the coming of the whites, since they had already been seen in the district, but he told the Indians that the people who were coming to teach them were white men, and warned them not to let the priests baptize them, since the priests were "only after money." That is why the mission found it so difficult to make converts here. He introduced a form of prayer which was incorporated specifically in the first fruit rites."½ SūlpEqēn, like qwElaskEn, also seduced maidens. He died at Riverside about a year after he moved away from Nartaro and his band never had another chief.

171 Something of the same sort of Dream
792 dance must have occurred among the Northern Okanagon. David Isaac remarked on a man who, after the whites had arrived, decorated his moccasins with red flannel and went among the tribes leading a religious revival and seducing young girls. He was shot at Cariboo. His followers from Douglas Lake went north and avenged him. They captured a girl at Cariboo and brought her back to "use as a wife."

177 These accounts suggest that the Dream
796 dance complex may not have taken form among the Southern Okanagon until about 1870. It involved three main conceptions: falling stars (see below), earthquakes, and other strange happenings in nature portended the destruction of the world; certain prophets, having communicated with God in their dreams or having gone to the land of the dead and returned, predicted doomsday when they would rejoin the dead, and preached a more right-

½ [For footnotes, see p. 174 (c), category 116. -- Analyst]

177 eous and God-fearing life, and these prophets led special dances and song concerning the salvation of mankind. Dreamed prophecy
796 of the coming of the white men (such prophecy being called qEpēktsa) and the downfall of Indian culture was a minor element and apparently of considerable antiquity.

Indians always believed that some day the world would come to an end. They did not know when, but were always expecting it. So an earthquake or a falling star would scare the people (Mary Carden).

The dream was called sEmīpEnōmt; the dreamer was s'maīp'nōmpt (the two words may be the same). This word meant "finding things out in one's sleep." The Creator-God Qōlūncōtn told the dreamer that after a certain period the world would "break up," and that the Indians would go to a new and better land in which the dead would join them. David called the God who appeared to the dreamer a "white chief." This chief declared that white men like himself would come into the region, take the best lands from the Indians, exterminate the game, bring fatal diseases, and introduce railways, automobiles, and airplanes. The land would dry up and the Indians finally pass away.

776 The "white chief," explained David, was called sEwīmstwītl'n, meaning "already made," and was believed in long before the whites
787 came. He had created everything, and to him all good people went when they died. Sometimes people saw him in trances, without
796 being called on to give the Dream dance, and they prayed to him wherever they were at any time. Most prayers to him, however, were rendered at the Dream dances. They were called aqwai lip (this may be the name of the dance), and were wordless songs which had been heard in dreams by the prophets leading the dances. This "white chief" was probably identical with Qōlūncōtn.

The dreams came as often, Cecile said even more often, to men who had little power than to men who had much, and brought no faculty for curing or other shamanistic acts. There were one or two prominent dreamers in every tribe. At whatever time of year one had the dream, he proclaimed it within two or three days and organized a dance. All the inhabitants of his village came to his house in the evening. He described to them his talk with the Creator, prophesied the speedy end of the world, and told them at what hour they would see the "messenger bird" as a sign for the dance to begin. On the appointed day, usually the next one after the announcement, the people gathered out-of-doors in a circle around the dreamer. They wore no paint or special clothing, and used no drums, dance pole, or other paraphernalia. At the time prophesied they saw the bird fly-

1 [For contexts of these footnotes, see p. 174(A), category 110. -- Analyst]

14 This was when Lucy Joe was a young unmarried girl, that is, in the 1870's. She said that the earthquake occurred a year after his dream. Cecile said it happened soon after the earthquake and about the time of the qwElaexEn affair.

15 See First Fruit Ceremony.

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ing very low back and forth over them. Cecile said it was almost always a two-headed goose, but that it might be bodiless with two heads and wings, or might have a body and a very long tail. 776 787 796

Lucy Joe's statement was that in the time of her grandmother, before the whites came but after the fall of "dry snow," a goose with two heads and four legs flew from the southeast, the direction from which the whites were supposed to appear. They shot it. It had two crops which they discovered were filled with wheat, which the Indians had never seen. They said, "The world must be coming to an end." This happened at nkae tku in the neighborhood of Okanogan. They gathered no food, so they starved. 787 796

As soon as they saw the bird they began to dance, standing in a circle around the dreamer, the circle not revolving nor the dancers changing their positions. As they danced they sang the prayer song which the dreamer had taught them. The dance, explained David, followed the pattern of one performed by the dead somewhere in the sky, before their great white chief. Each participant held the same place throughout the day. Though the dancers never tried to jump to heaven, occasionally someone had a prophetic dream during the ceremony, and at once uttered his prophecy to the people and took his place with the leader in the center of the formation. While dancing the dreamer exhorted the community not to fight, steal, lie, commit rape, or sin in other ways, and urged the young men to ask permission of a girl's father before they married her. As a result of this preaching, some of the people became so righteous that they did not allow their children to run about after dark lest they do evil things. The dreamer had no curative or other magical powers.

Dancers who had come from neighboring villages returned home to eat and sleep when the dancing was over for the day; those who had come from a distance often encamped at the site of the dance. No one ate in the daytime while the ritual was in progress.

This continued for a number of days, till the dancers, observing that the world did not come to an end, "forgot about it for a while" and resumed their normal life. Cecile stated that the dance continued for an indefinite period, sometimes all spring, summer, and on into the fall. All other activities were suspended; no one hunted, fished, or gathered berries. They simply danced all day and every day, standing in one spot. In Johnnie's boyhood, some people became so enthralled in the dance that they did not eat for several days at a time; and once, in his great-grandfather's day, they danced for so many weeks that they neglected to lay up food for the winter, and many of them starved. But David, who had never seen a Dream dance himself, said that he had never heard of one which lasted for more than a few days. Dream dances seldom occurred in the winter. When they did they were stopped in time for

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the ordinary winter dance: the two were never combined.

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Suszen described a "prayer-dance" or "thanksgiving dance" called skōūm, which had a somewhat special character. This was held at any time of year when the people wished to pray and to solicit help from God, or after a plentiful season of hunting, fishing, and food gathering. The prayer was sung, and had the following content: "qōūncōtn, you helped me in the beginning and gave me everything in the country to live on, with the medicine of my body to follow your words all the time. I'm glad of that. I'm always think about you, to follow your good words. I'm always trying to do good and not to be bad. Help me to be good and not to forget your good words to me. You gave the creatures full power before me." After the prayer the participants ate and a few of them stood up and talked about the good old days. This may have been a phase of the firs. fruits ceremony described under the food quest.

There was also a "confession dance," distinct from the prayer dance and the ordinary Dream dance. It was called sqwal'ilūx. Mary Darden said that when her grandmother was sixteen a star fell to earth with a noise like thunder. This suggested to the Indians that the world was coming to an end. They gathered in the largest house in the village, where the chief, with a stick in his hand, exhorted them to lead better lives, his sermon being repeated to them by a man selected for this purpose. Young and old stood in a circle around the chief, swaying rhythmically with loose knees and moving their right hands from and toward their bodies. As the chief confessed his own sins, the spokesman repeated his statements to the people. Then, pointing to each individual in turn, the chief cried, nō'yantwīx, "Now you!" and the person designated also confessed. This ceremony lasted two or three days and nights, with short intervals for rest. It was the first "confession dance." Thereafter it was held whenever an earthquake, falling star, or other strange cosmic phenomenon frightened the community, or when a man had dreamed that doomsday was near. It was continued "till they got over being scared." Mary declared that they might "set aside a certain day each week" for the dance, till the panic had subsided, and that such an occasion might arise at any time of the year. Suszen said that each dancer in turn stood in the center of the circle, holding a handful of twigs or little sticks. (Mary denied knowledge of this.) As he threw each of these to the ground, he said, "This sin (naming the sin) I have no more. I will do such-and-such no more." Suszen illustrated this phase of the dance by strutting up and down, throwing his head back as he cast each twig to the ground and repudiated each of his sins — which, however, he did not specify. David, of the Northern Okanagon, had not heard of the "confession dance," but admitted it might have been held in the southern part of the valley, and suggested that the

782 sticks might have been cast away to avert
796 the end of the world.

The Dream dance prophecies functioned
796 in a special way during the smallpox epi-
demic. A certain man who, it was specifi-
cally stated, had no power, dreamed that he
751 saw the smallpox advancing "in a kind of fog"
over the villages, killing people as it pass-
ed. Then he sang, though he did not dance,
and all his relatives were saved.

782 Suszen gave far more importance to pray-
ers (sk'aūm; compare the word for the "pray-
er dance") then did the other informants. He
often told of them in no apparent reference
to the Dream dance. In the old days, he said
people prayed to Qōlūncōtn at sunset to al-
low them to see the sun on the morrow; at
noon, to see the sun go down; and in the
morning, for the joy at the sun's reappear-
ance. "All the people" were called together
for these prayers, but even when one was
alone he voiced them aloud. The prayers were
all the same, except for changes to suit the
time of day. "Just thinking," explained
Suszen, "wouldn't be believing much;" that
is, one should show his faith by prayer.
Since Cecile denied that communal prayers to
Qōlūncōtn were ever said in the old days, it
seems safe to consider this as an aspect of
the Dream dance cult.

THE WORLD VIEW

773 The Southern Okanagon believed that the
universe had been created by the supreme god
Qōlūncō'tn. This idea, however, may have
539 come to them from Christianity. They had no
story of the creation, and the naming myth,
their nearest approach to an origin tale, as-
sumes the existence of Qōlūncō'tn and a host
of indeterminate beings. In the course of
the story, these beings received from
Qōlūncō'tn their names and identity as ani-
mals, birds, and the sweat house, and from
him they also received their power. The
myth follows, as told by Andrew Tillson.

When God (Qōlūncō'tn) first finished
the world and had made everything in it, noth-
ing yet had a name. After he had fixed
everything he waited for a while and then
thought, "I haven't given names to anything
that I have put on this earth. Then he came
back. He gathered everything that he had al-
ready put on this earth, gathered all things
into a bunch, to give them all names. He
told them, "The first one that comes here to-
morrow morning will be the chief." Then Coy-
ote, who did not yet know that he was a coy-
ote, thought to himself, "Here's where I get
to be a chief." God told them, "You can go
back to your houses now." Coyote thought, "I
won't sleep tonight, and I'll be the first
one to get to God, so I'll be chief." Then
he sat down, and sat there till he went to
sleep. He awoke and went to sleep twice
again. Then he took a stick and set it on
the ground and knelt back, and every time he
fell asleep on the stick it woke him up.
Then he thought that he was going to sleep
and would not become chief. He was afraid

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473 that he was bound to sleep. So he thought that he would take little sticks and prop his eyes [illegible]. He did this. As soon as he had put these sticks on his eyes he went to sleep with his eyes open. As soon as it was getting daylight, Fox came along and saw him sitting there. Fox was a great friend of his and thought he would wake him up, but decided not to do this, for it is dangerous to awaken people. So Fox went to God, and God told him, "You can go through the world and fix anything you want." He was the first thing that got a name: xwaê lôx, the fox. The second one that got there and got a name was the grizzly, kelauna. All the other animals then came and got names. [The narrator enumerated them one by one.] When Coyote got there, there were only two names left. He asked to be chief, but the Great Man said, "You can't be chief because it's already been given out. There are only these two names left, 'Coyote' and 'Sweat house'." Coyote said, "No, I won't have either name." The Great Man said, "Coyote would be a good name for you. If you take the name Coyote, I'll give you power to be a powerful man, to be smart in every way. I'll give you power in your faeces. Now I'll show you how and you can try it for yourself." After Coyote had let it out [defecated], the Great Man said, "Now turn around and talk to it." And just as soon as he spoke to them, the faeces asked him, "What do you want?" There was a mountain there, and Coyote told them, "I don't want that mountain to be where it is: I want it to be over there." His fae as answered, "Look at that mountain and make a motion with your hand to move." And just as soon as Coyote looked at the mountain, the mountain moved with the motion of his face [hand?]. Just as soon as he had done that he thought that he was greater than this Great Man. As soon as Coyote thought that, the Great Man told him, "No, don't think that. I'm just giving you this power so that you'd have more power than anything else." Then Coyote said, "All right, I'll take the name Coyote." Fox was a long way ahead of him [more important]: he was supposed to be chief. But Fox did everything that wasn't fit to do. He was killing people and doing things that were not right — the chief! Fox was going along and making man-eaters: that is what Fox was doing as he was going along. There was only one name left, so old Coyote started out on his journey. Great-Man told Sweat House, "You're going to be liked by all people, and be in one place. Wherever there are Indians; you'll be there. That'll be your name, 'Sweat house.'" That is the reason that there are sweat houses all over the world among the Indians. [The conclusion of the story relates the banishment of Fox and Coyote, and the end of mythical times. I give it below.]

Thereafter came the mythical era, the "story times" (tsapEti qt, lit., "stories"), in which the animals lived as Indians and did the things recorded in the folk tales. In this aloheringa (to borrow a familiar Australian term) at least one kind of every ani-

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mal existed, though there are not stories about them all. There were many deer, who lived together in a long house; five wolves, four brothers and a sister; five grizzlies, a mother and four cubs; one eagle; and one coyote (sinkĒlip). Coyote had a gopher (pētlūa^{XU}) to wife whose personal name was pĒlīahalks and had four sons, called in descending order of age kelTEtla'tqalqū, sEhagaie'ixūthn, petskłqwa'ūstĀ^{L}n, ts!atsī nixhn. They held power dances, each animal with its own kind or family, used sweat houses, hunted, and lived in other ways just as Indians. They were visualized in no stereotyped forms. More often they were thought of as human in shape, especially when performing human activities, but some incidents require them to assume their animal guise. 773 539

How the creatures of the myths were thought of is indicated by the following statements of Susżen. They looked like animals when the story speaks of them as such, but when making laws for the people-to-be, they looked like humans. In the tale of Coyote bringing salmon, wherein his face was stretched by Wolf and Fox, he had not been a man before that, but something like a coyote-like animal with a somewhat human face. But when he transformed himself into a little boy, he was a boy. The two bird-sisters who dug camas by the first salmon trap were human like women today, but were thought of as birds. They were birds: they had power no Indian woman would have. 773

Chilowhist Jim said that qōlūncō'tn put the creatures and man on earth at the same time, and Susżen brought Adam and Eve, Christ, and other humans into the mythology; but the aboriginal versions, with few exceptions, admitted only animals and other non-human characters, all of whom, however, are generally referred to as "people" in the stories. The story of the origin of camas from the east, though ascribed to mythical times, apparently belongs in a different category from the rest of the tales, for the principal characters are a woman and the mountains who do not occur in the other myths. Another exception was given by Cecile, who believed that during mythical times, "when Coyote was alive," some people turned into rocks which can still be seen.

Some are east of Nespelem, Michel said. People were trapping fish there when two women began fighting. "Something happened to the world" and they with their people were transformed into rocks. Again, between Tonasket and Riverside, are two rocks which were a man and woman lying together: these are called kitliqōlōtpē'cxim, "lying by a rock."

Coyote was the most prominent figure in the mythology. As we have seen, he played a comical part in the naming myth, and occurred in other tales as a trickster and buffoon, whose wiles and audacity often led him into absurd situations. Sometimes the Okanagon claimed him as their ancestor (nxa'tsin), just as they said that the Canni-

bal-woman (spała) was ancestress of the Wenatchi and Dog the ancestor of the Nez Percé. Coyote's old house-pit can still be seen near Penticton. 773

At the end of mythical times and the begining of the present epoch, "the world turned over;" the animals assumed their present forms and multiplied and from them human beings were somehow generated. Andrew's account of the end of the mythical period, told as the conclusion of the naming myth, proceeds as follows: 773 539

Coyote and Fox got together and went all over the world. The Great Man told them, "Well, you've come back. Did you fix everything that you wanted to fix?" He put Fox on a log or a boat or something, took him towards the north and put him right in the middle of the ocean. Then he took Coyote and set him on another boat, took him south and put him in the middle of the ocean. He told the Sweat House that he, Sweat House, would be with the people all the time until he himself, the Great Man, came back to this world that he was leaving. So this Great Man before he left turned the world inside out and the things that he had named turned into animals. He told Coyote and Fox and Sweat House to stay where they were until he came back, when he would give them all power.

According to Lucy Joe, Coyote had been chief of all the animals and had travelled all over the country. When "the one before him" (probably qōlūncō'tn) saw that Coyote was powerful enough to move mountains, he deprived him of the chieftainship, reduced his power, and banished him to a place in the ocean for all eternity. Then the "new people" came in. The discrepancies between the two versions are obvious, but we did not obtain enough folklore to determine whether they are cultural or only personal.

Suszen's account of the history of the world was so unique that it may best be presented in his own words, or as nearly as is possible from the notes.

God created the world. There were no oceans then; just rivers, lands, and little lakes. After Adam and Eve did wrong, God took away one land from the top and put it to one side for the Indians-to-be. God took the laws with the Indian land and left the other land without laws. Then God built an ocean to separate these lands: one land was for the Indians, another for the white people. Indians did not need books because they knew things in their minds that they learned from the creatures. About the time of Christ, God made the creatures. This was before Christ was born, so that Christ could preach about the other land. Then Coyote and two birds made a mistake just like Adam and Eve. After the world was burned with fire, the people were made. When the first baby was born, the creatures had to teach it. When the white people came to the Indians here, the priest told the Indians what they had forgotten. Christ was the baby that was

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773 539 born to teach the world. The Indians have been searching all this time for the baby, but did not know it was Christ until the priest told them. That is why we believe the priest because he knew about this baby which was in the story and whom we have been looking for all this time. The Indians thought the baby might have been born in their land. In the story the baby is white. That is why when the white people came we thought that maybe they were people from the baby. That is why we first called all the white people qwūlēncōltēn, because we thought they were from God.

The law-making activities of the animals during the mythical period was one of the leading traits of Suszen's mythology. [illegible] has given Coyote three chances to make the right law, and Coyote had "missed the law" twice. God then banished him to a house in the clouds in the north, informing him that he, God, would return to the world once again to superintend the making of new laws, and that this would be Coyote's last chance. If Coyote "misses the law" the third time, the world and humanity will disappear; but if he conforms to God's will, the world will be as it was when first created, before Coyote had "missed the law": that is, there will be no more work or hardship, and one will be able to achieve anything by merely thinking about it.

772 The Okanagon believed that the earth was flat and surrounded by a body of water called cēīq or cēūlxkw. Of this water, the Pacific ocean (cqElpītlEmētqū) formed only a part. The world itself, said Michel, had four corners and four legs "like a table." Michel had no ideas about the sky or the subterranean regions. Suszen claimed that the Coyote of the myths was left in his new house up in the sky, which he reached by going out into the ocean; that if Coyote should fall off the "sidewalk" which surrounded his house he would drop away into nothing, without touching land, water, or clouds.

The word xēatlnūx meant either sun or moon, to distinguish between the two, the substantive "day" or "night" was prefixed. The sun and the moon were originally two sons of the mythical Coyote. Michel told the following tale about their transformation.

773 539 Long ago, before there was any sun or moon, it was dark all the time. The Indians all gathered and said, "We're going to make a sun and a moon." They chose the sun for the daytime and said, "We'll get Crane for the sun." So they made Crane the sun. When this sun was coming up, his beak came over first. When his beak had come up, it would be noon before his feet came over. A little after noon his beak was out of sight and his feet were still in the middle of the sky. It took a long time to get dark; the sun was

1 [For footnote, see p. 178 (B), category 116. -- Analyst]

16 This is the formal ending of a tale. — L.S. 1

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773 too long. There were long days and short
539 nights. Newly married people did not like this: they wanted to go to bed, but the sun was still up. So they took Crane down and put Coyote in his place. Coyote was an awfully good sun: he did not make a very hot day and he did not make a very cold day. He was just right. But just as soon as he had come over the hill, he started to tell everything about the people that he saw on earth. There was nothing hidden from Coyote nor from the people on earth; anything that went wrong, he told it. They got tired of that. Coyote also made a long day because he had a long nose, long ears, and a long tail. So the people decided they would take Coyote down and put somebody else in his place, because he made a long day and told too many scandals. They took him down and put Woodpecker up there. He was the sun. Just as soon as he came over the hill, it would be so hot the people could hardly stand the heat. They would go to the river to bathe, but the river would be so hot from the sun that they could hardly stand the river. So they took Woodpecker down. He was too hot: the people could not stand it.

Coyote had two nice looking sons. They were strangers there, and did not know to what tipi to go. A big female Frog saw them. She thought she would make it rain [to force them to come into her tipi]. It rained awfully hard, and everybody else's tipi was leaking just as if it was outdoors. These two fellows went to every tipi, but it was just like outdoors. They tried every tent they could see, but there were none dry enough for them to stay in. Finally they saw a little tipi quite a way from the others. They thought they would go into it. When they looked in, they found it nice and dry inside, so they went in. It was Frog's tipi. As soon as they entered, Frog told the younger to sit across on the other side, and told the elder to come and sit beside her. He did not want to sit by her; he wanted to sit by his brother. But she would not let him. She leaped up and bit him on the cheek and hung there. He tried to get loose from her, but he could not do it. After it had stopped raining, the Indians tried to cut her off with a knife, but they could not cut her loose. They finally decided to make the moon out of him. They made the younger brother the sun throughout the day. The people were then satisified with the sun and the moon. The sun was not very hot through the day and the moon was not very bright at night. Michel and I [Johnnie, the interpreter] expected to be the sun and moon ourselves, but we could not, so we came back.[1] [Johnnie later said that the incidents of this story took place at Brewster Flat. One can still see the Frog hanging on the moon's cheek.]

821 An eclipse of the sun or moon indicated that the weather would turn cold. Weather

[1] [For context of this footnote, see P. 178(A), Category 116. --Analyst]

821

forecasts were also made by counting the parhelia (sun dogs) to the north and south of the sun.

The moon had no special affiliation with women. When it waxed it was said to be coming out of the sky, and when it waned the sky was hiding it. Its dark period was called tsésa pxéaɬnux. If one slept out in the moonlight, the moon drew his mouth to one side, and a child was never allowed to do so without a shade over his face.

The summer solstice (qElqáta'cq!) and the winter solstice (tqéqata saq) were both recognized, though they seem to have had no functions in the calendar or ritual.

The word for star was ckɛ̄kō'cɛn or skɛ̄kō'sɛnt. Some of the distinctive stars had names. The north star was tūkwilɛc and the Pleiades tūxūō's. Apparently there was no separate term for planet. The morning star was called kwakwicElaqɛn, "has lots of lice," because long ago, before he had turned into a star, he had been lazy and afflicted with these vermin. When children were slow in getting up in the morning, their parents might say to them, "Look out for kwakwicElaqɛn; he will bring you a lot of lice." The evening star was kɛcilxɛōs. The same two words were applied to morning and evening stars for every day of the year. Falling stars indicated that the weather would turn cold. When a child saw one, his parents might tell him that a star was defecating. It was believed that a noise like thunder used to accompany the falling of a star, and that the star dropped into the ocean.

Thunder was produced by an invisible bird called hulahūlaskit (lit., "to have rain" or "live rain"), which flew very high. The bird had just to think and the thunder would fly out. People used to say to children during a thunder-storm, "Keep still! The thunder is flying around." This bird shot certain rock-like things through the sky, perhaps meteors or lightning. These were his power. They travelled as fast as lightning until they grew hot, and their impact with a cloud caused it to sizzle and break up into rain. Thunder, not lightning, did the damage; lightning was harmless. When thunder struck a tree it spiralled down to the ground, in which it deposited a small pointed stone. People sometimes dug up these stones and used them for arrow-points. They were more effective than ordinary points for killing bear and other big game. A tree that had been struck by thunder was

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called stkl8cElp and was very dangerous. At the base of the spiral which had been burned on it, there was a kind of sap mixed with splinters. This, when applied to people or animals, caused rheumatism, cramps, or withering of the limbs, and often death. If an Indian wished to impair a fast race horse, he put a little of this into each of the horse's ears; then the horse could not run. Foot racers could be stopped in this way by some of the stuff secreted in their shoes. It could also be used to make one blind. A man might kill his wife by burying some of her underclothes under a thunder-struck tree for a few days; she "drew up into a knot and died." As we have seen, wood from such a tree was one of the ingredients of arrow poison. One night Suszen Timentwa and his wife were coming along the Nespelem road and camped near Kartaro. They were short of firewood, and used some from a thunder-struck tree nearby. That night they both suffered rheumatism. 821

Though Suszen denied the existence of a flood tradition, Michel and Johnnie gave the following account. Once in the distant past, torrential rains caused a great flood which drowned all the Indians and left a cottonwood or poplar tree as driftwood lying on the top of Moses Mountain where no such trees grow. The tree was still visible there fifty years ago. Johnnie saw only its rotten trunk, but he had heard old Indians explain it as the tree left by the flood. The whole world must have been under water to this level. After the flood had subsided, more Indians came. We heard from Billy Joe, whose wife was a Wenatchi shaman, a myth concerning Marten, Fisher, and the Water Monster, in which the climax was a flood. The incident, he said, occurred in Wenatchi territory. It is probably a Wenatchi tale.

One summer or autumn about 1840[1] occurred a rain of ashes, now designated as n qwaw xlaqulahu, literally "snow dirt." (This was during the lifetime of Michel's grandmother, before that of Cecile's father, and when Mary Carden's mother was a little girl.) The ashes fell at night in a dark haze, and were followed by something resembling hail and shining like stars, probably from reflected moonlight. The whole deposit covered the ground to a depth of several inches, and may still be seen a foot or two (?) beneath the top-soil. It frightened the Indians very much.

The four directions were designated as follows: 823

[1] [For footnote, see p. 179(c), category 116. -- Analyst]

821

17 The true date is about 1790. This is fixed with reasonable accuracy by members of Wilkes' exploring expedition, who in 1841 were told by a Spokan chief that the event occurred when he was about ten years old, about fifty years before (Wilkes, Narrative, IV, 439). Again, in 1853, Suckley referred to the fact that some Kalispel were still living who remembered the event (Stevens, Report of Explorations, 298). Teit dates the phenomenon inferentially about 1770 (Salishan Tribes, 291). Teit's historical information is on the whole much more reliable than ours. The only specific dating we have for the shower is that it occurred when Mary Carden's mother was a little girl. It is much more likely that her grandmother was meant. — L.S.

[For context of this footnote, see p 179 (B), category 116. -- Analyst]

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5
823 East: a'shwītīpta'n, "the sun rises.
West: skēlōxta'n, "sunset."
North: kan' tlkt or kanētīūkt, "up the river."
South: kla'ūti'mtk, "down the river."
Each of these terms was used for the entire quadrant, no intermediate points of the compass being recognized. The words for north and south referred to the course of the Okanogan River, but might also be applied to other streams, even those flowing east and west. There were no special words for zenith or nadir. The sky was called ctkama cā'ē; anything high overhead was qanwē'ct, while qaihō't meant underneath.

Three winds were distinguished: the north wind, cīExEmūc, the cold south wind, n'xErēlux, and the warm wind, ctchaīxq. The North wind was a character in the folk tales.

821 The Okanagon year (cpinkt) comprised
805 twelve or thirteen months, which bore names referring to weather, plants, and food-gathering. These were not grouped into summer and winter series, but there may have been
221 six general seasons: winter (picictk), spring (picckētc), early summer (pichwū'ītk, lit., "lots of water"), summer (pictcha'k), early autumn (picEntsūū'x), and autumn (picka'aī). The early fall was sometimes called sansā'xExwi'lEwn, "after the salmon run." The months, indicating the time of year, were

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821 roughly equated with nameless lunar months, each extending from new moon to new moon, which were used in counting duration of time.
221 Widows, for example, observed mourning for twelve moons. Though the word for month was
805 xēaīnux, "moon," the months were not accurately adjusted to the lunar count, and the Okanagon showed little interest in the exact number of days in any calendrical period. There was no week and no count of years.

The first month of the year was cqea'ī, that in which the large winter houses were first occupied, nearly equivalent to our November. It was preceded, however by one or two brief periods which were not considered as months, and which may correspond to the "between month" of the Masset and other northwestern tribes. This interval was called sEnqō'īxEm, "when one builds the winter homes;" or, when divided on the basis of the local salmon runs, pīcqEl'Ewēc and qtlakamē'cītn, salmon time on the Okanagon and on the Columbia respectively.

In the following table I present the months as given by four informants, with translations and approximate equivalents in our own months wherever such were stated. Aside from differences in spelling, much variation appears in the month names and there are several discrepancies in the sequence.

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821
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Sequence of the Seasons

Cecile Brooks	Johnnie and Billy Joe	Chilowhist Jim	Andrew Tillson
sqa'ai: autumn, "when the tamarack and everything turns yellow and dries"	sqaa'i: autumn	skEa'i: November	skia'a'i: fall, about November
	sii'stk: winter	cEi'st'k: December	sii'st^{k} or sEi'st'q: December, "when the snow falls"
kEmē'qutEn: "when the snow falls"	qmē'qōtn: [illegible] snow"		ĭkamē'kūtEn: December
kĭtsatsaĭta'n: "very cold time"	ksatsalxta'n: lit., "cold, cold time"		lEtsatse'xtEn: January
		cquacō'ct: January	
spekt: "when the snow is very white and the peoples' main pleasures"		cpĭkt: February	
	ciaqwa'ks: "toward spring"		siaqiūa'qsEn: February
	putckElta'n: "leaf time"		kEpEtskĭE'n: March
skEni'rEmEn: "buttercup time"	ckine'rmin: "buttercup"	cEnē'rEm'n: March	skEneē'RimEn: April

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The following were the divisions of day and night: 805
snpaktsi'n, early dawn 821
chEtlpō'laūh, early daylight, dawn
cq!éq!ōtlap, sunrise
nōōīc, about 9 A.M.
ctlap, lit., "stop;" the time when the sun "stops" before noon
ntōxōxqēn, noon
nīaqōqē'n, early afternoon
maa'n, late afternoon
kcaō'cic, sunset
cnkwōkwōa'tc, night
cncō'hōtcEn, dark, late evening
cnqElōhtcēn, dark, late evening
txwē'ōcīn kōkōatc, midnight

Knotted string time records were sometimes kept, especially by parents after the death of children. Some people kept count of their age this way. To do this one might tie a knot in the string each day; two knots were tied close together at 200, three at 300, and so on; and at 1000 a small piece of string was tied around the main string. The conception of 1000 (ō'pEnīgst 'a pEnīgstqEn) may have been derived from the Europeans (see also Material Culture). 802

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To obtain a vocabulary of colors I sub- 000

To obtain a vocabulary of colors I sub-822

mitted to the informant the color chart for [125]
house paints in the Sears Roebuck catalogue.
Twelve primary colors appear:
pîq, white
q!wal, black, chocolate brown
p'ôm, brown (various shades)
pôm, buff
   micpó'm, russet brown
q!ôlx, beaver brown
   micq!ôlx, seal brown
ió'c, lilac, light pink
   mició'c, leather brown, chocolate brown
qôrê', Chinese yellow, tangerine, burnt orange
   micqôrê', Colonial yellow
   hanicqôrê'c, light brown
pa', gray, buckskin, fawn
   micpa'', dark fawn or dark buckskin
trêlpc, gray
kwil, Turkey red, terracotta red, light fawn
   mickwi'l, dark wine red, oxide red, maroon
   hanickwi'lc, maroon
   iôcickwi'lc, maroon
qwal, pure blue, marine, sea blue, the
   color of the night sky; myrtle
   green, the color of the dark green
   leaves
   qwalcqwalc, dark blue, slate gray
   hanicqwalc, lead color
   micIocicqwalc, dark steel gray
   iôcicqwalc, dark stone grey

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822 qwēn, green, jade green, apple green
mīcqwēn, Nile green
qElqe tElūh, meaning walnut brown or mahogany brown, is probably a comparative term, since philologically it does not seem to belong with the other colors.

My method in securing this vocabulary was obviously very poor, and I would not want to vouch for the accuracy of the re-

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822 sults. They show, however, the grouping together of pink and brown, of black and dark brown, and of the darker shades of blue and green. Mic and hanlc were apparently prefixes to denote the darker and duller tones, and the primary term could be repeated for the same purpose (e.g., qwəlcqwəlc) or combined with another primary term to express an intermediate shade (e.g., lōcickwəlc).

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DIVERSIONS

By RACHEL S. COMMONS

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DIVERSIONS

By RACHEL S. COMMONS

LEISURE ACTIVITIES

221 517 796 Activities occupying leisure time were distinguished somewhat according to season, although most of the customary diversions might be engaged in throughout the year. The chief events of winter were the power dances, given by different shamans during the course of the season. These brought large numbers of people together for several nights and days at a time. This winter dance was a source of entertainment as well as a sacred occasion. Many who had not the intent or privilege of singing, attended the dance as a social event and for the opportunity of sharing in the feast always provided by the host. Some individuals managed to stay alive all winter on the provisions of others, by making the rounds of the winter dances.

517 525 The long winter evenings between dances were spent chiefly in story telling but "sitting games" such as the hand-game and dice were played in small groups. Gambling was a feature at all times; few adult games were not commonly played for stakes.

22 526 Summer was the great season for group recreation, when large bands from different localities were joined for several weeks at a communal fish trap or harvest ground. Rival teams were then formed for every possible form of competition. Outdoor games, such as shinny or hoop-and-pole, foot races, horse races, or wrestling took place by daylight; dice and the hand-game occupied the summer evenings for both sexes, as well as most of the day for men, who were generally idle in summer, while women were busy digging roots or gathering berries.

STORIES

517 538 Stories were told at any time, although the confined leisure of winter evenings made this season best for recounting legends. Suszen stated: "Stories are always told at night in the winter because whoever tells stories in the daytime or in summer, gets bald. That is why only old men and women can tell stories in the daytime and in summer." Anyone might tell them, but in each family or village one or two old men or women were recognized as having the greatest talent and the largest repertoire of tales. Such an individual would entertain a group, often invited for the purpose, throughout an evening, recounting one myth after another. Sometimes guests at the gatherings brought small gifts for the story-teller.

[For footnote context, see p. 185(B), category 116. -- Analyst]

1 See also Individual Life Cycle.

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hand-game. Power for wrestling is indicated in the following anecdote.

A man once easily threw a much larger Blackfoot who had taunted him. He and his party then immediately ran off for home. He had the stronger power for wrestling, despite the Blackfoot's calling on his own power by acting like a buffalo. But the Blackfoot had other strong powers. The Blackfoot called after him that he would live only long enough to see his parents. When the party reached home, the river was in flood. The wrestler saw his parents, and then, jumping into a canoe to go to them, was drowned.

Though individual players had special powers which made them valuable to their teams, gambling was not ordinarily a matter of individual winnings, as in our poker games. The presence of a champion with a strong power strengthened a team's chances, but bets were placed by watchers or players on the success of the favored team, not by the individual on his own chances, except of course in games with only two players.

THE HAND GAME

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The hand-game (ts!la'lEqEn or stslal-Ekum) played by the Southern Okanagon is the common western game of lehal. It is believed by the Okanagon to be of great antiquity, and is the only pastime except foot racing which is mentioned in tales of the mythical period "when animals were men."

Two pairs of hiding-sticks were used. They were made from small sticks or bones, about two and a half inches long. One of each pair was plain, all white if of bone, or with the bark left on if small pieces of green wood were used. The second piece of a bone pair was wrapped around the middle with cord or a narrow strip of buckskin, which soon became black and served to distinguish this from the plain piece. In a wooden set, the marked piece had the bark removed in a narrow strip around the middle, leaving a band of lighter color. (These sticks were not designated male and female as elsewhere.)

To play the game, two long poles were laid parallel along the ground or floor, with a space of five or six feet between them. The players, in two teams of equal numbers, ranged themselves opposite each other behind the two poles, kneeling. Ten counters for each side, sharpened sticks about a foot in length, were stuck in the ground in the space between the poles. To begin the game, the two players first in line on one side each took a pair of the bones and, while the others of their side beat with sticks upon the long pole before them and sing a hand-game song (n'tsla'lEqEtEn or k!EnqwEntsô't, person who starts song), the holders quickly shifted the bones back and forth from one hand to the other, concealing their movements as much as possible. They then held their clenched hands out before them, and the first player opposite on the "guessing side" guessed the position of both unmarked bones.

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The system of gestures by which he indicated his guess in pointing toward the two holders, was as follows:

Index finger moved to the right	Both plain bones in the opponents' left hands;
Index finger moved to the left	Both in opponents' right hands;
Index finger pointed between the two holders	Both plain bones in opponents' inside hands;
Index finger and thumb spread horizontally	Both plain bones on the outside

Having indicated his guess, the guesser cried out hó!, and the two holders opened their hands to show the bones. If the guesser had indicated the position of both unmarked bones wrongly, his side paid the holding side two counters. If he guessed only one wrong, his side paid one counter. If he guessed both correctly, no counters were paid, but both pairs of bones changed hands and the guesser's side then became the holder's side. Players on both sides took turns on down the line at guessing or holding; the game continued until one side had lost all its counters. This sometimes happened quickly. More often a game lasted for several hours, sometimes even carrying over for two or three days. No individual won in the game. Players and bystanders placed bets on the winning side, or on the total number of counters to be won by either side.

Men and women played together on both sides, men against women, or two teams of men or of women against each other. Women might sing any of the gaming songs, but were not permitted to beat time with sticks on the long poles.

Local bands played against each other at intertribal or interband summer gatherings, bystanders betting on their local teams. At holiday gatherings in modern reservation days, Okanagon teams are often pitted against Nez Percé teams.

Bets were paid formerly in blankets, skins or horses. Often a man would stake and lose all his property on the outcome of a game. Nowadays all gambling is for money.

Songs sung during a hand-game were usually wordless, having definite tune and rhythm but only nonsense syllables. The same situation obtains elsewhere, as on Puget Sound,[2] but no songs were recorded to determine whether these tunes may be similar to those of other groups.

Informants knew that drums were beaten during the hand-game "on the coast," but said that Southern Okanagon did not use them.

The form of the hand game in modern

2 Gunther, Klallam Ethnography, 277.
3 Culin, Games, 321; Gunther, Klallam Ethnography, 274.
4 Quoted in Culin, Games, 300, 303.

[For context of footnotes, see p. 187(B), category 11G. -- Analyst]

P. 187(A)

The form of the hand game in modern vogue among the Southern Okanagon is practically identical with that found on the Northwest Coast, particularly among the Kwakiutl and the Klallam,* except for differences in the gestures used by guessers to indicate the position of the unmarked bones. It is probable that there are also local differences in the signs used by Southern Okanagon. 525 171

A hand-game of somewhat different form is described by Alexander Ross as played on the lower Okanogan River in the early nineteenth century. In this game six players at most played on a side; only one pole for drumming was laid between the teams, and only two bones were used, each party taking one of them. Other features of the game agree with the modern form. The name given by Ross, "tsil-all-a-come," is evidently the tsîle'lEqEn of this account. At the period described by Ross, the gamblers played with arms and bodies naked, but with wrists and hands muffled "with bits of fur or wrapping," to conceal the holders' movements in shifting the bones. Similar wrappings to cover the hands were used by the Thompson Indians.* 525 184

DICE GAME

The dice game (mâkamâka or mikamikami'n', possibly a Chinook jargon term) was played at any season, but perhaps more often in the winter because there was then more leisure. It was played by two men or two women. Occasionally a man and a woman were opponents. 525

One informant said that beaver-tooth dice of the usual coast type were used; however, straight dice of shaped bone with incised, painted markings seem to have been the common type. The dice were from four to seven inches long, flat and tapering at the ends. Counters for scoring were used, a certain number to each player. The score was taken from the combinations turned up by the dice when they were thrown on a blanket. Methods of scoring given by informants did not entirely agree; it was not determined whether this was due to the informants' faulty information or to local variations.

Two forms of the game were recorded:

1. The first form was explained by Chilowhist Jim. Ten counters (thick sticks of wood six inches in length) were used. These were placed in a pile between the two players. The four bone dice were blank on one side. On the other side (the face), two dice were marked longitudinally by three round incised dots, two by five transverse lines. (The decoration varied.) One of the dotted bones was wrapped around the middle with a thread (in early times with a sinew); this was called the "man." The other three dice were called "women." The incised faces

*[For footnotes, see P. 187(A), category 116. -- Analyst]

525 of all were made more distinct and effective by filling them with colored paint.[5]

In beginning the game, the first player held the dice in his right fist and threw them forward on the blanket (or ground, if no blanket was used), passing his hand forward and opening the fingers so that the dice slid forward longitudinally. There were six combinations into which the dice might fall to score for the thrower:

Combination	Score	Name of Throw
All dice face up	4	hō'lū
All dice blank	4	rū'xɬkɬn
"Man" face up; 3 "women" blank	5	lɬka'lc
"Man" blank; 3 "women" face up	5	lɬka'lc
2 dotted dice face up; striped blank	4	hō'lū
2 dotted dice blank; striped, face up	4	xōl'tcū

If any one of these combinations were thrown, the player took the proper number of counters from the pile, and threw again. If he threw any other combination, he gave the dice over to his opponent. When all counters were gone from the center pile, each player took his winnings from the opponent's pile. The player gaining all the counters won the game. However, the play could be continued up to any score. For example, if a player had eight counters, his opponent two, and he threw a combination scoring five, he credited himself with the ten counting a game, placed seven counters in the center and kept three toward the second game. In a game played for high stakes, a good horse might be bet for fifty counters to be won.

525 171 This form of the dice game, in which one of the four dice is specially marked, and one pair identical, is the same as that described for the Thompson by Teit, who says that it was similarly played by the Northern Okanagon, although in these tribes it was strictly a woman's game.[6] These games, in turn, strongly resemble the woman's dice game reported by Culin for the Blackfoot, where one pair of the bone dice was marked with zigzag lines, and one of the four was wound around with thread and named "the chief." Culin also reports this version for the Twana-Skokomish and Songish, and Gunther finds it so played by the Klallam as a woman's game.[7]

525 2. A woman's dice game described by a woman informant is evidently the simple beaver-tooth game of West Coast women but played with four bone dice of the shape and size described above, instead of with beaver-teeth. Michel described it as primarily a woman's game, sometimes played by men, and with the use of beaver-teeth. All dice are blank on one side. The faces of two of

5 Specimens in the Washington State Museum, no. 2-280 a-d.
6 Teit, quoted by Culin, Games, 157; Teit, Salishan Tribes, 280.
7 Culin, Games, 56, 157, 158; Gunther, Klallam Ethnography, 276.

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the four pieces are incised with a number of dots, the second pair with a double zigzag pattern (Figure 37). Incisings were formerly filled with charcoal; later with red and yellow clay. Modern pieces are decorated with paint. The dice with the zigzag lines were called mak'ame'k'a, those with dots, xwûlaxû'la. The informant had never heard them designated "male" and "female" as elsewhere.

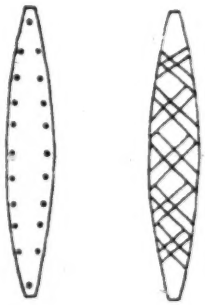

Fig. 37. Women's dice (after native sketch).

To play, two women sat about eight feet apart, with a blanket spread between them. Each player had twenty counters. The players tossed for first throw in the game. Each holding a pair of dice in the right hand, they kr=lt, placing the left fingertips on the ground. Then they threw the dice on the blanket simultaneously. The player having two faces up won the first play; lined dice won over dotted. In case of a tie, both players threw again. The winner of the first throw then threw all four dice. The method of scoring was given as follows:

A pair of zigzag faces	Wins 4 counters;
A pair of dotted faces	Wins 2 counters;
4 blanks	Wins 4 counters;
4 faces	Wins 4 counters;
3 faces up	Thrower loses turn, but pays no counters.

If two dice fell crossing each other, the thrower lost the game, regardless of counters previously won or lost. Otherwise, the game ended when one player had all of the counters.

In its essential form (the use of two pairs of dice with four scoring combinations) this simple version of the dice game corresponds to that played almost universally by Indian women from Puget Sound to the Klamath. In most groups cited by Culin and others, the two pairs of dice are designated as "male" and "female." The omission of this feature in the Southern Okanagon ac-

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count may be due to the faulty knowledge of our informant. On the whole, the simple form of the game seems to be more common among western Indians generally than the more complicated form (No. 1. above). However, both types have been definitely recorded for the Makah and Klallam.[a] It is possible that further investigation would reveal the occurrence of both forms in other tribes.

SHINNY

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Shinny (sk!pōkū'lt'n or spō'klam) was an important summer game. Tribal teams made special trips to play it, accompanied by large numbers of spectators who cheered

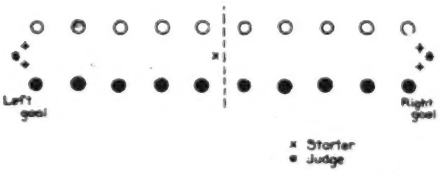

Fig. 38. Diagram of shinny game.

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their champions and bet heavily on the outcome of the game. Teams were usually formed by men, but teams of women occasionally travelled from place to place challenging local women players.

The ball for shinny was about the size of an indoor baseball, made of buckskin stuffed with deer hair. The stick for striking it was two or three feet long, hooked at one end like a hockey stick. It was made from an unidentified wood (cqūaqan'kI'ɪp) which was very tough and heavy (and incidentally used for no other purpose). The striking face of the hook and the bottom were flat. In a mêlée the hook could be used for pulling the ball away from other players and its flat surface then used for driving the ball down the field. Each man made his own stick, seldom loaning it to another.

For the playing ground a smooth, level field 150 to 200 yards long was chosen. A goal was marked at each end, either by holes in the ground, two and a half feet in diameter (in which the ball was supposed to lodge) or by two stakes between which the ball was driven. In the latter case, the ball might be driven through either from behind the goal or from the field in front of it. The field had no other definite bounds.

The game commenced with the two teams of ten or twelve men each (one informant said an indefinite number) lined up as diagrammed (Fig. 38), the upper team facing the right goal, the lower the left goal, as most players were right-handed and swung their sticks in the manner of a right-handed golfer. The leader (xatū'c) of each team

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stood at the center of the field. The starter (a neutral), holding the ball, stood between them. The better players of each team lined up just ahead of the leader, to receive the ball first if he succeeded in driving it toward their goal. There was no definite order in the positions taken, most of the players taking places at random. At each end of the field, behind the goal, stood a judge or umpire (cōqū'a'tsūm) authorized to discipline either team for fouling.

The starter began the game in either of two ways. He might throw the ball into the air between the two central men, who then struck it as it fell, or he might place the ball between them and call "go." The two central players then struck at the ball with their sticks, each endeavoring to drive it towards his own men who stood in the direction of the goal at the leader's left. No player was permitted to cross the line of the center of the field until the ball had been driven across it; thus only one-half of each team began the action. As soon as the ball had crossed the center line, all players followed it.

It was not permitted to pick the ball up by hand, although in strenuous playing as the ball approached a goal, it was permissible to push it forward with the hand or the bottom of the foot. In the open field only sticks were used. To pick up the ball, or to strike another player intentionally with a stick constituted a foul, which the judges penalized by ordering the ball returned to the center of the field and the play started over. If the playing became too rough, judges might stop the game, but there were no rules against pushing, holding, even wrestling with a man, to lift him and throw him aside. Minor accidents were frequent and sometimes a player was badly injured. No substitution was allowed during a game, however, and no one stopped playing even when exhausted or hurt. Intermissions were made when the two leaders arranged them; when the players could bathe their wounds and bruises in cold water.

A game was ended when one side made two more goals than the other; these two need not be successive. After a goal the teams exchanged goals and lined up to a new start. As many games were played as the teams desired, usually more than two at a match, often four or five. Bets were arranged before each game; individual players often betting more than the spectators. If stakes were high, a third party was asked to judge whether the two stakes were of even value, to be a witness of the negotiation, and to see that its terms were carried out fairly.

Shinny had not been played much since the coming of the whites, and few Indians now know the game. [177]

The term xatū'c to designate the leader of a shinny team is the same as that designating the leader in the hand-game, or at a salmon trap or a hunt. In this case it does

526 not appear to have the usual implication of a person possessed of special supernatural power.

First choice of goals for shinny was decided between the two leaders. A flat stick was spit upon and then thrown; the players then chose "wet" or "dry" as we choose "heads" or "tails" in tossing a coin. The surface of the stick turning up at the fall decided the choice.[8]

Another method of deciding the choice is described as follows: a stick was thrown from one player to a second who caught and grasped it in one hand. The first player then placed his hand above that of the second on the stick, and so on, mounting rapidly to the top of the stick. The last hand to fit the stick won first choice of goals. If the last person had a secure enough grasp of the stick to throw it over his head, the grip counted as a "hand." This method does not appear to be aboriginal.

HOOP-AND-POLE GAME

The hoop-and-pole game was played by the Southern Okanagon, but it has been obsolete for so long that most informants failed to remember details. Accounts obtained also varied considerably, perhaps because the informants came from different localities. The most complete description was given by an informant of Wenatchi affiliations (Billie Joe) who had travelled a good deal in the north and among neighboring tribes to the west. He described the game as played by Southern Okanagon, but his account may be colored by outside experience.

The hoop was a ring, twelve inches in diameter, with a foundation of a green willow or service berry branch about three-quarters of an inch thick. The outer bark was peeled off and the stick held over a blaze while it was bent slowly into a circle. Each end was whittled to a thin edge and joined with a two inch wrapping of sinew. The entire hoop was then wrapped with a strip of rawhide three-fourths of an inch wide, the edges of the rawhide meeting at each turn of the spiral. Wrapping began and ended at the splicing point on the ring, the last loose end being tucked back under the wrapping to finish. A final wrapping was then made, of wet buckskin strips, one-eighth of an inch wide or narrower, which had been previously stretched. When this outer wrapping dried, the hoop was solid. Clay was never used instead of the wooden base, as by the Sanpoil.[9] The hoop was not decorated or marked in any manner.

Ten poles were usually made to each hoop.[10] They were of unpeeled willow or service berry branches, an inch thick, forked

[For context of footnote, see p. 190(B), category 116. -- Analyst]

8 Culin, Games, 197, 155; Gunther, Klallam Ethnography, 278.
9 The rules of the game seem to have been over-formulated by the informant. — p.190(A)
10 Ray, Pottery on the Middle Columbia, 127.
11 This seems impossible, else the game would be unending. — L.S.

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at one end (the handle). The unforked end was sharpened to a point. The pole was also unmarked.

The alley for the game was a space of ground about sixteen feet wide and perhaps one hundred feet long, cleared and levelled. The players (usually six men or six women; never both sexes together) lined up at intervals along the alley, three to a side. Each player had an opponent directly opposite him. All held their poles in readiness. Some players preferred poles three feet in length, others five feet. Those with shorter poles stood further back from the alley, as the shorter pole could be thrown for a greater distance.

Any player might start the game. Standing at either end of the alley, he rolled the hoop down the runway, throwing out and down from the right shoulder. (Left-handed men threw from the left shoulder.) At each throw of the hoop, facing opponents decided which of them should try first to stop the hoop with his pole as it reached their section of the alley. Each player threw as the rolling hoop passed him, until the ring was stopped. The man stopping the hoop with his pole, threw for the next play. If the hoop were not stopped, the thrower walked to the opposite end of the alley and threw again from that point.

For counters, six twelve inch sticks were used, whittled flat and sharpened at one end for sticking in the ground. Two scorers for each side sat at one end of the alley. To score, the sharpened end of the pole must be thrown through the center of the hoop so that it would fall over on the pole and stop. The player making the score then had to call out, "We won one stick. Put a stick in the ground for us;" otherwise the score was not counted. If a player threw his pole and missed, he dropped from the game, and if his side had previously won a point, it became null."½ If the thrown pole hit the outer edge of the hoop, there was no score but the player might stay in the game. To win, one side must score all the counters.

There was no opportunity for cheating in playing or scoring. Bets were made on the game only when other tribes came to play (?), at which time each side had a "man with power" to assist. These men went off alone before the game and smoked their pipes. During the game they watched and "thought about their power." If one of them thought that his side was losing, he took out his pipe and smoked again to give his people strength. A game was not abandoned if one team knew beforehand that the other side had a more powerful spirit behind it; the doomed players would be "ashamed to back out."

½ [For footnote, see p. 190 (A), category 116. -- Analyst]

p. 190 (B)

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Two other informants, one a Northern, one a Southern Okanagon, were less clear in their recollection of the game; but their agreement on a number of points indicates clearly that their reference was to a rather different form of the hoop-and-pole game. Only two people played in this game. The alley was a straight trench dug in the ground. One player rolled the hoop along the trench, while the other attempted to stop it with his pole. The hoop was only three or four inches in diameter: informants were not sure how it was made. Both hoop and pole were marked for the purpose of scoring, the pole with different colored lines and the hoop with corresponding marks on the inner rim. The Southern informant stated that the ring was marked with eight shells or beads, called by numbers, one to eight. The line on the spear and the marker on the hoop touching each other in the fall, determined the score. If the hoop fell so that it lay entirely on the spear, it scored eight points. This indicates that the object of the game was simply to knock the hoop, causing it to fall on the pole, as it would be impossible for the ring to lie entirely on the pole if the spear were thrown so as to pass through the hoop as in the game described above. The systems of scoring also appear to differ: a scoring throw made only one point in the game first described, while in the second the score varied according to the positions assumed by the marked hoop and pole. A further difference is in terminology, but this may be merely a dialectic variation. The name for the game given by the informant with Wenatchi connections was kaqa'tsEla, that given by the Southern Okanagon was sxElqōlaxū.

The game described by the two older informants appears to be quite similar to that played by the Thompson, Coeur d'Alêne and Northern Okanagon, according to Teit." 1/

BALL, BAT, AND HOLE GAME

A "ball, bat and hole" game (skEtsa'pEtsanEm) resembling cricket, was played in the summer months. The ball used was the same as that used for shinny. The bat was flat and widened at the distal end. Four men played this game, two to a side. Two holes were dug in the ground about fifty yards apart. To begin the game, players ranged themselves as shown. The side is designated by the subnumeral, the player by capital letter:

		Goal	Goal		
A_2	A_1	0	0	B_1	B_2

A_1 and B_1 are at bat at the goal holes. A_1 throws the ball to B_1 who must strike at the ball with his bat. If he misses and B_2

1/ [For footnote, see p. 191 (c), category 116. -- Analyst]

p. 191 (A)

catches the ball, side 1 loses its turn to bat. If both miss, B_1 throws the ball back to A_1, who attempts to hit it. If B_1 hits the ball at the first throw, however, he and his partner (A_1) exchange goals. It is not necessary for the runner to reach the goal with his foot in this exchange of sides, but simply to come close enough to insert his bat in the hole while still grasping it. Meanwhile opponents on the "out" side (A_2 and B_2) try to hit or touch one of the runners with the ball before he can insert his bat into the hole toward which he is running. It is permissible for the "out" players to throw the ball to one another in this attempt. If side 2 succeeds in thus blocking the exchange of goals, side 1 loses its bat and side 2 comes to bat, side 1 now assuming the "out" positions. 526

Each successful exchange of goals counted one point for the side at bat. The score was kept with stick counters. For each score made by side 1 a counter was stuck in the ground. When side 2 came to bat, for each score made by them a counter was removed from the tally of side 1 until no counters were left standing; then, for each subsequent score made by side 2 a counter stick was stuck in the ground, and the process repeated. The game ended when one side made a predetermined number of points."[1]

RACING AND WRESTLING

Foot races (sk·ötlaxnEm) were a feature of summer gatherings, with much betting. A fast runner from one band would run against a champion from another locality. Races were always run to a point marked by a tree, a stake, or a rock, around this point and back to the starting place. Occasionally races were run by women, but contestants were more often boys or young unmarried men. Suszen stated that a chief who wanted to furnish amusement would race with a young man. There were no relay races."[1]

Horse races (sënkEtsasqa'ɣa) were run in the same fashion, never more than two riders racing at a time.

Wrestling (cɣüɣtEnwɣü) was engaged in by young men or women. Intertribal champions were always men, wrestling for their group at the summer camps. The combatants embraced each other; each wrestler grasping his own left wrist with his right hand behind the opponent's back. Bets were placed on the contest before the match began, after which the combatants decided how many throws were to win. "Wrestling is play."

In wrestling and racing, the strength of the contestant's power was important. When an able man was defeated, it was be- 526 778

1/ For footnote, see p. 191 (C), Category 116. -- Analyst

p. 191 (B)

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12 Teit, Thompson Indians, 274; Salishan Tribes, 131.
13 The game appears to be a combination of cricket and rounders which were introduced among neighboring Canadian tribes, but the scoring is characteristically native. — L.S.
14 For an account of a race, see Religion.

[For context of footnotes, see pp. 191 (A) - 191 (B), category 116. -- Analyst]

p. 191 (c)

526 778 lieved that his opponent's guardian spirit was stronger than his own.

CHILDREN'S GAMES

524 String figures (cat's cradles, cIlialE-wa'xstEm) were made by elders for very young children. The repertoire of the figures seemed to be small, but most informants recollected that a greater variety had been made for them as children. It may be that interest in the string games has been superseded by modern entertainments. One informant, however, stated that string games were not played before the time of white settlers. This does not seem likely, as string figures are known to be of ancient occurrence in most tribes of this region. Only two figures were demonstrated, "women tanning buckskin" and "nothing left but their shoulder-blades." The figures were not recorded.

A game with the hands was played with babies.

Swings were made for children in the summer.

[857] Boys and girls did not play together after they were four or five years old. In the winter houses boys and girls played [illegible] opposite corners.[15] Small girls played with dolls improvised from bits of buckskin or bark, dressed in leaves or buckskin, with twigs for arms and legs and hemp fibre for hair. Although bark cradles were not used for infants by the Southern Okanagon, little girls sometimes made doll cradles which were small models of the bark cradles used by Thompson and Northern Okanagon. [854]

Several informants spoke of gold nuggets used as playthings. A nkama'pelsko woman told of children around Lake Okanogan playing with dolls made of nuggets when she was a girl. She had a doll of this type some six inches long. A white man arrived who gave each child a linen handkerchief in exchange. "They did not realize the value of gold then."

Boys of ten or twelve played an arrow-shooting game (sUknUswal'nEm) which is common in other tribes. One boy shot an arrow into a hillside; the others attempted to split its shaft with their arrows. The boy who shot nearest to the planted arrow won all the arrows that had been shot. If an arrow rebounded, the point where it struck the ground was counted. A similar game was played, in which boys tried to shatter each other's rocks by hitting them with other stones.

A "buzzer" was used by older boys. It was made of several disks of pine bark, strung on a buckskin thong. Carpal bones (of deer ?) were also used for resounders. Boys

15 See also Mary Cardon's account of her tenth year (Individual Life Cycle).

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"who were good at stealing" used buttons, which were difficult to obtain. The object of the buzzer game (papa'mEla) was to see which boy could make the loudest noise by rapidly slackening and drawing taut the string of his toy. Children were told by their elders not to play with the buzzer during the winter, as it was believed that this would make the weather turn cold. Girls did not play the game.

The following games were played by both boys and girls.

The ball-and-pin game (kEtłōkōpsti'nkūn) was played by children of all ages, but only in winter. The ball was supposed to represent the sun. Older people, who made the sets for children, would warn them to play the game in winter so that the days might go rapidly and bring an early spring. The ball was made of flat rushes or of Indian hemp, rolled into a tight sphere. This was fastened by a hemp cord two feet in length to a two-inch thorn of one of two unidentified bushes (xaxūi'tłp, wa'wa'ankitłp). The object of the game was to see how many times a child could catch the ball on the pin without missing. The first player to miss was given a fillip on the back of the hand by another child, using his middle finger. Adults sometimes amused themselves with this game.

Top spinning may have been aboriginal, but the only tops described were of modern pattern. They were made from pine wood or from a piece of bear's leg bone. Tops were spun mainly on the ice in winter, with contests to see which top would spin longest. They also attempted to split one another's tops.

The sling was considered a child's toy and had no use as a weapon. It was a piece of leather tapered at the ends (measuring five inches by half that in breadth) to which braided Indian hemp cords were tied. One cord terminated in a loop which was slipped over the forefinger, the other in a knot to be held between the thumb and forefinger. The knot was released when the missile, usually a small stone, was thrown.

Children also played ball games.

Boys and girls ran foot races in spring, summer, and fall. A hopping race was a favorite: two boys or two girls tried to see who could hop a certain distance faster, hopping on one leg. The race was always to a marked goal, around it and back to the starting point.

An endurance game (cxanikstun) was played by boys or girls in summer. Two children squatted facing each other, then hopped up and down clapping their hands. When one was exhausted, another of the group would take his place.

p. 192 (B)

A common Indian children's game of "staying sober" was played at any season. A group of children faced one child and attempted by pointing and ridicule to make the child laugh. As soon as a player laughed or smiled he was counted out and another child took his turn at keeping a straight face. 524

SMOKING

Adults, both men and women, smoked alone for pleasure at any time. It was commonly indulged in after the heavy meal of the day. In groups, a pipe was often handed around from person to person, but no ritual was involved; such smoking was purely social. The right to smoke, however, was delayed until after a young man or woman had acquired supernatural powers and had been instructed in a vision to sing at the winter dance. They might then be as young as ten or eleven. After this the smoker invariably used a pipe whenever his special powers were invoked, but he had also the privilege of smoking for his own enjoyment. Some old people with power smoked very early in the morning or late at night while others were asleep, so that no one would walk behind them while they were so occupied. Formerly the same pipe was used for ceremonial smoking and for pleasure. At present cigarettes are smoked at social gatherings. The stone pipe, carefully preserved and carried by every shaman, is restricted almost entirely to ceremonial use. 276

Kinnickinnick (skūlsū'ɪmEn or ckElci't-ɪmilEx) was smoked. Informants stated that it was never used unmixed, but did not remember what was used for the mixture before commercial tobacco became common. The leaves and fruit of the bear-berry (skūlī's) were dried, crushed, and smoked in pipes. A plant called sma'nxū, apparently a species of Nicotiana, was formerly abundant and was smoked unmixed. At present it grows only near Riverside. A white root (xacxac) was pounded fine, dried, and mixed with tobacco to make it mild.

Pipe bowls were carved of steatite with thin reed tubes about five inches long set into the side. The specimens seen were small inverted cones or cylindrical in shape. None were carved in animal shapes, and no symbolic meanings were attached to their decoration.

Smoking was a feature of all ceremonies, and ceremonial smoking was esential whenever a shaman paused to "think about his power" during a cure, when the leader of a gambling team wished to give supernatural assistance during a game, or when a hunting leader sought to invoke his special power during an expedition. In no case does there seem to have been any idea of a smoke offering to particular spirits. 276 788

[For context of these footnotes, see p. 193(B), category 116. -- Analyst]

16 On the construction, see Material Culture.
17 On this see Religion.

p. 193(A)

A "first-smoking ceremony" for boys and girls was reported by one informant (Billie Joe). This seems to have been a Wenatchi custom. Other Southern Okanagon informants denied that any ceremony was connected with the first smoke, other than the first use of the pipe during the winter dance when a young man or woman first sang his power song. 276 796

The ceremonies described are as follows. When a boy had power to cure and wanted to smoke, he told his father, who made a pipe for him. He was at this time about sixteen years old. The boy was sent out to hunt a deer and did not come back until he found one. On his return the old men of the band were called in during the evening, and the deer meat distributed among them. Then they all sat in a circle, the youth sitting on his father's right. The pipe was passed around the circle of adults, coming back to the father, who took a few puffs and handed the pipe to his son, saying, "You can smoke any time from now on and do as you like." The father always smoked on this occasion, even though he might not have "curing power" and thus the right to smoke at other times.

A girl at about eighteen years of age would tell her mother that she was ready to smoke. She must buy her pipe, since she was under the tutelage of her mother, and women did not make pipes. On the day of the ceremony the girl picked berries and brought them home to the old people. The father did not sit in the girl's circle, but the mother did so, with other old men and women. The pipe was passed around, as in the boys' ceremony, and the girl was told by her mother that she was henceforth free to smoke and to do as she chose.

THE SWEAT HOUSE

The sweat house was used all the year around.[1] Aside from its ceremonial and religious importance,[1] it was a place of diversion and social meeting. Sweat houses of men and women were separate; that of the men was in more frequent use, possibly because men on the whole had more leisure time. Each village had one large sweat house which could accomodate as many as ten men at the same time. A sweat house was also constructed for each temporary summer camp. Sweat houses were commonly near a stream. It was used by all adult men every day, the men waiting their turn to enter the lodge. There was no special order of use: a man with little power or influence might precede an important personage if he chanced to arrive first. After sweating they bathed in the river. In fact older people never went swimming without first sweating. While the men were at the sweat house, maidens had to get water for household use from another place. If women were planning to sweat, they would warn the men to get what water they might 343 515

[1] [For footnotes, see p. 193(A), category 116. -- Analyst]

p. 193(B)

343 515 need from the stream first, so as not to be present while the women swam.

The sweat house song was invariable sung by all who entered the lodge. Each person usually prayed also (addressing the 343 sweat house as ta'tó'pa, greatgrandfather) 515 for additional strength and luck to attain 783 his desire at the moment, such as success in the hunt or in love. The sweat house was important for success in gambling. An individual intending to play in any gambling game remained in the sweat house for some time, singing and praying for good luck. Prayers were often improvised to the tune of the sweat house song. After the sweat the gambler was required to take a swim, as this completed the physical cleaning and it was believed that cleanliness brought good luck.

If a woman entered or approached the men's sweat house, its strengthening influence was supposed to be destroyed. When an important issue was at stake, such as a hunt or a session of gambling, several sweats were taken, and women were avoided until after the activity in question was over. Sexual intercourse at such a time, or nocturnal emission, was supposed to counteract the beneficial effect of a number of sweat baths, and to lessen a man's chances of success accordingly. If complete sexual avoidance were observed, a sufficient number of sweat baths previous to a game were supposed to make success inevitable. If a man took forty or fifty sweats before going on a summer gambling trip, it was believed that the sweat house might allow him to lose almost everything he owned, but would eventually give him back all his losses and a great deal more.

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p. 194 (A)

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Young children never used the sweat house. There was no ceremony connected with a child's first sweat. He was allowed to join the men in the lodge as soon as it was thought that his physical strength was sufficient.

Contests were engaged in by men to see who could stay in the sudatory for the longest period. Women do not appear to have held similar competitions.

One sweat house song was known to all. It might be sung by men or women. An individual often had an additional sweat house song which had been taught to him by his power.

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Although it is probable that the sweat house was ordinarily no more than a social gathering place for groups of one sex, it was certainly regarded as a spirit which could be propitiated or angered. Any irreverence was promptly punished by the sweat house itself. An illustration of this punishment is the story of J., who, at the age of fifteen, becoming annoyed because he was not able to light the sweat house fire, kicked the stones in the fire-pit, scattering them. Upon returning home he was struck with severe pains and lay ill for a week, until a relative discovered that the illness had been inflicted by the offended sweat house. He cured the boy by the customary shamanistic methods, warning him never again to offend the lodge in any manner. The seriousness with which J., who is half white, now recounts the story, and the care which he still takes to pay reverence before every sweat, is an indication that the sweat house is still sacred.

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TALES

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[p. 196 is blank]

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THE ORIGIN OF THE PEOPLE'[1]

In the beginning, as in the Bible, God created the world, and created animals. He made laws for the animals. He said, "I'm going to leave. In one year, I will come back. I will give you a law if you will all not think in your own thinking. I've given you laws for one year; I'm going to make a human next time I come. If all you creatures think in your own thinking, you are going to be lost."

The creatures scattered and learned from God. The scattered creatures knew what each other thought. Finally the creatures knew that it is time to meet God again. The creatures said, "We know enough from God, but tomorrow there will be a person-to-be [human] in charge of us." Finally in the evening, the one we call Coyote thought a while, "I am smarter than all the other creatures. Whoever gets the first name of the creatures, he will be the leader of all; he who gets the last name will be worthless. That is the law God gave and left for one year."

Finally it is the evening before the meeting and Coyote thinks, "I am the smartest creature. I am going to run and get the first name." He had forgotten the law and was thinking with his own mind. He thinks, "I won't sleep tonight. I will be ready to run in the early morning and be the first man to get a name."

At midnight, he was sleepy. He walked around, and about morning he was awfully sleepy. He was thinking wrong and was going to lose the person. Coyote had learned that when his eyes closed, he would sleep. He thought, "How can I keep my eyes open all the time?" He put little sticks across his eyes to keep them open all the time. He did that and thought, "Now I can sit by a tree. I can't sleep because my eyes are open. I will be first to meet God."

Towards morning, he went to sleep with his eyes open. About noon, he awakened. He felt the sun and was blind from the sun in his open eyes. About nine in the morning, the creatures had met. God named them all. Then, God said, "That is all of you creatures?" "No," they said, "one is not here." "There is one name left. When he comes that is his name."

Blue Jay said, "I don't like my name. I

[1] [See p. 197(c). --Analyst]

p. 197(A)

*531 want to be Eagle." Meadow Lark said, "I don't like my name. I want to be Grouse." God said, "No, it is already done."

Coyote woke up and could not see anything. His eyes were dry. He crawled around a while. He heard a noise and thought it was water. He thought he would wet his eyes. He crawled there, washed his eyes, and saw again. He looked up. It was afternoon. He thought, "Now I will be a worthless creature." He started running to the meeting place. God knew about it. When he got there, he saw all the creatures sitting in a circle and he saw God too. He said, "Have you named all these creatures?" God said, "Yes, I named them all. There is one name left. That is yours now." Coyote said, "What is the name?" God said, "It is Coyote (sInkEli'p)." Coyote said, "I don't like that name Coyote myself." He looked at Grizzly Bear. "What is the name of this big creature?" God said,' That is Grizzly Bear." Coyote said, "Well, let's change names with him. He is big. I'm too small. Let me have the Grizzly Bear name." God said, "No, it is too late now. I named them. You are Coyote." He looked again. "What is this big creature's name?" God said, "That is Cougar." "Well, let me be Cougar, and him Coyote." God said, "No, it is too late. I named them already." He looked at Wolf. "What is the name of this big creature?" God said, "That is Wolf." "Let's trade names with him." God said, "No, it is too late. I named them once. You know I'm God. I do things once. That is all. I am the only one to create. Once is all. There is no change. All you creatures know, last year I gave you the law not to think your own thoughts until I gave you a person [human] to be in charge of you. But today you missed that law. You lost the person today. Now you will be without a leader for years and years. You must take care of yourselves."

God took an object from under his blanket on the right side. He said, "I gave you laws last year, and now three of you missed that law: Blue Jay, Meadow Lark, and Coyote missed it. Now you lost the person. He isn't going to be made today. I'm going to put it in water to be washed for years to get it clean. You creatures made it dirty with your own thinking." He put it in water. It swam and God named the person Beaver.

God said, "You missed that law and lost the person, I have hidden it in the water to

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3: Cline E-5 (1930) 1938 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
Sinkaietk

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1 Told by Susan Timentea (L.V.W.W.). The initials of the collector of the tale follow the name of the narrator throughout.

P. 197 (c)

*539 be washed for the future. There are two laws yet; you missed the first today. I'm going to explain. If one of you keeps smart and strong, he will get the beaver from the water and scatter it over all the land. He will come up and be a person. I'm giving all my power to one of you who will be good from now on. That is all. I'm going back. Remember this. Divide the beaver in twelve pieces. It is flesh. Scatter it in a certain country and give it your own breath, because I have given all my breath and power to you. Wake him up and give him half of your power and tell him what to do. That is all. There are three laws. There is another yet."

The creatures scattered and they could not meet again until they took the beaver from the water. Coyote watched Grizzly Bear and went around in another direction. He met Grizzly and asked three times to trade names with him. Grizzly got angry and tried to kill Coyote. God came and said, "Go, Grizzly, I want to talk to Coyote."

Grizzly walked away. God said, "You think you are smart, Coyote. You lost the person yesterday. I know. You know I am God. I said, 'The last name will be worthless.' That is not so. I turn the law over. You are to be head of all the creatures. I will tell you the laws, Coyote. You are a power just like me now. From now, all creatures will become bad. They will fight and eat each other. You have to work from today until I meet you in this land toward the east. When you have finished, we will meet. If you tell the truth, then you can make the person. If you've done wrong, someone else can make the person instead of you."

God took the little book. "I give you this. I am thinking for you in your heart. Just think when you don't know and you will find out. That is my power. I will get you help to watch you from today. Fox (xaRE'lx) is the witness. When you die Fox will wake you up. That is all."

They all go. Later Coyote hears that others are doing wrong. He dies in one place two or three times. Fox wakes him up. People do wrong everywhere. The mountains swallowed the creatures; the wind blew them away. Coyote rescued the creatures. He stopped everything in the world: sun, moon, wind, rivers, mountains, whenever they did wrong. North Wind kills many in the winter. Coyote said, "You can only kill those who make fun of you."

Coyote kept everything peaceful. Coyote finally knew that he had finished his work. He knew that it was time to meet God again at a certain time and place. He thought, "God won't know what I have been doing. I think I am stronger than he." Coyote is wrong again. He went towards the east. He thought, "I'm going to say to God, 'Hello, youngest brother.'"

God knows his thoughts. Coyote thought,

X539 "I will see God today at nine in the morning." He sees God standing there. Coyote said, "Hello, my youngest brother. I haven't seen you for a long time. I'm glad to meet you again." God said, "I'm not youngest brother. I'm God." Coyote said, "Your name is God, but you are my youngest brother." God said, "No, I'm not youngest brother. You know I am God." They said this three times. Then Coyote said, "When our old folks lived over there, I carried you around because you were small and I am oldest. You don't know."

God took out two white eagle feathers and handed them to Coyote. God said, "If what you say is true, you can move that hill over there." Coyote said, "You little feathers, make mountains move over here." [Narrator stood and depicted Coyote holding feathers in outstretched hands and moving them to right.] The hills moved. Coyote said, "See, I am the oldest brother. You are the youngest." God said, "You have got to move it three times. That is the law." Coyote could not move them the second time and he knew that he had lost the humans again. He was scared and did not know what to say. God said, "I am God. I gave you all my power to do things easy. This is the second time you have missed the laws and lost the humans. Other creatures will make it now. I'm going to give you a place to stay. Let the other smart creatures make humans. You can go to the ocean. I'm going to give you a place to stay all the time." Coyote was scared and thought he would drown. He said, "Not everybody can walk on water." God said, "Go or that is the end of you today."

Three times Coyote stepped on the water and knew that he would not drown in the waves. He thinks that only he can walk on water, and that he is smart and strong and knows everything. He believes he can not die. He went way out in the ocean without seeing land. Finally he saw God standing there. All the creatures know that Coyote was going to meet God this day. All had power from God and all could listen. All know that Coyote had lost the person a second time.

Coyote was not on the land now. God said, "This is going to be your house, your place; right here." Coyote saw a house, well fixed like a king's palace, with a sidewalk all around it. He went in. In the west side hung a black suit of clothes; toward the east hung a suit all white. God said, "Coyote, wear this black for so many months. It is going to be cold and wintry. Then take it off and wear white clothes. That will be summer and everything will grow. In the morning, you can eat. You wish and you will see whatever you want. You can eat it all till I see you again. Now I am going to give you my power not to get old. You will think it is only a minute before we meet. There will be humans on the land where you used to be. You decided the laws and you lost. Laws will be different now." God established his home far from the water. All the creatures on land could hear and knew

about Coyote. Coyote stayed there.

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After that, the four wolf brothers were the smartest creatures. Youngest Brother was the smartest. The oldest brother was worthless. Finally God made Youngest Brother get Beaver from the water. One morning the oldest brother said to Youngest Brother, "I want you to kill the beaver. I want his tooth for a knife." The other brothers said, "No, the beaver is big and strong."

Youngest Brother said to his brothers, "You can make spears; a four prong spear for the oldest, then a three prong spear, a two prong spear, and a one prong spear for me. I will try my best so that we kill the beaver." All the creatures knew where the beaver was, under the water and under Moses Mountain. Under the lake at Nespelem was the beaver. Little ones swam around making a home for the head beaver.

While the brothers were preparing the spears, the two brothers were afraid that they would lose their youngest brother. All the creatures were afraid that he would fail in catching the beaver, the to-be-person.

At dusk, they tore down the dam and all the little beavers ran out. Then the big beavers ran out. The big wolf said, "Watch out! There are the ones." Near midnight, they started to come out: it sounded like thunder. Big Brother said, "Let's quit and not try to kill them." Youngest Brother said, "No, this is my business." The three brothers fell down. There was lightning. Youngest Brother took the four prong spear and struck with it; it shattered; the three prong spear broke; the two prong broke. He took his own one prong spear and struck: it did not break. He followed the beaver down the Columbia River. He said to his brothers, "You go to Moses Mountain, and in three days if you see a trough at Skutene hill (near White Bluffs) I will come there with the beaver. If not, I am dead."

The beaver went down the river. The three brothers stayed there three days until they saw the trough at Skutene. The two brothers said, "He is alive." The oldest began to cry, " I think that hill is open." The two said, to make fun of him,"Keep quiet. It isn't so." He cried again. They told him, "Yes." They go to Nespelem Creek and level a place where they are going to meet. All the creatures came back to this place.

Wolf comes carrying the beaver. He said, "I'm going to tell a story before I cut this beaver. It takes me down the Columbia. The big mountains say, 'Hold on to me. You are going to get killed.' A plant and another plant said, 'Hold on to me.' I tried to hold on to everything. It did not help me. First I held a handful of the plants as we went by and stopped the beaver a little;

2 Told by Michel Brooks (B.C.).

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then I took an armful and pretty nearly stopped the beaver; finally I held on to everything and stopped the beaver." Finally Wolf saw the plants. He threw the hops over the earth and the horse tails [Equisetum] in the earth. The beaver died. He put hops on the beaver. He said, "I paid the beaver the plants to save my life."

He butchered the beaver. He said to the creatures, "You know God said to cut the beaver into twelve pieces." He cut the pieces and could make only eleven. He had missed one. But it was not his fault; that belonged to God. "Fox, you are a good runner; Humming Bird, you can go fast, and you, Horse Fly, you take this piece over to that place. When you get there, give it your breath to wake it up."

The three took it to the place and give it breath and the piece of beaver became a person. Wolf said, "Horse Fly, if the person should have blood poison, put in your nose and draw it all out."

They scattered the parts everywhere. There is the Methow tribe; it was the heart. The Nez Percé are the liver, which was black. The Blackfoot people had no person, because there were only eleven pieces. All the creatures said, "There have to be twelve tribes." Wolf said, "That is not our business. Maybe God thinks we will use the blood for another tribe. Take the blood to the Blackfoot land and wake it up there. They look for blood always." They took the blood there and woke it up. That is why Blackfoot fought from that time.

When they woke it up, they told the humans, "Here are roots; salmon to spear; berries to pick. This is food." They told them how to eat. Finally the creatures said, "Some human should go to Lake Chelan. In the middle you will see pictures on the rock. You look and see how you should do." God had put the pictures there. From then until now, people go there and look at pictures of salmon traps and bow and arrows. People make these just like the pictures. People still learn from the rock. (The pictures are red.)

THE NAMING OF THE ANIMALS[1] (SECOND VERSION)

There was once a chief. He called all his people together because he wanted to give them each a name. They all gathered. By the time the day was over, the people were all there. The chief told the people, "Early in the morning you all come in my house, so I can give each one of you a name.

Coyote got there that day when the people all gathered. He thought to himself that he would be the first to get the best name. He thought to himself, "I'm not go-

[1] [See p. 199(A). -- Analyst]

P. 199(B)

*5 39 ing to sleep tonight, so I can be the first one to be given a name." He took a stick and drove it into the ground, so that he could sleep against it, and if he fell over, he would wake again. He was sleeping, leaning against the stick, and he woke up again. He found out that he woke up by himself; he would not fall over so he could wake up again [?]. Coyote thought to himself: "I know how to keep my eyes open!" So he took some sticks, and he opened his eyes wide, and braced them with the sticks to keep them open so he would not go to sleep. But he went to sleep and slept all night. The chief knew all the time what Coyote was thinking about, and just by his power he made Coyote sleep.

The people got up early and they went in there to get their names. When they came out, they saw Coyote lying there with his eyes propped open although he was sleeping. And as soon as each animal was given a name, the chief told it where to live. For instance, the chief told the grizzly, "You go way up in the mountains: that will be your country, and your name will be kŏla'ŏna." And the brown bear, the chief told him, "You go up in the mountains to live and that will be your country, and your name will be skum'xĭ'st, bear." And the cougar: "You go up in the hills too, and your name will be skwax." And the chief said to the deer, "You go up in the mountains; that will be your country, and your name will be skĭa'tsĭ'nm." And the chief told the wolf to go up in the mountains to live, and his name would be n'tsŏĭ'tsin. And the chief said, "Lynx, you go up in the mountains and your name will be wa'pŏpxn." And all the fish and the birds, he gave each one of them a name, and he gave all the trees a name, and all the plants. As soon as he gave them a name they all came out of the house. The birds and animals were all given names when Coyote woke up. His eyes were still propped open.

Then he thought about the name that he was going to get, and he went into the house. Nobody was there but the chief. He walked up to the chief and told him, "My name will be Grizzly Bear." The chief told him, "That name is given away already." Then he told the chief, "My name will be Wolf." And the chief told him, "That name is given away already." And then he stood there a while and then he said, "I will be called Cougar." Then the chief told him, "You'd better not say any more, because the names are all given away and I have just one name left here, and that is Coyote. That will be your name." Then Coyote said, "I don't want that name." But the chief said, "That is the only name there is left, and you have got to take it. You'd better take that name, because then I will help you get power, and nothing will be hard for you." So Coyote said, "Oh, all right then, I'll take that name." The chief said, "And I will give you the power, which will be in your stomach."

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3 Told by Cecile Brooks (M.M.).

P.200(A)

Sinkaietk

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Coyote walked out of the house and went along. Whenever he would be going along and become frightened that something was going to kill him, he tried his power and it helped him. Then of course Coyote thought he was quite the smartest. And so I came back.

COYOTE DESTROYS NORTH WIND'S HOUSE[1] (FIRST VERSION)

Once North Wind was building a sweathouse. Coyote came over there and saw the rocks piled up. They were all hot. When he got close, North Wind would turn his face, and Coyote saw there were nothing but icicles down his face. North Wind just wanted to get rid of Coyote: that he why he was preparing that house; he was not really going to sweat. Coyote came up to him and said, "I'm glad you're going to sweat. I was just wishing I could sweat." Coyote tried to talk to North Wind, but North Wind would not answer, even though Coyote called him friend and similar terms. Finally Coyote thought, "Maybe he isn't going to sweat. I'll walk away." So he walked away, but at last he turned around and came back. He thought, "Maybe North Wind has already gone into the sweathouse. I'll just go right in." Coyote said to him, "You're just poking the fire with that stick. Why don't you hurry and go in?" Finally Coyote took off his clothes and went in. Then North Wind threw all the hot rocks in the pit inside and covered the door, so that Coyote died in there. He was suffocated to death. Then North Wind went in and took him out, and went away.

Coyote was lying there dead when Fox came by. Coyote told him, "Oh, you've come along to bother me. I was sleeping. You always come along and bother me." Fox said, "Oh, I guess you were sleeping. You were dead when I came along." They could not see any sweathouse. It just looked level where they were. Then Fox told him, "You thought you were clever, and there you were sweating with North Wind. He has no mercy on anybody. He'll kill just anybody. That's just like you, you Coyote."

Then Coyote got angry, and thought, "I'll fix that; I'll get rid of them." Then he started calling his power. He told it, "You better help me get rid of the North Winds. I'm angry at them." His power told him, "All right; I'll help you. You go in there where his wife is, and call her by name, saying 'Hello, xixwaiEnstâ'lûxs.' Mention her husband's name, and call him brother-in-law, and ask where he is. There's a little boy there, too. Say to him, 'Hello, nephew.' I'll be nothing but heat."

Coyote went and did this. North Wind's wife wondered why Coyote came, because people never came in there. Coyote lay on his back and said, "My, but it's hot in here. I'm sweating. It's just like a sweathouse in here." Of course, his power was helping him.

[1] [See p. 200(A). -- Analyst]

p. 200 (B)

539A

Not long after he lay down, the house started dripping. It was nothing but ice and it started melting everywhere. North Wind's wife thought, "It's funny; the house never acted this way before. It never did get hot before, and now it has gotten hot." It kept on dripping; getting worse and worse. It was just about to collapse when Coyote ran out and told her, "I'm going to leave you people. Your house is too hot." He stood outside while their house kept tumbling down. He said, "You are not going to kill people in the years to come when humans come into the world. Only once in a while when they have not enough clothes, you're going to kill them." He just killed the mother and son, and not the man. That man is what we call the north wind today.

COYOTE DESTROYS NORTH WIND'S HOUSE[4] (SECOND VERSION)

Coyote was going along when he saw a man who had a fire and a sweat house. So he went over there and saw a very nice looking man. He talked to him, but this man would not reply at all. Coyote told him, "I'm glad that you're making a sweat house, so we can both have a sweat." But this man paid no attention to him. The man took off his clothes and went into the sweat house. Coyote thought that he would kill this man and take his clothes away. Coyote looked for a piece of hard wood. He stood beside the sweat house door. When the man started to come out, Coyote hit him with the hardwood stick on the back of the head or neck, and thought he had killed him. Coyote thought he was dead, and took his clothes away from him. So he threw away his own clothes right there, and put on this fellow's clothes, and Oh! he had fine clothes. Coyote was awfully glad that he had fine clothes.

The man lay there till he came back to life. He got up and found his clothes were gone. He started to follow Coyote. He followed Coyote until he caught up to him. He was the North Wind (cixamó'c). The clothes that Coyote took were all made of ice. All at once a breeze hit Coyote's clothes and they made a noise. He was glad and proud of his clothes. He had not gone very far till he started getting cold. Finally Coyote froze to death and he fell down. Then North Wind took all his clothes off Coyote and put them back on himself: then he went on.

Fox was going along when he discovered that his partner had frozen to death. So Fox stepped over Coyote and he came to life. When Coyote came to life, he looked at Fox, saying, "Fox, you're no good. Every time I go to sleep, you come and wake me up." Coyote had forgotten all that he had done just before he died, and what killed him. Fox told him, "You came to North Wind when he was sweating, and you took his clothes, and

4 Told by Michel Brooks (W.B.C.).
5 Told by Suzzen Timentwa (L.V.W.W.).

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he followed you and killed you." Fox told Coyote, "You'd better go after your clothes; they are there where you first saw North Wind."

[That is all that Michel knows of this story.]

THE CONTEST OF THE WINDS[1]

The North Wind was one of four brothers; the South Wind was one of four brothers. The world was divided, one half ice, the other half summer. The North Wind had a house in the ice and the South Wind had a house in the summer. These houses were one hundred yards apart. The North Wind and his brothers always went north from there to kill people, to freeze them. (There were "laws" then, but no people.)

The North Wind thought, "We're going to gamble with the South Wind. Let's have a wrestling match with South Wind."

South Wind had a relation, Crane, and another, sta'ɪmtq^{we} (an insect like a grasshopper which lives near water). South Wind's youngest brother was married to a woman way down south. North Wind had only one relation, sk!ökömin'a (a small black bird living near the river).

Next morning, North Wind decided, "We don't have to tell them. We'll do this." Early in the morning at sunrise, North Wind's oldest brother went out and hollered, "Weeeeeeewah." South Wind knew. "He wants me to gamble." He said, "All right. When?" North Wind said, "In just a little while. Get ready. We'll go down river to the slippery ice to wrestle." South Wind said, "All right."

North Wind wanted to kill South Wind so he could take the whole world. He wanted to kill all the humans when they came.

In a little while, all went down to the ice: the four South Wind brothers, Crane, and Insect. The youngest brother's wife stayed home because she was going to have a baby. North Wind said, "Well, we oldest brothers will wrestle today. We will bet that if you win, there will be no more north time [winter]; if we win, no more summer. It will be cold whenever we want." South Wind said, "All right."

Now they started wrestling. In two or three rounds, South Wind fell down on that slick ice and smashed all to pieces: he was dead. Then the three brothers went back.

Next morning at sunrise, North Wind went out and cried, "Weeeeeewah." He was ready to gamble again. South Wind said, "All right. We will get ready." They all went down to the ice at the same place. They

[1] [See p. 201(A). --Analyst]

p. 201(B)

*539 wrestled again; the South Wind's second brother against the North Wind's oldest brother. In two or three rounds, South Wind fell down, smashed all to pieces, and died. Now there were just two South Wind brothers left, for two were dead already.

Next morning at sunrise, North Wind hollered, "Weeeeeewah." South Wind said, "All right. We will get ready." They went to the wrestling place and wrestled. South Wind fell down, smashed all to pieces, and died. Just the youngest South Wind brother, who was married, was left now.

In the evening, the youngest South Wind brother decided he was going to die the next day and he knew his wife was going to have a baby. He made a small bow and arrow, tied them together, and hung them way up in the house. He made a camas digging stick and hung it on the other side of the house. He said to Crane and Insect, "Tomorrow I'm going to die. She can stay with you. If the baby is a boy, you make him strong and bring him back here to wrestle. If it's a girl, you don't have to come back here to wrestle against North Wind." He said to Crane and Insect, "Watch this bow and arrow and the stick. When the baby is born, if it is a girl, the stick will drop and you will know it is a girl. If the bow and arrow drop, you will know it's a boy." Crane and Insect said, "All right. We will watch that." South Wind said, "Tomorrow, I have to die. My wife shall go where she belongs way down south."

Next morning at the same time North Wind hollered, "Weeeeeewah." South Wind answered, "All right. I will get ready." They all went to the wrestling place on that slick ice. In two or three rounds, South Wind fell down, smashed all to pieces, and died. There were no more South Winds.

The same evening his wife went where she belonged in the south. Crane and Insect stayed there where they belonged; just the two. The same day it became cold where they were, where it used to be summer. The cold kept moving far to the south. Crane and Insect stayed there in that house.

Whenever North Wind's relative, Sk!ökömin'a, evacuated he had nothing to clean himself with, so he went to Crane and Insect. Sk!ökömin'a took Insect's head to clean himself. Crane sat with his legs stretched out before him and Sk!ökömin'a cleaned himself on Crane's legs.

It was cold. All the creatures, frozen and hungry, called a meeting. "Let's make laws." They had to get some power to make warmth in the winter. All the creatures said, "All right. What shall we do?" They decided for a while. "Let's sing a song for summer. We will get something to eat." First one creature sang and all followed him; singing for it to get warm, for the snow to go away, and for something edible to grow. North Wind was glad because all the creatures were scared. They sang over night, or

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maybe a few hours, and it did not get warmer. The first creature stopped. Others tried. No one could make it warmer, except Duck who, with his wife, makes a hole in the ice. Others said to him, "Duck, you had better come out here. You just sit there, always warm."

Next day, Duck sang, "xat xat tûm tûm map'm, xant sant tûm tôm map'm." All the creatures were angry and said, "Shut up. You can't make spring." He sang, "xnt xnt tûm tôm map'm." In a little while, the sunshine came and melted the ice where he was singing. The others could not believe it, but they all sang his song, "xRnt xRnt tûm tôm ma'pêm." Soon they see the ice where they are, melted; it is warmer. They all believe and sing his song to help him get more power in his song. The next morning, there is no ice on the hillside. They all went to get something to eat. All believe in Duck and his wife; that they can make the power for spring.

Nine months after the contest when the South Wind had died, Crane is lying about; just sitting in one place, hungry, cold and weak, and unable to work. Insect brings in food and wood for the fire. Finally in the morning, Crane sees the bow and arrow fall down. He said, "kôôREt, kôôREt, kôôREt. The bow and arrow drop now." Insect quickly ran into the house and said, "Maybe, you touched it and made it drop down." Crane said, "No, I was sitting right here. It dropped down. We have a boy now." Both said, "We have a nephew now."

North Wind heard the loud shout. He sent Sk!ôkômîn'a to find out about it. He said, "What were you hollering loud for?" Crane said, "Oh, I'm cold and hungry." Insect said the same thing. They did not tell about the boy way down south.

Well, that woman had a baby boy. She put him in cold water every little while to make him strong. In a few years, he was a grown man and strong. He swam in cold water every little while to make himself stronger. His mother told him, "North Wind killed your father in wrestling."

After a while he said, "I'm strong enough now. I think I will go up there to wrestle with North Wind. I think I am a strong man now. I can't do any more now." He asked his mother. She said, "All right. Let's go." They went north to meet the North Wind brothers and Crane and Insect at his father's place. All the creatures knew he was coming but their power blinded North Wind so he did not know.

He got there late in the evening. Nobody knew him when he got there. He saw his aunt and uncle there looking awfully poor. Crane's legs were dirty. He asked, "What is wrong with your legs? They look as though somebody has been sitting there." Crane said, "That is Sk!ôkômîn'a. He does that."

Young South Wind ground some obsidian and put it on Crane's legs and on Insect's

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head. Young South Wind hid himself in the house then. Early in the morning, Sk!ökömin'a came there to clean himself. Sk!ökömin'a cleaned himself on Insect's head. It cut him; made him bleed. He said, "Oh, why don't you wash your head?" She said, "I haven't got time. It's cold." Sk!ökömin'a jumped on Crane's legs and it was worse. Sk!ökömin'a ran home, crying loud. North Wind said, "What is the matter with you?" "Oh, I got hurt. Look here. I'm bleeding all over." The North Wind brothers told him, "We told you not to go there and do that all the time. They have power. Now they have caught you. Now you are bleeding all over."

They did not know Young South Wind was there, but all the creatures knew. They were all against the North Wind because he was chief and made cold. All the creatures knew that they had a boy to help them. If he won, everything would be all right; if he should lose, there would be no springtime, but cold forever.

Early in the morning South Wind Boy got up. He said to Insect, "You'd better boil some dried salmon head. Keep it hot all the time. When Sk!ökömin'a gets cold water to pour under my feet to make it slippery so I will fall down; when he calls, 'Insect, you go ahead. Pour first,' don't heed him. Just keep your soup there."

Crane went out and called, "Weeeewah." North Wind said, "He wants to gamble now. All right. We will get ready. We will be at the wrestling place." Crane said, "We will be there." North Wind thinks that Crane wants to wrestle. [Much laughter from Indian auditors.]

They all went down. Crane said, "Sk!ökömin'a, you must get water to pour under the wrestlers to make it slippery." North Wind said, "We will get ready for the soup [?]."

They go to the place. North Wind saw this well-built boy, with muscles all over his body. Oldest North Wind was scared a bit. They wrestled. North Wind did his best, but for a while he could not do anything. Then North Wind slipped to his knees and almost fell, but South Wind Boy did not. Sk!ökömin'a was scared and poured the water to make it slippery. Then Insect poured the soup so that South Wind Boy could stand up. Oldest North Wind fell down, smashed all to pieces, and died. That same day, it got warmer; the ice melted in places. Only one North Wind brother was dead, but it was warmer. It was going to be spring pretty soon.

Crane and Insect had much to eat because South Wind Boy brought plenty to them. Next morning Crane called, "Weeeeewah. Get ready." North Wind was crying. He knew they were all going to die, but he said, "All right." He could not give up now.

They went down to the wrestling place again. Sk!ökömin'a was scared and poured

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the cold water first; then Insect poured the soup. South Wind Boy knocked down the second North Wind brother: he smashed all to pieces, and died. It was getting warmer. Snow melted on the hill side.

Next morning, Crane hollered, "Weeeeewah, get ready." North Wind said, "All right, we're ready."

They all went down to the wrestling place with its slippery ice to wrestle. South Wind Boy was strong. North Wind almost fell down. Skłökömin'a got scared and poured water at South Wind Boy's feet. Insect poured the soup. South Wind Boy knocked down North Wind, smashed him to pieces, and he died. There was one more North Wind brother yet. It became warmer: more snow melted on the side hills. All the creatures went there looking for something to eat. All were wishing for South Wind Boy to win because his father and father's brothers were all killed the year before. All were against the North Wind brothers.

Early next morning, Crane hollered, "Weeeeewah, North Wind. Get ready at the wrestling place." North Wind said, "All right. We will be there." They wrestled for a long time. Youngest Brother North Wind was strong; both were about the same. Sometimes one almost fell down, then the other. Skłökömin'a told Insect, "Go ahead. Pour your salmon head soup first." "No, you go ahead. Your uncle almost fell down then." They talked a long time. Finally Skłökömin'a got scared and threw the water. Insect poured the soup. North Wind fell down, smashed to pieces, and died. That was the end of him; there were no more North Winds.

South Wind Boy took his club to kill Skłökömin'a too. Skłökömin'a ran on the ice: he knew how. Pretty soon the ice cracked. He fell in and did not come up. South Wind Boy said, "That's all right. You follow the cold places now. You will be in the cold all the time from now on. If you get in warm places, you will get sick. You will always be in the cold forever."

Coming back to the wrestling place, he said, "All you North Wind brothers are dead now, but I don't kill you forever. When people come, they have to have winter. You shall bring the winter, but not too cold. I will bring the summer and warmth. You don't have to kill all the people. You can freeze those people that make fun of you. You must not kill people who know the laws and don't make fun of you."

Now spring began. In a few weeks lots of green things came up; the salmon ran, and everything came. Then certain cold months came for the North Wind. That was the beginning: so it has always been till now. (That is why some persons get power from South Wind. Some creature tells a man, "I know South Wind. If you wish power from South Wind, I will tell you how to make snow go away." In the same way other people get

power from North Wind if they want cold.)

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YOUNGEST WOLF BROTHER AND BIG DEER[6]
(FIRST VERSION)

One time Wolf heard about the deer inside a mountain all the time with other creatures. Deer was chief inside the mountain. The other creatures came out sometimes, but Big Deer stayed in there all the time. The oldest wolf said, "I want that Big Deer. I'd better kill the Big Deer. I need the horns." The other wolves told him not to say that. "Maybe our brother will get killed."

Youngest Brother said, "All right. I will kill the deer but I must hold a big singing tonight for deep snow. We need that to stop him." "Well," he said to his brothers, "Get some dry wood, pine, to have a fire all night." They got lots of wood and put it inside his house. The house had eight sections and it had four fires. Wolf had made this house for the future going-to-be-people [i.e., humans].

In the night, he sang a song for snow. Far late in the night, he said to his oldest brother, "You'd better go out and see if there is snow." Oldest Brother went out and saw heavy snow, pretty nearly to his knees. [The narrator stood and touched his knees with the inner edge of his hands to measure it.] He went back.

Youngest Brother asked, "Has it snowed?" Oldest Brother said, "Oh, a little." "How deep is it?" "Oh, about to my foot." He told a lie, because he wanted to be sure of a lot of snow.

Youngest Brother said, "You look until snow is as deep as your waist." They all sang songs together. In a little while he sent Oldest Brother out to look again. When he came back, Youngest Brother said, "How deep is the snow?" He said, "Oh, about up to my hips [thighs?]." [Suszen measured it.] But it was really already to his waist. They said, "All right" and sang again.

In a little while, they sent him out again to look at the snow. He came back. Youngest Brother said, "How deep is it now?" He said, "Pretty nearly," but really only his head could stick out. In a little while, they sent him out again. He found snow over his head. He went back. Youngest Brother said, "How deep now? Is it enough?" "No, not yet." Youngest Brother thought, "Inside we can hear heavy snow through the tule walls. Maybe he lies." He sent the next to the youngest brother out to see. He got outside and could not see anything. He could only reach out his hand. He went back and said, "The snow is way over my head."

Oldest Brother said, "Maybe it all fell at once after I came back." Youngest Brother

6 Told by Suszen Timentwa (L.V.W.W.).

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*539 knew he told a lie. He said, "We stop this song. Now we must wish for rain." He sent his oldest brother to see if the snow had settled to the waist. The snow was down to his armpits. He came in and lied again. Three times he lied. The next to the youngest brother went out then. He came back and said, "It is just what we want." "Well," the youngest brother said, "We'll change our song and wish the snow to freeze."

He sent Oldest Brother out to see. He came back and said, "It is cloudy and raining yet," but it was really clear. Youngest Brother said, "We don't want it frozen too hard, just enough to run on yet not break through." "All right. I will watch that."

They sent him out again. He tried to run on the snow and it broke. If he had walked, it would have been all right. He lied again. The next to the youngest brother went out and came back. He said, "It is just right."

It was towards morning. Youngest Brother said, "We'll stop singing now. All of you three can go look for spūkēlmĭ'kp. (This is the wood used for spear handles.) Get four sticks for each of us; each stick as tall as we are, all even and two inches thick." About morning they came back with the sticks, but the brothers did not know what the sticks are going to be used for.

Youngest Brother says, "We are going to make shoes to walk on top of deep snow when hunting or travelling." Now he began making snowshoes for the four of them. He cut bear hides for string. He did not finish until evening. A round snowshoe (cĭrwĭ'xwaxĕn) was made for the oldest brother so he would not stumble. The others all had fast snowshoes (ĭ'tctū). The oldest was lazy and did not know anything. He would have fallen down on fast snowshoes.

The four brothers went to the mountain. When they got there, Youngest Brother opened the door to the mountain. All the creatures ran out frightened. Early in the morning, Big Deer came out and jumped in one jump from that mountain to another. Youngest Wolf jumped after him. They jumped everywhere and finally got tired. Near Kettle River, Deer stepped in some clay and Wolf was close behind him: the tracks are still there.

Finally they came near Brewster. Wolf is a little behind; Deer goes fast. Wolf is about one half mile behind. They are running now and not jumping any more. Deer saw a tule house where somebody camped. He went in. As soon as he got in, the old man there said, "Hello, my son-in-law. You come now." The old man had two daughters.

The Deer said, "I want you to help me, save my life. Wolf is going to kill me."

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Old Man said, "Bring that canoe here." He put Deer underneath the canoe and put blankets of bear hide, beaver, and deer over it. They hid him well, before Wolf ran in. After he hid Deer, Old Man took his gloves and threw them across the river to an island, where they turned into a deer.

Wolf ran in and said, "Did you see Deer?" Old Man said, "No, I'm blind. I can't see far. I am fixing a spear here for fish." "Well, his tracks come here." "Well, I haven't seen him. Maybe he went somewhere else." Wolf says, "I saw his tracks come here." "Maybe he did. I'm working. Maybe he went out again. Maybe he swam across the river."

Wolf went out. He says, "Sure, Old Man. There he is, way across on an island. Maybe he is tired and sleeping. Have you a canoe?" Old Man said, "I'm an old man. I can't make a canoe now." But he had hidden it. "When people come, if they are angry, they won't be helped, because of their meanness. You swim across for yourself." Wolf thought that was right. He would swim across. He swam way out. The Old Man took the canoe up and told Deer, "Take this end and I will take the other. Take a paddle. You can kill Wolf in the water." Deer took one end and a paddle. Old Man did the same and took a bow and arrow too. They put the canoe in the water and both got in, the old man behind.

He handed the bow and arrow to Deer to shoot Wolf. Old Man said, "This bow and arrow, pull like this if you want to shoot and kill." [The narrator enacted the drawing and release of arrow from a bow.]

Wolf did not look back to see that some thing was behind him. They caught him in the middle of the river. Old Man said, "You have to make him know before he dies." Deer called, "Sûs." Wolf looked around and thought he was going to die. He laughed and said, "Hello, my friends."

Deer said, "We're not your friends. You're going to die." Wolf said, "I just want to talk business. I didn't want to kill you." Deer said, "There isn't any business. This is business." So he pulled the arrow and Wolf died right there. He sank forever. There was no more Wolf. His three brothers knew he was dead, so after that they kill all creatures and eat them because Deer killed their brother. They are mad forever and mean ever since.

Wolf was shot with the bow and arrow and drowned forever, and all of the creatures knew and were angry because he died. Wolf died because he had done wrong to try to kill Big Deer who stayed in the mountain a long time (and so God punished him forever). The three brothers thought that perhaps everyone was against them too, because they had witnessed their brother doing wrong. They thought, "Any time we see creatures, we will kill them." That is how they were put

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in the wrong, got mean, forgot what was right; and now they fight all the time.

When Big Deer and Old Man came back, Old Man said, "You can lie there: that is your woman's bed." Deer was tired: he lay down to rest. In just a little while, he heard someone come singing. It was the two daughters, coming back barefoot, making dust rise. (They were st't'ma'lq^{wa}, little fishes: they were twins.) He sang too, "Your foot making dust; your foot making dust; your foot making dust."

The old man got up and went out. He said to his daughters, "Keep quiet. Your husband is in the house here." They thought, ashamed, "We have no husband. What does that mean?" They went into the house and saw that Deer lay there. They were ashamed because they were barefoot and dusty and wearing only breechclouts. They hung their heads.

Old Man said, "Don't be ashamed, my daughters. Cook something for your husband to eat. I was telling you he is tired. He has been chased many days. He has just killed Wolf." This was the first time Deer ever married. In the mountain, he had no wife. He thought, "Old Man saved my life. I will marry his daughters. Even if they look ugly I will do it, because he saved my life when I was going to die."

All of the creatures knew that Deer was marrying the girls and they were angry because these girls were ugly. The creatures were ashamed for Deer.

Right on the river, under the water, was a good woman who no one ever saw (just like Deer under the mountain), and she had never married. She became ashamed because Deer was to marry these ugly girls. She thought, "I'm going to try to catch Deer to be my husband pretty soon." Old Man knew what she thought. He thought, "Maybe she is Deer-under-the-water. Maybe that is why she wants to marry a land deer."

Every night Old Man took his daughters to the river with a torch to get fish. One daughter held the light, one paddled, and Old Man speared. Deer, the son-in-law, always told them to stay home. "Don't work all the time. You might get wet. You had better stay."

After a while, Deer was tired of staying home. He told Old Man, "You better stay home, Old Man. I will go with my wives to catch fish." "All right, but don't go down the river." Old Man knew that the woman was down there. For four nights they caught just a few fish up the river. There were more fishes below. Deer thought, "Old Man thinks we may drown below. We can swim." So he said to his wives, "Let's catch fishes down below." They said, "All right. Whatever you say, we will do." They went down a little way in the canoe. Then he saw some-

X539 thing big coming out of the water. The two sisters were scared, and cried and hollered. The big thing took Big Deer and threw the canoe with the two women back to where they came from.

Big Deer went to this woman's home under the water. It was a good home; a better home than the other. His new woman told him, "You ought to be ashamed. Why didn't you tell him you didn't want to marry his two ugly daughters?" Deer said, "That is all right."

Finally the two sisters each had a baby, two boys. Deer knew his first wives had sons.

He stayed under the water two years. His new wife had a boy. He thought his mother and father in the mountain might think he was dead. They cried there and never forgot him inside that mountain. His son looked like him, having big horns and being white. Finally his son grew to be a four point deer: that makes seven years gone by. Deer has a father and mother-in-law in the water. [His father-in-law was chief. They made[7]] Deer chief, so his father-in-law could retire.

Next morning, Deer called to his people. "Let's have a meeting this morning." His boy listened to what he said. In a little while all the water creatures came inside the house. Deer said, "I wish to say that I want to send my boy to my father and my mother in that mountain where my house was." The river creatures all said, "Yes, we know. Whatever you want is right. All right." "I will send my boy forever to be chief and to take care of his grandfather and grandmother and all the creatures there, and to tell them that I will stay here forever." All his people said, "All right." He told his boy to go find his [half-] brothers and take them with him.

Deer Boy (cīnūtī´tkᵘ) went to Old Man's house. Old Man thought his son-in-law had come back. He said, "Hello, son-in-law." "I am not your son-in-law. He is my father, Old Man." "Maybe that is right." He said to Old Man, "I am sent by my father to take my brothers with me. We all must go to our grandfather and grandmother in the mountain. I have to stay there all the time. Maybe my brothers will come back sometimes." Old Man said, "All right. Whatever your father says we will do." He let the two brothers go.

They started in the morning. When the sun was way up they came to some pine trees. The two brothers took some seeds from the cones and ate them. "These are good," they said, and they stayed there.

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7 A fragment of manuscript is missing: these are the probable words. — L.S.
8 Again a fragment is missing. — L.S.
9 Told by David Isaac (W.B.C.).

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*539 Young Deer waited three days, but they had gone only one mile. Young Deer thought, "I have to go. We can't take all summer to get to the mountain to meet our grandfather." "Well," he said to his brothers, "Maybe you like to eat these nuts." "Yes. Why don't you eat them?" "I haven't time. I have to go." He threw his brothers into a tree and they turned into birds. He called them sinə'rak'. They were birds forever and could never go back to Old Man. (They are white birds and look like deer, with white tails.)

Young Deer started again; in two or three days, he arrived where he was going. He went in. The old man and old woman got up and said, "Now you are here to take care of us, grandchild." So the old people knew he was their grandchild. He said to his grandfather, "Your son is alive. He is going to stay over there forever. He sent me here. He told me that I'm going to be chief of all these creatures and to take care of them forever." That is all.

YOUNGEST WOLF BROTHER AND BIG DEER[1]
(SECOND VERSION)

There were four wolves camped between Kettle River and Osoyoos Lake, and they were all brothers. They had a mother, a father, and a sister. There was another group wintering far to the north of them: these were deer. Their chief was Whitetail. There were all kinds of deer, elk, moose, and all the smaller deer, camping together there. They had only one chief, Whitetail. This chief finally came to Wolves' camp. There was nobody home but the daughter. So Whitetail saw her, fell in love with her, and took her. When her brothers and father got back they found she was gone. Later they found out that she had gone with Chief Whitetail.

Bye and bye Whitetail and his woman had a baby. Soon the little boy began to run around. When Chief Whitetail was going out hunting, he told his wife she had better make her little boy a pair of moccasins. Then he started out. He was gone all day: he did not get back till dark. When he got back he asked his wife if she had made the little boy a pair of moccasins. She said, "Yes." The woman got the moccasins. She had made them like a wolf's paw, not like a deer's hoof. The man told her, "I don't want you to make him a pair of moccasins like wolf feet; make him a pair like my feet, deer feet." She did not like that. She sat around and cried. Finally she went back to her brothers and father. When she got back, they asked her why she had come back. So she told them she had got angry over the pair of moccasins she had made for the little boy; that her husband had told her not to make them like her feet but like his feet.

1. [See p.206(A).-- Analyst]

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So the wolves all got angry and told one another, "We'll kill them all, that whole tribe."

The wolf father told the oldest wolf boy, "You start to sing so a lot of snow will fall." This boy sang till midnight. Then he told his father, "Go out and see how much snow there is outside." The old wolf measured the snow up to his shoulders. He came back and said, "I don't think your song is a [good?] song. There's no snow out there," for he thought it was not enough. So the wolf boy kept on singing until morning. He sent his father out to see how much snow there was. The old wolf went out and sank down to his neck. He jumped a few times until he nearly got stuck in the snow. Still he thought it was not enough. He went back and told his boy that there was only a little snow. So the boy sang till daylight and told his father to go to see the snow. The old wolf went out again, and tried the snow again, and it was way over his head: he went clear out of sight. When his father came in and told him that was enough, he changed his song to another. Then it started to blow a Chinook [south] wind, and thaw, and the snow began to melt. He sang till nearly daylight, when the snow was nothing but water.

Chief Whitetail dreamed that the wolves were going to kill him. He took all his people, and rose right off the ground and went through the air.

Wolf's father told his son that that was all right, that the snow was nothing but water. So he sang another song and the snow started to freeze. So he sang all day and all night, and next morning the snow was frozen hard. Then they went to the deer camp to kill them all.

When Chief Whitetail got way off to another mountain, he told each kind of his deer where to stay. After he scattered all his people all over the country, he jumped over toward Penticton on to another mountain. Then he jumped over to Camp McKinney Mountain (paqámqEn), taking his little boy with him. He came down toward the lake and there left his little boy. They were then right above Osoyoos Lake.

He came right down to the river, and there saw spápqálš'tc (a little fish) who had a camp there. He shouted to Spápqálš'tc to take him across; that they were going to kill him; and he called Spápqálš'tc "uncle." Spápqálš'tc told him, "You are no relative of mine." He addressed Spápqálš'tc as uncle and as every other relative, but Spápqálš'tc did not want to have it that way [i.e. be a blood relative], because he had a daughter. Finally Whitetail said to him, "Take me across, father-in-law." Then Spápqálš'tc said, "All right," because he was glad. Spápqálš'tc took him across the river. Before he [Spápqálš'tc] went across, he took off his coat, and threw it in the river. It looked like a deer floating down among the ice cakes in the river.

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The wolf reached the river and saw the deer skin [coat]. He shouted to Spápqálš´tc to take him across; that he wanted to kill the deer out there. But Spápqálš´tc said, "No. After the animals became Indians, there won't be such a thing as taking them across to kill one another. You can swim across to kill him." So Wolf ran up and down the bank, and started to swim after the deer. As soon as Wolf jumped into the river and turned his back toward them, Spápqálš´tc pushed his canoe out and said to his new son-in-law, Whitetail, "Get in and we'll go kill him." When they got out on the river, Wolf heard the canoe. He looked back, and there was his brother-in-law with his arrow ready. He cried, "What are you going to kill me for? You're my brother-in-law." But Whitetail said, "No, you were trying to kill me." After they had killed the oldest wolf they brought him into the tipi and waited for the others to come.

Right after they had killed this one, they saw the next oldest wolf coming. He reached the other side, and shouted to Spápqálš´tc to take him across so he could kill the deer in the river. Spápqálš´tc told him, "I will not take you across. You can swim after him and kill him, if you want to kill him." Then Spápqálš´tc pushed his canoe out as soon as the wolf got into the water. He told his son-in-law, "Come on, we'll go kill him." When Wolf got out in the river and was about ready to get to this deer, he looked back and there was Chief Whitetail ready to shoot him with his bow and arrow. So Whitetail killed him. They threw him into the canoe and brought him back to the tipi. There was one more left, the youngest.

This youngest one reached the bank and said to Spápqálš´tc, "Take me across so I can kill the deer that I'm chasing." But Spápqálš´tc said, "Swim after it. I'm not going to take you out." So he started to swim out and got scared. He went back to shore. He kept going back and forth, in and out of the water. He went out two or three times, and finally got scared, and went back. Chief Whitetail sent his power for his wife [the wolf woman] to go blind; so his wife went blind.

Then he had three children by Spápqálš´tc's daughter. He had three birds for children: woodpecker, cinarqû (a small gray mountain bird), and xKxš´rxKr (a small bird that runs up and down the trees). He sent these three children, telling them, "You go to your brother [Whitetail's son by the wolf woman]: he'll tell you what to do." The youngest one went part way up and saw the trees. He took a liking to the trees. His brothers tried to get him to come with them, but he said, "No; I'm going to stay right here. I like this." So his brothers left him. Cinarqû went a little farther and found a place he liked. He stayed there. His brother tried to coax him to come along, but he would not. So the oldest went on up to his [half-]brother. His brother said, "Did you come to see me?" He answered, "Yes. There were three of us, and our father sent

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*539 us to you, but the others stayed by the way." So his brother told him, "You can live right here, and you can get your food from the trees." (Meaning the grubs upon which woodpeckers feed.) Then the oldest boy rose and became a big bird that is never seen. Whenever this big bird comes close to anybody, they become dormant and freeze, and do not know anything.

After Chief Whitetail found that all his children made themselves different things, he took his wife and threw her into the bush — that is the robins; always crying. Whitetail took Spápqálé'tc and put him in the river. He told him, "You can have that for your place." There is a big patch of brush near Oliver. He went there and thought to himself, "This is where I'll stay." So they were all separated.

After Whitetail made his first wife blind, the old wolf tried everything to cure her, but he could not cure her blindness. So he asked each kind of bird if they knew anything about an eye medicine. But they said, "No. Our chief is behind: he'll know." He went to the other side of Penticton, where they left him on a mountain, saying, "That bird, our chief, will be along here pretty soon; the chief of the birds. Stay right here and wait for him." They [the wolves] kept asking the birds, who said, "No;he's behind; he'll be coming pretty quickly." After these birds had all gone north, the flock that the chief was in came along. So he [the wolf] asked the chief of the birds. The bird told him, "Yes, I know eye medicine." The chief bird named all these big rivers: the Yakima, Chelan, and Okanogan. He said, "You count all the rivers from here,and when you get through counting, you come back up the river. There's a dam in Yakima River which the beavers made years ago. (There were three places that look like dams.) You go and break these beaver dams. Then you will see the little beavers come up. Let them go. Break all three dams down, so the river will come. When you get to the third dam, and break it, take a long spear with a hoop on the end, and stab the chief with this. He is the man-eater."

It was all a lake there. Coyote came there to help. He said, "Don't scare the first one that comes. There are three brothers. You spear the last one." The first one came. Coyote told Wolf not to spear that one, because that was the youngest; to wait till the third one came. Then the second youngest one came, and Coyote said, "Don't spear that one. That's the second youngest." They saw the water rising, so Coyote said, "That's the one that you should kill." This beaver came toward them. Coyote said, "You must do your best. That's a man-eater and he'll kill you if you are not careful." So when the beaver came along, Wolf held the spear. When he ran his spear into

10 Told by Susan Timentwa (L.V.W.W.).

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the beaver, he clung onto his spear and he could not let go. So the beaver took him right along.

The young wolf went down the river holding his spear. The old wolf and Coyote ran along the shore. And every bush that they passed said to the young wolf, "Hold on to me and save yourself. You'll die as soon as you get down to the Columbia." But he broke everything that he caught hold of. He would grasp it, but it would come loose. They got close to the Columbia River. Then the wild hops (?) told him, "You hold on to me and you'll save yourself." The wolf thought, "I've been holding on to every tree and it did no good. You hops don't look strong to me." But the hops said, "No; hold on to me and you'll save yourself." The root of the wild hops ran all up the mountains and was tangled so it could not come loose. So he held on to the hops, and it let him down quite a way till it got taut [but it did not break]. Then the beaver came ashore, and the old wolf and Coyote killed it. After they killed the beaver, they took his entrails — the part of the entrails good for medicine — and doctored her eyes with that and restored her eyesight.

KILLING THE WATER ELK"1/1

Wolf had killed Beaver northeast of Spokane. Elk (papala'tsa) always lived in a lake there." Wolf said, "We will make Elk come out so we can kill him, and get his horn to make a spear of." Elk comes out at night and about morning goes into the lake. Nobody ever sees him.

The wolves hid by a feeding place. The youngest brother wished Elk to lie down and sleep. He did. Wolf had a big stone knife. Elk went to sleep. Youngest Wolf said, "He is asleep already. I'm going to cut off his head. You others go ahead. He is smart and strong. He might kill us."

Wolf jumped and cut off his head. The three brothers took the head and ran off to a hill. Soon Youngest Brother saw the lake coming up fast. He ran to the top of the hill, too. The water was coming up. All said, "We are going to be drowned because we killed Elk."

Youngest Brother said, "I have another power. Take some grass quick and lay it all around." The water came up and did not touch the grass. They were inside the water as in a ball, but they were not wet because the water did not come on the grass. Next day the water went down. Elk was still there dead, so they took the elkhorn to make a spear.

(Some white people found the elk bones and the big knife right there when digging a spring near Spokane. All the bones were

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1/1 [See p. 208(A). -- Analyst]

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there, but no head. One old Indian there knew the story.)

FISHER AND MARTEN
CUT OFF THE SEA-MONSTER'S HEAD" 1/A

Fisher (tcErtĕ'ps) had a wife. They had a little boy about as big as Johnnie's little Christine [aged three]. Marten (pipq!s) was his brother. They were always hunting. Fisher's wife started to sweat [sweat-bathe?] and she thought she would go and take a bath. When she got to the river, she took off her clothes. Not very far out in the river, there was a sea-monster who stuck his horns out of the water like a root." 1/A The woman was swimming around and saw this big root. She thought that she would swim out to it. That woman swam out there and sat on the big root. That was the monster's head. He went down under the water and took her for his wife.

When Fisher and Marten returned they looked around but the woman was gone. So they looked for tracks and finally discovered them, and followed her down to the river. There they saw the little boy standing on the bank crying. So Fisher said that the sea-monster had got his wife. He picked up the little boy and brought him back to his house. The little boy was crying all the time: he could not stop crying. So Marten said, "I'm going to look for a little fawn for him to play with and you make him a bow and arrow." Marten told his brother that he would look for a little fawn, and Fisher made his little boy a bow and arrow.

When Marten got back with the little deer, he got his power and thought the cottonwoods to grow right around the tent. (He made them grow by his power.) Marten thought the wind to come up and blow on the cottonwood leaves. They tied the little deer to the cottonwood tree and gave the little boy the bow and arrow. The little boy would shoot at the little deer and make it jump. It made a noise like any other little deer.

So they went to look for Fisher's wife. Fisher had a long cane; that was his power. Marten also had a long cane and he also had his power in his cane. They went along the river. Two birds were coming up the river in a canoe. They did not have paddles, but were making the canoe go by wriggling themselves back and forth. These two birds were saying that they were looking for something to eat for their sister-in-law, who their brother took away from Fisher. When Marten and Fisher saw these two girls coming, Fisher asked Marten if he had power enough to get these two girls. Marten said, "No, I haven't enough power to get them." Marten asked his brother if he had any power to get these two

1/A [See p. 209 (C).--Analyst]

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girls. Fisher started to sing, and he went down toward the river. While he was singing his song, he told these two girls to come over; that he was going to ask them a question. Those two girls did not know that their brother had taken the woman from Fisher. But the girls would not come to shore: they stayed far out in the river. He tried to call them to the shore but they would not come. He kept his little cane short under his shirt. He pulled it out and stretched it out long. He stuck it into the water and made it jump into the canoe. So he took the two girls and made them go to shore. So they got them ashore. He began questioning those girls.

Fisher asked where they were going. They said, "We're looking for something for our new sister-in-law to eat." Fisher asked them what they did when they entered their house. One said, "I'm the older. I sit at the right of the door and my sister sits to the left of the door." So they told everything that they did when they were at home: everything that they did to their sister-in-law: that when she wanted to go out to defecate, they placed her on a mat and took her out, and brought her back that way. When they had finished telling everything that they did at home, Fisher killed the two girls.

Fisher took the older and skinned her, and Marten took the younger and skinned her. As soon as Fisher finished skinning her, he took her hide and slipped it over himself. He looked just like the older girl. Marten skinned the younger one but tore a little place about the eye. He put it on himself. You could see that little torn place in the eye, and his eye would always water somewhat. They got into the canoe and wriggled back and forth to make it go. They did not go to shore, but took their power sticks and jumped all the way to shore. But the younger one (Marten) touched his feet to water before he landed.

As soon as they went in the house Marten rubbed his eye all the while. The girls' brother smelt they were like Fisher and Marten. He asked them, "What's the matter?" The "girls" said they met Fisher and Marten way up the river and were afraid, so they came back. When evening came their sister-in-law wanted to go outside to defecate. So they seated her in a net [mat?] and took her out in the net. They took her quite a way off, lifted her off the net, and set her down softly. Fisher told his wife, "I caught up to you." His wife told him, "I don't know how we're going to get away. There isn't any chance of getting me back." Fisher said, "When we bring you back, and you go to bed, you start playing [sexually] with him, so he'll get so tired and sleepy that he

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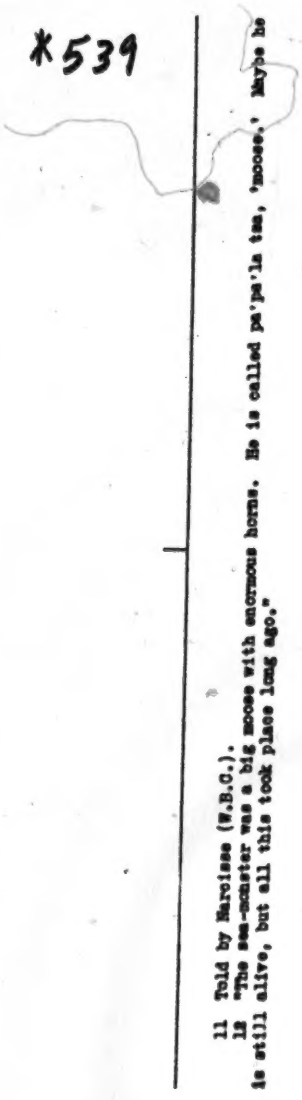

11 Told by Marcisse (W.B.C.).
12 "The sea-master was a big moose with enormous horns. He is called pa'pa'la tsa, 'moose.' Maybe he is still alive, but all this took place long ago."

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*539 won't wake up;" then they were going to kill him. So the woman played with him, so that all he would do was just grunt, and finally he went to sleep. Then the woman got up and went to Fisher, and told him the sea-monster was asleep.

Fisher took off the girl's skin and Marten did the same. Fisher took hold of the monster's head and cut it off. They took the head and started to run away. They threw it into the canoe and started paddling, but they could not get anywhere: the body of the monster kept going up and down [writhing]. His people heard it. They woke up and saw the monster's head was off. They went out and saw that Fisher and Marten had the head in the canoe and were trying to paddle, but could not move along at all. So the people were just about to catch them, when they took the big head and threw it in the deep water. After they had thrown the head in, they made progress and got to shore.

They [the sea-monsters] called everybody: all the animals from the dry land and from the water. They started diving for their chief's head. Coyote said, "I'll be the one who will get the chief's head." He would run and dive, but would not go out of sight. Turtle got there. Turtle dived and went down. He saw where the head was. When Turtle came out again, he said that there were places in his shoulders that got cold and he had to come up. So the big Indian doctor closed those places. When Turtle dived the second time, he got to the head, crawled under it, raised it, and brought it out of the water so the people could get it. The monster was just moving slowly: he was just about dead then. They took the head and put it back on the sea-monster. The Indian doctor rubbed it into place and the monster got up.

Fisher told his brother, Marten, "I guess we will be killed now; the sea-monster has come back to life again." He told his brother, "Let's go up on the mountain." The water and the blood from the monster started to rise. They were on the highest mountain they could find, yet the water just reached them. So Fisher told his brother, "Do your best; we're going to die. Use your medicine [power]; if you have any." They were standing in the water then. Marten could not do anything. He told his brother, "You do [use] your medicine: mine isn't strong enough. I'll be the last one to do his medicine."

So Fisher pulled his cane out and made it long. They stood it on the ground, and made the woman climb up first and then climbed up behind her. Fisher was behind his brother and wife, and the water reached Fisher. Fisher told his brother, "Do your best; we're going to die." Marten said, "We're not going to die. I think that my power is stronger than yours." So he pulled out his

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cane and made it long. He put it on top of his brother's cane: his cane went up into the sky. So they climbed but they did not go very far. Marten told his brother, "Here's where we'll stay. We'll go up no farther." Marten said, "If we go any higher we'll get to another land. We don't want to get to the other land; here is a better place for us to stay." Then the water started to go down, and they climbed down as the water went. When they got down on the mountain, Marten pulled his cane down and Fisher pulled his cane down. So Marten told his brother, "We'll always stay here in the mountains. We'll never go back by the river."

(All this took place down at Wenatchee. The mountain was mixᵘmixᵘ. There must have been a flood on Moses Mountain because there was once an enormous cottonwood tree there. Fifty years ago you could see where it was lying. The old Indians told him [Johnnie] that that is where the cottonwood had lain. He just saw the rotten trunk of it.)

SKUNK TAKES REVENGE[13]

Skunk and Fisher were living together as bachelors and partners. They had no woman. Both went hunting; Fisher was a very good hunter. Rabbit and her two young granddaughters were living by themselves. One girl was Chipmunk and the other was StEta'k [an animal a little larger than a chipmunk; possibly a larger variety of chipmunk]. StEta'k was the older. Their grandmother told them, "You'd better go to Fisher's place and marry Fisher." So the two girls went. Their grandmother told them when they got to the tipi to get under Fisher's pillow. She said, "Skunk always comes in first. Don't laugh when you hear Skunk coming. Keep on hiding till Fisher comes in."

They got there and hid under Fisher's pillow. They heard Skunk coming. He was carrying deer meat as he was coming back. He was making such a funny noise that Chipmunk started to laugh. Her sister could not keep her from laughing. So Chipmunk kept on laughing till Skunk found them, and took them both, and put them under his own pillow. They were afraid to tell him that they did not come for him. He put a deer hide over them, so Fisher could not see them when he came back.

When Fisher returned, he, too, was carrying deer meat. He laid down his deer meat and sat down. Skunk said to Fisher, "Well, let's cook." Skunk told Fisher, "You cook quite a lot and I'll cook just as much as you." After the meat was cooked, Skunk told Fisher, "You put what meat you've cooked under your pillow, and I'll put what meat I've cooked under my pillow. You leave your deer meat under your pillow for a while, and I'll leave mine under my pillow for a while, and we'll take them out to see which one's

13 Told by Michel Brooks (W.B.C.).

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dish will be empty." Skunk waited a little while and told Fisher, "Well, get yours from under your pillow and I'll get mine from under my pillow, and set them right here." Fisher brought his dish out and it was still full. Then Skunk brought his dish out and there was nothing in it. So Fisher knew right away that Skunk had taken these girls away from him. They went to bed. In just a few minutes he heard Skunk telling stories to these girls and the girls starting to laugh. In the morning he saw the two girls and knew which girls they were.

They got ready to go hunting. Skunk told those two girls to get him ready. Fisher got ready and left, but Skunk stayed with the girls for a little while before he left. They both went hunting. When they came back, Fisher thought that he would fool Skunk and not go hunting the next morning, but stay and ask these girls some questions. So Fisher told Skunk, "You go away up on top of that mountain: that's where I'll meet you." Fisher went just a little way and hid. Skunk went after Fisher had gone, and Fisher kept watching him till he got out of sight. Skunk went up on top of the mountain where Fisher told him that they would meet. Fisher went back and asked the girls, "What's the matter? Who did you come to, Skunk or me?" So the girls told him, "Our grandmother sent us to come to you but it was Chipmunk's fault that we didn't get you." Fisher said to them, "All right. We'll all get ready and leave." They got ready and put a torch to their house and burned it down. Then they left. When they burned their tipi down, they went up in the smoke: that is how they left, because they did not want Skunk to find their tracks.

After Skunk got way up on top of the mountain he looked back and saw the smoke at the house. Skunk thought that Fisher set fire to the house because he was taking the women. So he started running back towards the house. When Skunk got back to the house he saw that everything was burnt up. He started to look for tracks but could not find tracks of any kind. Skunk started to figure how to find the tracks. He gathered some wood and burnt it. Just as soon as this wood began to smoke he saw the tracks. That is how he found out which way they had gone.

So he started to follow them. They had climbed up on a bluff where there was a crack in the rocks. That is where they were. There was a creek right below this bluff. When Skunk went down there to take a drink, he saw their reflection in the creek. He thought they were down in the water. He began to get angry and he turned around to scatter his fluid (cûai'ph) to kill them. They were watching him from the bluff and started laughing at him throwing his fluid into the creek. Then he found out they were way up on the bluff. Skunk started up the mountain. When he got on top of the bluff, he threw his fluid down at them. But it just flew over them and he could not hit

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them. So he went back down the hill and started to throw it from below. He hit Fisher right on the toe and killed him. He told the two girls, "Come down or I'll kill you both too." So they came down and he got the two girls back.

When they got down they started travelling together. They travelled till dark. When it grew dark, Skunk asked the younger girl, "Where do you live?" One said, "When a tree falls, under the roots is where I stay." And the other girl said, "A big crack in a bluff is where I stay." Skunk asked the two girls, "Where do you want to camp; in a crack in the rocks or under the roots of a tree?" StEta'k said, "We'll camp in the crack of a rock." So they camped in the crack of a rock. And StEta'k told Chipmunk, "Don't go to sleep. We'll play with him till he goes to sleep." So they went up in the rocks, and they played with Skunk till he went to sleep, and both thought, well, they had their power. They said, "We wish the crack in the rocks would just close up." The rock closed on Skunk so he could not get out or move. The two girls left him and when Skunk woke up he was nearly dead.

He thought that the only way he could save himself was to cut his body to pieces. He took out his anus first. Raven was flying along and saw it. So Raven flew there and took his anus. Skunk cut all his body in pieces and put them outside. That is how he got out of the crack in the rocks. When he got through putting his body together, he did not have his anus: he just had a big hole there and that is all.

As soon as he had finished, he thought of the people at a big gathering. He thought, "I guess that's where my anus is." He gathered a lot of grass and filled his anus with it. It took him quite a few days to get to where the Indians were. He arrived on top of a hill above the Indians. He sat on the hill a while. They were playing hoop with his anus, and it was bright and shiney. (Not playing hoop-and-pole: they were just rolling it back and forth.) When Skunk saw it, he went where it would fall, and there he sat down. They knew who he was and said, "Well, Skunk is here." (They did not know it was his anus.) He sat down where he thought he could get hold of it. He took all the grass out of himself and threw it away. He sat down where the hoop was coming, and opened himself, and the hoop rolled right in. That is how he got his anus back.

So Skunk told them, "I'm going to tell you a story. Go into the chief's big tipi; all crowd in there." Skunk said, "Close every little hole and close the top of the tipi because I don't want to let any of my stories go out of any little hole. I want them all to stay inside." The people did what Skunk told them to do; they closed every little air hole in the tent and closed the top. Some who could not get in, stayed outside. He started to tell his story at the point where the chipmunks had left him.

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*539 He said, "When I first started to come here I lost my arms and I got pretty cold inside. I came and I camped, and the next morning I threw the old grass away and I got some more new grass and stuffed my insides with it. That's how you see me here. And that's why I'm telling stories now." So he told them, "Now I'm through telling my story." Then he turned around and scattered all his fluid over the people and killed them all. Just a few who were outside remained alive: deer, wolf, coyote, fox, were those who were saved. Those who were inside the tipi were all killed. That was the end of it. I came back and now I am living here in Disautel.

RAVEN AND HIS BROTHER'S WIDOW[14]

Raven was a chief. His brother died. So he told his people that he was going to give a medicine dance. His people told him that it would be all right if he gave a medicine dance. But he did not tell them that he wanted his brother's widow. He gathered all his people and started to sing. He told his people to gather a lot of pitch wood. (That is what the old Indians used to make a big light.)

The widow was way up the river; quite a way. A little devil fish got in a canoe and went up the river. A little bird's grandmother told him to make the sweat house so they could have a sweat. This little fish went up to this little bird's place and looked into the tipi and discovered they were not at home. So this little fish went to the sweat house and looked into the sweat house. He saw this little bird and his grandmother on top of one another [in sexual embrace]. The little fish paddled back and told his wife that the brother's widow (the bird's grandmother) was no good.

They gathered a lot of pitch and started to go to Raven's house where they were going to have a dance. This little fish's wife told him not to tell Raven about what he had seen. The Indians were gathered around. They were going to take the pitchwood into the house. Raven was going to give a dance. The people were whispering to one another. Mouse overheard what they were saying. Then the orator came out and shouted to all the people to come into the chief's house; that the chief was going to sing. All the people gathered and went into the tipi. The chief started to sing. Just as soon as the people started to dance, Mouse cried out, "I'm going to tell you something." They tried to stop him but he would not stop. So he shouted out, "Your brother's widow has got a man now." Raven stopped dancing and shouted that they were going to kill that man in the morning.

The woman [Raven's sister-in-law] made a trench under a rock for this young fellow

14 Told by Narcisse (W.B.C.).
15 Told by Annie Marchand (L.V.W.W.).

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to fight back from. Then they started fighting. They would shoot at him from one side, and he would run in and come out the other side. This young fellow shot Raven right through the body. Raven began to make a noise. The young fellow told him, "You're going to be a raven from now on. You're not going to be a man any more." He shot everything in the world the same way until he got down to Sucker and Chub [fish]. (That is the reason they have so many bones: their bones are this young fellow's arrows.) This young boy told them, "From now on you will stay in lakes and rivers. He said, "I'll always stay in the rocks." (He is the cpwaIqacɔlh, a little rock bird. He is light brown and has neither stripes nor spots.)

A BROTHER AND SISTER COMMIT INCEST* [1]

One time there were some people living by the river; a father and mother, a boy and girl. The father and mother went to get food every day and left the brother and sister all by themselves. They played all the time, just with each other. Finally the girl knew she was going to have a baby and that it was her brother's, so she told him.

He told her to go way up in the mountains all by herself to have her baby and that he would bring her food now and then. So she did that. She went away, way up in the mountains, built herself a little hut, and had her baby there all alone, just helping herself. The baby was a girl. When the baby was about two weeks old, her brother came with food for her when she had it on her back while she was out digging camas. He saw the baby and told his sister to live there in the mountains all the time. So she did and every so often her brother came to see her, bringing her food.

One day, when the little girl was about five years old, the woman went digging camas and left the little girl at home alone. The little girl was sitting there playing and singing as her mother had taught her, "My mother's husband is her brother. My father is my uncle. He is my mother's brother." While she was singing this, the brother came there to see his sister. He heard the song and said to the little girl, "Who taught you that?" "My mother," she said. Then he took his bow and arrow and shot the little girl, killing her.

Now while the woman was digging camas, her stick suddenly broke, so she knew that something was wrong at home. She ran home and there she found her little girl dead. She knew that her brother had killed the child. So she took her little girl's blood and smeared it all over her own face and arms. Then she went down the mountains to the river where the villages were. She went to every house, putting her head in at the

[1] [See p. 212 (A). -- Analyst]

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door, and calling, "Look! Everybody look." When they looked at her face all smeared with her child's blood, everyone who looked, fell dead. But she could not find her brother anywhere.

At last she found him in the sweat house. He was sitting in the back with his hands over his face. She called, "Look! Look at me." "No; I won't look at you," he said, "your face is all covered with blood. Go and wash yourself clean. Then I will look." "Look at me," she told him again. "I won't" he said, "Go and wash yourself." So finally she went down to the river and washed herself all clean.

When she came back her brother helped her. They dug a deep, wide pit for the bodies of all those she had killed. Someone had to get down into the pit to straighten out the bodies. She said to him, "You'd better get down there and straighten out the bodies." He said, "All right." She carried the bodies there and threw them down at him. She tried to cover him up but she could not. Soon the pit was half full of bodies. So he told her, "It's your turn now. You'd better change places with me." She said, "All right," and got down there. Her brother carried lots of bodies and threw them down at her. Pretty soon he had covered her entirely with bodies. Then he covered the bodies with dirt, burying her alive.

He went back to every house and ate all the pretty things he could find in camp; pretty beads, buckskin clothes, pretty blankets; and as he ate, he became small and old and ugly, with a great big stomach. Then he went down to the river. It was winter. There was ice on the river. He went to a hole cut in the ice so they could get water. Soon two pretty girls came along. One of them said, "Oh, see the little boy. Let's take him for our little brother." The other one said, "What? That ugly old thing? No." So they left him and he went from waterhole to waterhole and no one wanted him.

Finally he came to the last waterhole. It belonged to the Louse Girls. People called them that because they were dirty and lazy, and had lice on them. The two Louse Girls saw him and said, "Let's take him home. Let's ask our grandmother if we can keep him? So they took him home to their grandmother's house. Pretty soon he began to vomit all those pretty things he had eaten. They came up very small and then changed to their natural size. The beads, the buckskin clothes, the nice blankets, everything; and as he threw up these things, the man began to grow tall and handsome again. Soon there was a whole corner full of pretty things.

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So he lay down on a blanket while the girls began to cook food for him. Some other girls in the camp came by to shout mean things at the Louse Girls. But when they saw that handsome man lying there, they were all envious. They saw all those pretty things, so they did not say any more.

He lived there with his two wives, the Louse Girls, and their grandmother. He told them never to go near that place where he had buried all the people. He told them that, but he did not know that his sister had escaped from the pit.

One day older Louse Girl went digging camas. She came to that place in the mountains where the sister was living. The sister saw her and killed her. When the brother knew that his sister had killed his wife, he went up there in the mountains, and this time he really killed his sister. That is all."

THE ORIGIN OF DEATH"

There was a chief who had a lot of followers. He had a son and two daughters. His older daughter had a little house [menstrual lodge] for herself way out somewhere, because she was just at the age when she had to do that.

Every morning the son would sleep in the daytime. He would sleep all day and they wondered what was the matter with him. During the night the mother got up and went outside. She heard somebody laughing over at the little house. She could tell it was her son and her daughter laughing. Then she went back into the house and went back to bed. In the morning the boy went back to sleep again. Then she told her husband that there was something wrong between their children.

The next night the boy came back to the little house again, and the girl thought she would put some paint on his face so she would know who he was. In the dark she did not know who it was."

The next morning the boy went to sleep again, but his father had already found out. The father thought to himself, "If my people find out, I will surely be ashamed of myself. The people will make fun of me. I think I will kill my boy." So he took a piece of sheep horn and stuck it into the boy's ear, hammered it down, and killed his boy.

They took the boy and put him in a canoe. There is a big rock sticking up and the water comes up to the bottom of it. They brought him there and left the canoe at the base of the rock.

[See p. 213(c). -- Analyst]

p. 213(B)

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16 The conclusion of the story seems condensed. Annie says she was told the story by her grandmother, Mary Carden.
17 Told by Cecile Brooks (N.C.).
18 Another version, told by Michel Brooks, differs only in that the mother discovers paint on the boy's cheek.

*539 In the morning the girl got up and looked around. She could not see anybody who she had painted on the face. The mother told her younger daughter, "You take your sister something to eat over there, but don't go in when you get there. You just throw the food in and don't say anything to her. Come right back, and don't tell her about your brother." In the morning her sister brought something to eat. She could not get her little sister to come in and talk to her; but in the evening she lay in wait and caught her when she went over there.

Then she asked her little sister, "Where is your brother?" The little girl said, "Oh, he's home." She said, "Why is it your hair is cut?" The other said, "Oh, I had too many lice, and that's why they cut my hair." Her sister told her, "If you don't tell me anything, I will just kill you right here." Finally she said, "Well, my father killed my brother, and they put him in a boat and they left him under the rock bluff." Then the girl said, "All right," and she let her little sister go back. When the latter got back to the house her mother asked her, "Did you tell your sister about your brother?" She said, "No, I didn't tell my sister."

When the little girl was playing, her sister called her, and told her to bring her [clean] dress over so she could change and go swimming. Her mother said, "You can take the dress, but don't leave your sister when she goes down to take a bath." That was the second day after her brother died. When the older girl went to swim, the little girl went along. She would not leave her sister. The older one would tell her to go away, but she would not mind; she would go along anyway. The little sister kept following her, so she said, "What are you following me for? Go back to the house. I want to put [hide] my soiled dress away."

After the younger sister had gone back to the house, she just threw her dress down and ran away toward the rock bluff. When the little girl got back, her mother asked her, "Where is your sister?" The little girl said, "She went to put her dress away." The mother went out and saw her daughter running quite a way off. The chief shouted, "Whoever is the fastest runner and can get my daughter, can have her for a wife."

Fox was the only one who caught up to her; just as she got on top of the bluff. He just got hold of her wrap which was pinned around her neck. She unpinned it and jumped down over the bluff, and Fox just got the blanket. She landed right in that canoe where her brother was. They both died. But from above they were heard laughing.

The chief told all his people to come into his house. Then the chief said, "All

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people will come back to life in three days after they are dead." The people all say, "No! Don't let people come back to life after they are once dead." The chief says, "Yes; I want my children to come back again." Three times he said that and the people said, "No; don't let people come back to life again." Then he consented to that. Finally they buried the girl and boy. The chief said, "Well, in the days to come, no matter how good looking their sons may be, or their daughters, they will die anyway."

Raven had a lot of daughters. The oldest of his daughters died that night. In four days all his daughters died. He went to the chief and told him, "Let people come back to life again. I feel too bad for my children. I want them to come back to life again." Then the chief said, "Well, I couldn't get my children to come back to life. It is too late now. Your children are dead; let them all die. I spoke about it before, and every one of you didn't want people to come back to life."

Then the chief called them all over to his house again; then he gave each one of them a name and they all went away.

He took his wife and led her to the water. He set her down and told her that she would be a sweat house. He told her, "When a person has aching bones, they can come to you and sweat, and you will make them feel better. And if they ask you for anything, let the people have it."

The chief made a place for himself to stay. He made one high up, but he did not like that. He made another place, and he did not like that. He made a third place and he liked that, so he stayed there. And that is why they call him qElKnsOltEn, "something that made you." Then I came back.

COYOTE LIBERATES SALMON" (FIRST VERSION)

In the time before there were people, Coyote heard two sisters making fish traps at Waila'mpt (maybe at the Dalles). Finally Coyote heard this and that the salmon could not pass. (The sisters were birds: small plovers.) He did not want the salmon to be scattered. "I think I will break the weir and let the salmon come up [the river]."

Coyote went down the river and when almost there, he sat there thinking, "I'm going to make myself into a wooden bowl so I won't drown." He changed into a wooden bowl and floated down the river. The two sisters came to the river every morning. They finally saw the bowl and took it back to camp. One said, "I got this from our salmon trap. It is good for cooked salmon." They set it down with salmon in it.

[see p. 214 (C). -- Analyst]
p. 214 (B)

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19 In Michel's version, the daughters of several animals die: each in turn petitions the chief.
20 Told by Susxen Timentwa (L.V.W.W.).

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Every day they dug camas. In the evening, they came back and said, "We don't have to cook." But the bowl was empty. Coyote had eaten the salmon and much more from the house. For two weeks he did this;he was getting strong. The next evening, the sisters said, "Let's throw this bowl away. Maybe it is no good. Every day our food disappears." "No, let's burn it up." Coyote thought, "I'd better turn into a little boy."

When the sisters took the bowl,a little boy stood up and cried, "Ya-, let me be your little brother." The two sisters thought, "All right, let's give him something to eat." And he ate a lot.

Next day when the sisters went to dig camas, they said, "You'd better stay here. It is hot." He said, "You'd better tie me up or I might go to the river and drown." The sisters said, "He is smart." So they tied him. When they were gone, he untied himself and ate up all the salmon. When he heard the sisters coming, he ran back to the rope, and tied himself up again and went to sleep. The two sisters woke him and fed him camas. He was well fed. In the morning the two sisters left again. Coyote went and tore down the dam. Salmon swam up the river.

That morning as the sisters left,he had said, "If I get drowned, one of you will break your digging stick." That afternoon, one sister broke her stick. They ran back. They saw the hole in the weir and the salmon running. Coyote saw them and put a basket over his head. The sisters ran along the dam and hit his head with a stick many times but it did not hurt him. (The weir was as high as a house.)

Coyote ran across the weir to the other side and called back, "One time you had a little brother. That was me." The sisters said, "Coyote, you are no good. We thought first you were a wooden bowl, next a little boy. Now we see you." Coyote said, "Leave the dam open so salmon can run up river. Soon there will be lots of people [i.e. humans]. I am going to make them." So they could not build the dam again. The salmon were all glad. The salmon leader thought Coyote was very good because he helped them.

Coyote travelled two or three days and got hungry again. He looked for something to eat. Whenever he stopped,the salmon coming up stream stopped there too. Coyote lay down in the sand and thought what he should do to kill salmon to eat. He went down to the river bank and said, "All of you salmon be my followers. I am the chief, your head man. One of you salmon jump out here. I want to eat." Salmon jumped and Coyote fought with him on the rocks, but Salmon was slippery and got back into the river. Coyote tried many times. Finally Coyote went to the sandy place. There he killed three because the sand stuck to the fish and he could hold them.

Wolf and Fox said, "Let's meet Coyote

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and see how he made salmon come up." They saw Coyote roast three salmon. Finally Wolf said, "Let's make him sleep and we will eat his fish." It became hot and a breeze blew. Coyote slept. Coyote woke up. He got up quickly and looked. There were no salmon. His hands and mouth were greasy. "I ate already," he said. "But I am still hungry." and he felt his empty stomach.

"I will kill some more." He killed three more and roasted them. Fox and Wolf made him sleep again and ate his salmon. They stretched his tail out long, and made his hands small and his nose long, and stretched his eyes. They changed him. His ears stuck out straight. When he woke up, he thought, "I've eaten but I feel hungrier. Well, I want a drink." He went to the water and saw his shadow. He thought it was a creature in the river. He was scared and jumped back. He looked again and jumped back. Fox and Wolf on the hill laughed. They said, "What's wrong, Coyote? Are you afraid of your reflection? You look that way." Coyote said, "I will fool you sometime."

He killed three more salmon, ate one, and put the others away while he left on a journey. The salmon stayed there as Coyote had told them. He tracked Fox and Wolf all over the hills for two days. He saw them at a lake swimming around, getting duck eggs to eat. Coyote hid. They found many eggs. They dug a hole, put in stones and wood, and built a fire. Coyote watched. When the rocks were hot, they put weeds on the rocks and put eggs on the weeds, covered the eggs with more weeds and then with dirt. They put a little hole in the middle of the covering through to the eggs. They poured water in the hole and the steam cooked the eggs. Fox and Wolf got tired and sat down. Coyote made both sleep.

He went, took out the eggs, and ate them. He put a yolk all over Fox and smeared a white on Wolf. Coyote stretched Fox's face into a small one with straight ears. He made Wolf's face long and ugly; he made his hands big and Fox's small. Coyote went far away and watched. He had left half the shells by each. They woke and Fox said, "We have eaten." Finally they said, "What is the matter with your face?"

Coyote laughed and hollered, "That is what you did to me. Now we are even." They said, "Go along now. You are too smart."

By and by Coyote and Salmon arrived at the mouth of the Yakima River. He said, "You had better stop here. I want to see the people about you salmon." He went up a little way. He saw creatures, just like people. (They looked like people and lived as we do now, but were really creatures.) He met them and said, "Let's hold a meeting." They held a big meeting. "Well," he said, "Will you give me all your prettiest daughters to marry? If you let me have your prettiest daughters, you can have salmon forever. If

*539 you don't, I will make a dam to keep away the salmon." (He did not really want to marry them. He made laws. That was all.)

All the creatures debated for a while. "All right. You can have what you ask. We want salmon right to head of Yakima River for the to-be-people [humans]." He said, "Goodbye. I'm going back to tell the salmon to come up right now and forever. The people will have salmon forever." (That is the way with our religion: a good man says, "Let me have all your daughters." One man says "Yes," and another and another until maybe there are ten.)

"Goodbye, I'm going up the Columbia River to the mouth of the Wenatchee." He said, "Salmon, every year at this month you go up this stream, from now on and forever. Don't look back to me now. You take a leader for whatever you have to do." The salmon were glad: they took a leader and follow their own ways, whatever they have to do. They spawn and raise many. All the creatures kill and eat salmon: the grizzly, the black bear, the otter, the mink, all swim out to kill and eat salmon.

Coyote left and came to the mouth of the Wenatchee River. He said, "Salmon, you had better stay here. I want to talk to the creatures. I don't know how many days." The salmon stayed there at the mouth of the river. He went a little way, about fifteen miles. He met many creatures because they knew he would be there. He said, "Well, we're going to have a meeting today." They said, "Well, we're going to have a meeting." He told them the same thing he had said on the Yakima.

All the creatures said, "Well, you can have our daughters." He said, "These are not for us now; but the going-to-be-Indians, the salmon are going to be theirs. I am making laws for them." He said, "I'll stay here over night. I want to build a trap for salmon, the easiest way for Indians to catch salmon."

At night he went alone to the river. He wished for salmon to come up the river and they did. Then he wished to put rocks across to make water go swiftly so salmon would stay a while before they went over.

Next morning he said, "I'm going to tell the creatures." "You can make this the same way yourselves, and the Indian people [can also]." When they all got there, they saw the rocks were flat to stand on, so they could spear and use gaff hooks. He took the spear first. The water was swift. He saw a salmon, speared it, and pulled it out. "When the Indians get here, you show them this is they way they should get salmon." After he explained the spear to the creatures, he took the gaff hook. He said, "Watch me, all you people. When I put the pole way into the water, I feel the salmon and hook it."

Next he goes to Entiat River and holds

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a meeting. The creatures say, "All right. You can have whatever you want." He teaches them about the salmon. Next he comes to Chelan Falls. The creatures are already there listening to him. He says, "I want all of your daughters. If I don't get them all, I will close the river and keep away the salmon."

The creatures here said, "We have plenty to eat. We don't want salmon. We won't let you have our daughters." Coyote said, "All right. I'm going to shut this river. Maybe you have lots to eat. You can't eat salmon here, because you didn't give me your daughters. You have to get salmon somewhere else." He built a big dam that is Chelan Falls now. That is why there are no salmon in Chelan Lake; because he did not get any girls there. Now all the creatures laugh at him. Coyote said, "Laugh at me. You will be hungry for salmon. You have missed them now. God sent me to make laws all over this country before the people come so you creatures can teach them what the law is. Now no salmon will be here."

Now he comes to the mouth of the Methow River. He tells the salmon, "You'd better stay here. I have to meet the other creatures so I can talk to them." He went a little way, about fifteen miles, and met the creatures waiting because they knew he would be there.

"Well," he says, "let's hold a meeting. I want to talk." The creatures say, "All right." He says, "I want all you creatures to give me your prettiest daughters to be my women." All the creatures say, "All right. You are the good man. Whatever you say we have to do because you freed the salmon down below. We know that." He says, "Some time later on, there are going to be lots of people [humans]. They must have some salmon. We're making laws for the to-be-people now." Coyote says, "I'm going to take salmon right to the head of this river." All the creatures said, "All right." He says, "I have some more business here tonight. Tomorrow about noon, I will go up the river."

In the evening, he made rocks in the swift river to catch salmon easily. Next day, he showed the spear and gaff hook to the creatures. "When the people come, you show them what I do today. Now I'm going up." He started going up the Methow River, nearly to the head, not quite but pretty near. Finally he thinks, "I'd better stop salmon here. Farther up it is too rough. This is far enough forever. If one of you salmon go by here, you are dead forever." From that time the salmon never go by. (That place is na·ca'sta.)

By himself, he took a spear and laid it against a high rock and left a big picture of the spear there. [This is a pictograph: an incised outline, not painted.] It was hot: he said, "I want to rest until it is cooler, then I will go back." He saw a good rock and lay down on his back. Now there is

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a picture of his back right there on the rock. As he lay in the sun, he told the pine tree, "You'd better come here and make shade." The pine tree is still there. He lay there in the shade and said, "I eat too much salmon. I'd better have some fruit." He says [narrator beckoned to the right], "Mēca'k^{wū} (blackberry ?), come closer. Closer to my mouth. I ate too much salmon." It did and he opened his mouth and the berries fell in. Then he said, "Come to my other side, berries," and they did, and he ate them.

Now Coyote came back to the Okanogan River. When he came to Chiliwist(cī'laxwīst) Creek, he met a few creatures and held a meeting. Those few creatures said, "No, you can't have our daughters." He said, "Well," and built a dam. He came then to lū'plūp creek (at Malott) and held a meeting. The creatures said, "No, you can't have our daughters." He built a dam and now there are no salmon there. Then he went to cōncūnū'lī creek and held a meeting. The people said, "All right," and now salmon run up the Okanogan all the time. White people call the cōncūnū'lī, Salmon Creek, because there are so many salmon there. None of the [other] creeks on the Okanogan have salmon because Coyote built dams.

He held a meeting where Oroville is now on the Similkameen River. He said, "I want all of your prettiest daughters. If you let me have them , I will tell salmon to come every summer forever. They are good to eat," he said. All the creatures said, "No, we have the mountain goat here to eat. He has lots of grease on his neck behind his head. That is good to eat. People won't need salmon when they come." Coyote says, "All right," and made a big dam there so that salmon can not go past.

From there he went to sū''ū''ūs at the mouth of Okanogan Lake. That was a line for big salmon like the Chinook, but the little ones can go up. That is why there are just little salmon (sīsūwī'n and xūmī'na, steelhead) up there now.

He came back and went up the Columbia River. He went to kalī'tcman (Tumwater). He met the creatures there waiting for him, wishing for salmon. They said to him, "If you want our daughters, you can have them." Coyote said, "All right. There are going to be lots of salmon in this river." He made a place right there. He came back again and made a slippery sloping rock on the bank. He said, "When the people come, let the children play here." [Suszen was there as a child.] There he made a hole in a rock to boil salmon. He built a fire and laid little rocks on top; he threw the heated rocks into the water, and it boiled.

p.217(A)

21 Told by Cecile Brooks (M.M.).

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COYOTE LIBERATES SALMON[21] 1/1
(SECOND VERSION)

[The first part of this story is identical in every respect with the first version, save that there is no mention of instructions for fishing, no pictographs, sliding rock, and pothole. The present version continues:]

Finally Coyote and his wife had a daughter. [Which wife is not specified.] She grew up to be a big girl. (This being a story, it was not very long before she grew up.) Then Coyote thought to himself, "What'll I do to get my daughter for a wife?" He pretended to be sick, and he became awfully thin and weak. He told his wife, "If I die, make me a little house quite a way from our home, and bring all your roots and food there to store. After you bring all the food over, and when I die, take me over there too, and leave me something to make a fire with." Then he said, "I have a friend among the Kutenai. When he comes over here my daughter will have to marry him."

Then he pretended to be dead. His wife told her friends to take her dead husband over to the little house. Then he started eating again. He would make a fire and cook at night. He had told his wife, "If you ever see me going down to get water or anything, don't bother me; it's my ghost. And if you see smoke in the house, it's just my ghost. Don't bother me. If you hear me drinking soup; that's my ghost. Don't bother me."

When his food was all gone he started down the river. He called his power, and one [of his faeces?] said, "I'll be a canoe." And one said, "I'll be a lot of clothes, such as buffalo skins and blankets." And the third one said, "I'll be a lot of things to eat." Coyote himself was to be a man dressed up like one from the Kutenai country, all in buckskin, and he would talk Kutenai.

Then they saw him coming down the river All at once he arrived. There was a large summer camp there. When he landed, they said, "That's the friend Coyote was talking about." When he came in he talked different from them. They said, "Mouse is the only one that can understand that language." Mouse said, "He heard that his friend died; that's why he came here. His friend told him that he could take his daughter." Then they told Coyote's wife about it, and she said, "That's his wish. I guess it'll have to be." Then he got his own daughter to wife.

When the girl went down to swim she could see some of Coyote's hair on her and she wondered where it came from. Prairie Chickens said, "We're going to tell on Coyote. He's got his own daughter for a wife." They started singing and went into Coyote's

1/1 [See p. 217(A). -- Analyst]
p. 217(B)

X539 house, and started calling his name. Coyote said, "Don't mention his name. He is dead. It's my woman's father's name." But they meant to come and tell on him. So they all went outside, and the last one to leave called out, "Coyote's got his own daughter for a wife." Coyote jumped up and ran out; and his daughter ran and threw herself right in the river where the falls were, she was so ashamed.

Coyote was looking at her from way up [in the sky]. She sat [sat?] down towards the south. He said, "Turn around [to?] the north where the sun can go around you. [Coyote's daughter is evidently a star.]

THEFT OF FIRE (FIRST VERSION)[22]

In the beginning God created the world and all the creatures. (That story was told you before.)

All the animals decided to say what they were going to have. Some said that night should be one year long, and others said only one day. They said they were going to decide themselves; so they had a big meeting that day. God told them, "We are going to have days and nights: sometime I'm going to give you that." The three leaders of the first party were Grizzly Bear, Black Bear, and Ground Hog. Frog was the leader against them. All kinds of creatures followed him; half the creatures. Grizzly Bear and all those creatures said, "We're going to have six months of night. When the snow goes, we'll wake up." Their followers said, "All right; there'll be nothing to eat in that time, so it will be all right to sleep." Some of the creatures followed this and said, "When God comes back we'll tell him this." The other creatures did not like this, so Grizzly Bear said to them, "Why don't you say whether it is all right or not, to have six months of sleeping." The other creatures said "Frog is our leader. We have to say what is in his mind." Frog said, "We're going to have just a little time for night, and the same for day. Six months is too long. Maybe some of the creatures would get hungry and perhaps never wake up. They may die. You big creatures can sleep that long, but we can't." He did not say how many hours to have the night: he just said a little while. All the other creatures said, "No, it will kill the other creatures to have that. If we wake up in the winter while its cold, we'll die." Frog said, "We'll all do as I say. I'll have short nights and short days, in winter and in summer, so we can get up and eat in a little time. We can find something to eat in the winter. We can put away some food for winter. Six months is too long to sleep." Grizzly Bear said, "You creatures are too small for us. We are the biggest creatures, and we can decide on what we want. When God comes back, we'll hear [him decide for] what we want."

22 Told by Suzzen Timentwa (R.H.P.).

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*539 Three times they said this, opposing each other. Then the fourth time Frog said, "We'll have to divide. We want to sleep every little while." So he said, "Tomorrow, tomorrow, tomorrow, tomorrow, tomorrow, tomorrow." (That is the way frogs talk now.) And Black Bear said, "One year, next morning; one year, next morning; one year, next morning."

So they divided. Neither party won. They were angry with each other. In the fall the big bears and other big creatures made houses, and in the winter they got in these and slept. Frog did no work; he was always talking. He got no food. But when it grew cold he went into the river and slept there a year and a half. [Suszen said a year; then changed it to half a year.] He had nothing to eat. He followed the word of the other creatures, to sleep a year, but he did not get any food. He did not follow even his own word.

Next spring the creatures thought, "Maybe our leader is dead. We have not seen him all winter." But they heard him still talking, "Tomorrow, tomorrow, tomorrow, tomorrow, tomorrow, tomorrow." His followers held a meeting, and asked him where he'd been all the time. They tried to take him out of the water. But he would not say anything: he would just stick his head out of the water and repeat, "Tomorrow." His followers said, "Maybe he knows where he is keeping himself, but we don't know. We're taking care of ourselves, with our nests and food. But we'd get drowned if we stayed in the water all winter as he lives. Let's see what he eats. Maybe it's only mud. We want to eat berries, roots, vines, and so on." His followers left him. All the time he was saying, "Tomorrow, tomorrow, tomorrow, tomorrow, tomorrow, tomorrow."

All the creatures decided, "Sometime we're going to have the person [humans] who Coyote lost. God says, 'They're going to have fire to cook with, to keep themselves warm.'" So they decided, all the creatures, to have a big meeting; every one of them. They said, "We've got to have fire for the Indians-going-to-be, so they can cook and keep warm in the winter." All said, "All right, let's decide it, and make a fire for these persons-going-to-be."

Some of the creatures said, "How can we make it? We can't do this ourselves, without God. Even Coyote and those others did not know how." Coyote said, "In all this land there is no place to get fire, except up in the sky where there are already lots of persons. There are lots of people there, and at one place they are making a salmon trap on the river." All the creatures believed him. Grizzly Bear said, "How can we get that fire: the sky is so high. If the people see us, they'll kill us, for we are creatures. But

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how can we get up there, to steal the fire?"

Coyote said, "We'll have to make a bow and arrow, and shoot an arrow into the sky so it will stick there. Then we'll shoot another arrow into that, and another and another. Then we can climb up these and make a hole in the sky."

So every creature made a bow and arrow, every one. And every one shot up to the sky. But no one could hit it: it was too high. Then they made another bow, and tried again. They all went up to a high mountain, and tried to get nearer to the sky that way. Finally Coyote got tired and went off alone to look for something to eat. He left the rest of the creatures right there. These had all decided not to leave until they had finished. Coyote said, "Perhaps I'll come back sometime, but now I'm going to get something to eat."

He went way off and met a little bird (tcūckaki'na) who had a bow and arrow made of elk rib. (The Indians made bows of elk rib only very rarely, for they were too heavy and stiff, and it took a very strong man to pull them.) Coyote said to him, "Take that bow home to your father. Maybe he lost it." The little bird said, "I have no father." Coyote said, "Maybe you found that bow." But the little bird said, "No; it's my bow." Coyote then said, "Let me see you shoot, and then I'll believe you, that it's your bow." The little bird said, "I'm going to the meeting place of all the creatures, to shoot the sky." Coyote said, "You can't shoot that: you're too small, and the bow's too stiff. Even I, a big man, couldn't pull that. Hand it to me and let me try." The little bird handed it to him, and he tried to pull it; but he could not bend it. It was too hard. So he handed it back to the bird, saying, "How can you do this?" The little bird said, "Oh, I just do it. I made this bow to shoot at the sky, not just at anything." Coyote said, "Oh, you can't shoot the sky. I told you, the bow belongs to your father. You're too small yourself, and the bow is too strong for you." The little bird said, "It belongs to me, I have no father. I'm a man." Coyote said, "Let me go way over there and then you shoot me. If you hit me, then I'll believe you. If not, I'll not believe you." So he went fifty yards away and said, "Shoot." The bird said, "No, you're too close. You better go way off." Coyote went way off and stood up; "Now shoot." The bird said, "No. You want to learn how I can shoot: go way off." Two or three times it happened this way, and Coyote was way off over the hill. He laughed and said, "Oh, you can't shoot me." He thought, "Maybe that little boy has his father's big bow, or maybe he stole it." He went way over on the highest hill and forgot he was going to be shot. Finally he got right on top of the hill, perhaps fifteen or twenty miles away; a long way off. There he heard a ssss like the wind. He listened a while, and thought it was the wind in the trees. So he trotted away. But he heard it again, closer. He

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thought perhaps it was the pine trees. A third time he heard it, but the fourth time the arrow shot him right through. Wa! That is all. He fell down dead.

Tcûckaki'na went fast, flying, to him. He was going to take the arrow out, but he thought his arrow would stink, so he left it. He went on to the shooting place, where all the creatures were.

About three days later Coyote was rotten all over. Fox knew this, so he walked over to him and woke him up; revived him. That was the first time he did this after God had told him he was going to be Coyote's guardian and wake him up when he died. So he woke up, opened his eyes, and asked Fox, "What's the matter with you! I'm sleeping here, and you woke me up." Fox said,"You've been dead here three days. Look at your worms: here! You've been trying to make fun of Tcûckaki'na, and he shot you from a long way off. Tcûckaki'na was going to shoot the sky with his bow and arrow. I knew he was going to hit it." Coyote said, "Oh, I know I was sleeping here." Fox told him not to bother that little bird any more. "He has more power than any one of us. And he's going to shoot the sky."

They went back together. When they got there Tcûckaki'na was there. All the creatures said, "Go on and shoot the sky. You have a good bow and arrow, and we're sure you can do it." But he said, "No, I want all the creatures to be here when I shoot. In a little while two more will come:Fox and Coyote."

They got there and saw Tcûckaki'na with his bow and arrow. Fox told Coyote not to bother Tcûckaki'na. "He might kill you again. He's going to make a road so we can climb up to the sky."

Tcûckaki'na said, "I know it now: that all you creatures are here." So he aimed at the sky and pulled his bow and let go his arrow. He hit the sky. The first shot, the arrow stuck in the sky, good and hard. He took another arrow and shot again. He hit the butt and the two stuck together. He shot again, so there were three arrows there. The arrows grew closer to the animals as he shot more. He shot them all like that until the arrow-chain got here, to the ground.

All the creatures decided what they were going to do when they got there. "There are no animals in the sky; all are people. We have never been seen by people before; they would kill us all." Coyote said, "When we all get up there, we'll hide. If the people see us they'll surely kill us." The creatures said, "That is all right: we can hide when we get up there."

Grizzly Bear said, "The smallest animal can climb up first; then the bigger and bigger ones until it comes to Grizzly Bear." He was the biggest of the lot. Coyote told Grizzly Bear, "You must stay here and watch

*539 this road. You're the strongest creature, and so if some other creature comes (from another country) and wants to harm our road, you can fight him." Grizzly Bear wanted to go up to the sky and fight, since there were to be no animals below to fight. But all the creatures told him to stay and watch the end on the ground.

Badger and Ground Hog and Ground Owl all hid themselves in a hole when all the creatures went up, for they were afraid to go up and fight

After they had all gone, Grizzly Bear decided, "I am going up, too. If my creatures get into a fight, they'll get caught. They can't fight. I'd better go up and help them." So he climbed up, and this pulled out the first arrow, and then the second;for he was too heavy. All the way up to the sky he did that, and destroyed the rope all the way to the sky. After all was gone, he was angry and ashamed, and so he went away. That is the reason why he is angry at all the creatures now. He has no friends. But it is his own fault, since he destroyed the road.

When the creatures reached the sky,they made a hole [holes?]: the bigger the creature the bigger the hole. After going a little way they came to a river. Coyote said, "Let's follow that river. Maybe we'll come to Indians with a salmon trap. Maybe they are up the river."

Just a little way beyond they saw lots of people at a salmon trap. So they hid themselves and decided what to do in order to steal fire and bring it down to this country, here. They debated all night. Finally near morning all the creatures decided that Frog and Watersnake should go to the camp and see what the people were doing. "When the people see you," they said, "you can go into the river where the people will not see you any more." They said, "All right."

They went a little way, near the people. In the dark Watersnake touched his nose to Frog's foot. He said, "Yummmm, that tasted good to eat." He said, "You better go fast, now. It's getting light." But Frog said, "Keep quiet! the people will hear you." Three times he said that, and each time Frog told him to keep still. Then he swallowed and swallowed. Frog did not cry out;he kept his word and did not cry, for he was afraid of the people.

When Watersnake had swallowed his partner, he turned back and went to the other people [the animals]. They asked him, "Where's your partner?" He said t'cInaxIn't (which means literally, "I have finished it") Coyote said, "Oh, he swallowed him." They looked at him and saw his big belly, and all said, "He swallowed him."

Then Coyote said to Dog and Faeces, "You better go up there and see how they do it,so we can start a fire." Faeces and Dog said,

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"All right, we'll go." (Dog could run fast and could take up his partner and run away, if the people saw them.) Faeces went ahead and Dog behind. Near the camp of the people, Dog said, "Oh, that smells good to eat." He took a little bite and said, "Hurry;" but Faeces said, "No, we have to go slow." Three times they did this. Then Dog took more bites and finally ate his partner up. He ran back and went to the other creatures. When he got back there, they asked him where his partner was. He said t'cInamIn. Then Coyote said, "He ate his partner, all of him. See, he's making his tongue go like this [licking his chops]."

In the morning they made one more law for the creatures. The creatures did not know they no longer had a road to go down on. Then all the good creatures, the handsome [wise?] ones who looked fine to the people, talked together. Coyote said, "You, Eagle, and you, Redheaded Woodpecker (the big one which lives in the mountains), and you, Beaver, three of you; you must go and get the fire. You can decide yourselves what power to take. But you must get it."

Beaver said, "I'll go last to bring back the fire." Eagle said, "I'll fly close to the people to watch my partner, the redheaded woodpecker." And the redheaded woodpecker said, "I'll go close to the people and sit on a tree. Then if the people shoot at me, I can run around the tree and the people can't hit me." Beaver said, "I'll go above the salmon trap and make myself as though dead. I'll lie against the salmon trap. Then the people will take me over to the camp where they're roasting salmon and skin me. When they are through with this, you, Redheaded Woodpecker, sit on this tree nearby and let the people go after you. And you too, Eagle, go near. Then when they shoot you, fly away. When the people all go after you, I'll have a chance to put my skin back, and then I can steal the fire and dive into the river." All said, "All right." So the three went away.

Beaver dove from there to the salmon trap. He made himself as though dead and lay on the salmon trap. At nine or ten o'clock, the sun way up, the people were catching salmon from the trap. After eating, they cleaned the weeds from above the trap. They threw them below the trap. Right in the middle they saw Beaver resting against the trap as though dead. They said, "We have a new creature here, with good wool [fur] on his back." All the others shouted to bring it so they could see it. All three of these people went back to the crowd with the beaver. When they got to the crowd, they wondered how this creature got there, alone and dead. If it were alive they would have said it was all right and would have kept it. But since it was dead, they thought they would skin it. The chief said, "According to our myths, no animal is to be here, just persons. How did this creature come here? Creatures are only in the lower country. All you people, you'd better skin it, and keep its hide

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all the time." (There were no people down below in the other country yet.)

So they laid him down and skinned him. The chief said, "Don't cut the hide, but let him look just as though alive. Don't lose any piece. Throw away all the flesh, else it will get rotten." They all sat there and watched while they skinned him. All the men came to see. They slit open the limbs and belly to the head. Beaver thought, "As soon as they take my hide, I'll be dead." Red-headed Woodpecker was afraid of being shot and did not come. Eagle told him, "You better go ahead, or they're going to take the hide off our partner and soon he'll be dead." So he flew over and sat on the tree, and made his noise. The people said, "There's another new kind of creature." The chief said, "Shoot him." So they all shot him, but they could not hit him. Their arrows stuck in the tree and he just ran up and down and around: they could not hit him.

The skin was still there, and the three men who had found Beaver were still skinning him. But they were watching the redheaded woodpecker. They had skinned him to the mouth when Beaver bit his lip for quite some time to try to free himself. But the chief had said not to lose any of the hide, so he [they?] was careful. The three men yelled to the others, "Why don't you hit him [Woodpecker ?]. If we were there, we could shoot him easily." Then they saw Eagle circling high above the tree, and said, "There's another new creature." The chief said, "Shoot him, too, so we can have the feathers to keep all the time." They shot at the eagle and the redheaded woodpecker, but they could not hit them. Many of them had no more arrows. So the three men said, "We'll go and help." The chief said, "Go ahead and shoot." They took their arrows and shot.

Nobody was watching Beaver, whose skin was all off except on one side of his mouth. He was biting this. Everybody was facing the other way. He took his hide back, rolled around in it a while, and it stuck back on his flesh. By his power it grew back and healed. Then he split his fifth finger [i.e. lifted his nail], ran to the fire, and put some of the fire in there. Then he ran down to the river below the trap and dove way down. Eagle and Redheaded Woodpecker saw this, so they flew way up in the sky and gave their call, ka ka ka ka and harr, harr. Finally the water put out the fire, so there was no more fire. But all three of the animals got back. Beaver and all the creatures ran quickly down to their place but could find no hole. They thought perhaps someone had killed Grizzly Bear and had destroyed the road.

"Well," Coyote said, "You creatures jump down. We have to." The birds all flew, but the rest of the creatures jumped down. Eagle and Redheaded Woodpecker took Beaver so he did not get hurt. Bat took his blanket and jumped down, but he hit the ground and smashed to pieces. Bear hit the

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ground and smashed too. Sucker jumped down and smashed too. And all the fishes (the squaw fishes, that live always in the river) went into his quiver to go down, and so they all broke to pieces too.

Coyote was behind. He had no help, no partners; he was left there, all alone. The people in pursuit came close to him. He thought he was going to be killed. He had no power, and thought, "If I hit the ground, I'll die." So he said, "I'll take power from a rock, so when I hit the ground I won't be hurt." So he jumped, and in a little while he went fast, ssssz. Then he was frightened. He thought, "If when I get to the bottom I hit a rock, I'll be smashed." So he said, "What power am I going to use? What power am I going to use? What power am I going to use?" Then he took [became?] a pine tree, and slowed up. But the tree turned, and he went fast again. Then he was frightened again, and said "What power am I going to use?" three times again. Then he thought, "I'll take the power of the down of birds." He did this, but the wind blew him up and up, and he wondered how he was going to get down again. He thought again, "What power am I going to get for my help?" He thought this again three times, and then he thought, "I'll get power from leaves." He did this, and came down slowly, like leaves.

He walked to the meeting place to find out if all the other animals had gotten down. All the birds were there, but the creatures who could not fly were not there. They were all hurt, smashed to pieces. So Coyote put all the creatures together and patched them up, but they were still dead. He made them all live again; all the fish first. Sucker lost his mouth, so he has no mouth now. (They are ashamed of this, so that when you look at one he turns around and will not let you look at his mouth.) They decided in a little while that they would have to get flesh from the black bear to put in his mouth. All the creatures said, "All right," and they got grease from the black bear's flesh and put it in the sucker's mouth. That was just like flesh, that grease was. And all those fishes, which were in his quiver with the arrows, had these pieces of arrow all broken up in them. That is why all the little fishes have so many big bones. Now they all jumped into the river again. Sucker was ashamed to eat anything but mud on the bottom. He hid his mouth from that time until now.

Black Bear was made only half alive. They could not make him wholly alive. They did not want him to go like that, but to be all alive, so Coyote said, "He wants us to have a song, to wake him up so he can live again. All you creatures, decide what kinds of songs you have to sing, so black bear can be alive again." All the creatures sang, but they could not make Black Bear alive again. He was as though sleepy all the time. The berries in the rock (wicxinilp) said, "I'll sing a song to wake him up." His song was loud and good, and all the creatures follow-

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*539 ed him. So Black Bear opened his eyes and awoke. He was the last one that they made live again. Coyote said, "That song is going to be his now; not for himself, but for the people-going-to-be [humans]. When the people kill him, they shall sing that song while they roast him and eat him, so he will always come to life again." (This song is called tsīsōmīct. It is his song: this song is a prayer for the black bear. It is not known now, except by a very few old people. Whenever people see a bear being carried home, they sing this song for him.)

After this, Coyote said, "Where are we going to put the fire?" It was still in the beaver's little finger nail. Beaver said, "There was wood with the fire. We must put it back with wood." They all said, "All right." So Beaver chewed some trees and put the coal inside the wood to be there for all time until now. That is why Beaver is always chewing wood for food. That is why the people were told to make fire with wood. And they have all done so since that early time.

THEFT OF FIRE (SECOND VERSION)[23]

Coyote (sEnqale'p) went along and saw Chickadee. He told Chickadee, "I want to gamble with you. I want to win all your arrows." Chickadee said, "All right." And they started to shoot their arrows. Chickadee had a deer rib for a bow. Coyote said, "Suppose I go way up on the mountain; if you can hit me with this bow, I'd give you back all your arrows." Chickadee said, "Yes, I could hit you from here." So Coyote went on top of a nice level hill. He forgot all about Chickadee going to shoot him. As soon as Chickadee saw Coyote on the level spot, he pulled his bow and let his arrow go. Coyote heard something like wind coming. He said, "It'll surely be lovely, when I get to the top of the mountain and hear the wind blow like that." All at once the arrow struck him; he just made one noise and fell over dead. Little Chickadee followed him and took his arrow out of him. Chickadee was going to a big gathering.

Coyote lay there dead for a long time, and finally Fox came along. Fox stepped over him two or three times, and he came to life. So he started trying to make Fox believe that he had only been asleep, and yawned a big yawn. He said, "Fox, what made you wake me up?" Fox said, "Because you have no sense; you shouldn't gamble with Chickadee and ask him to shoot you."

This little Chickadee started for the big gathering. Coyote told Chickadee, "Now we're partners. We'll go up and get the fire in the skies." They got to the people. The people started to make fun of them, saying, "You two are good for nothing. You couldn't do anything here." Everybody was trying to shoot arrows into the sky to make

23 Told by Billie Joe (W.B.C.).

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a ladder, but they had failed to make them stick. Chickadee told them, "Well, I'll show you." Chickadee took his arrows out and told the people he was going to show them what he could do. He took out his four arrows and shot one in the sky so it stuck. He shot his own four arrows first, and made them stick one into the other. Then he shot all Coyote's arrows and the arrows of everyone who had come there from all parts of the world. He shot all the arrows and the chain reached the ground.

Dung and Dog, partners, went up. And Beaver and Woodpecker together as partners. They got up on top of the sky. Beaver and Woodpecker told Dog and Dung, "Go take a peep at these Indians at the camps." Dog told his pertner Dung that he was to lie ahead of him, so that Dog could lie behind Dung. Dog smelt his partner and thought he smelt pretty good, so he licked him all up, and he did not have a partner any more. Dog came back. The people asked him, "What did you do with your partner?" Dog would not say the full words, but he said, "Licked him."

The Indians had a fish trap there. Beaver said, "I'll play dead, and float down to lie on their fish trap." Beaver told his partner, "When they pick me up and take me to the chief's house, they'll start to skin me." When they started to skin him, he bit the corner of his mouth so it would be hard to skin. While they were trying to take the hide off, Woodpecker flew on top of a tree and went round and round. All the Indians rushed out with their bows and arrows, and started to shoot at him. They left Beaver lying there with his hide skinned except for the corner of his mouth, which he was holding between his teeth. He put his hide on again. They were still shooting at Woodpecker when Beaver took some coals and ran for the arrow ladder. When Woodpecker found that his partner had started for the ladder, he flew back to the ladder, and they met there and came down.

When they got down, Chickadee started to pull the arrows down. When he got to his own, he grabbed them and pulled them all down. Beaver laid down the stolen fire. He told Grizzly — Grizzly was the chief — "You can tell people what they can do with the fire." Grizzly said, "It's better for the people to divide the fire all over the world." So they gave Hummingbird and Horsefly each a piece of fire. They flew in different directions. Horsefly just went to another country and laid the fire down; but it took Hummingbird quite a while, because he would stop at the flowers. They took all the fire and distributed it over the world in this way. So I came back.

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TWO BROTHERS WHO CHANGED INTO WOLVES[24]
(FIRST VERSION)

The Shuswap came down the Kettle River from its source. There was lots of water in the Kettle River. They began to make some canoes. So they came down in bark canoes. They went down to Curlew. There were about ten or more men of the sĭnwhēalpĭtq [Colville] there. Among these ten were the husbands of Ktsatsĭkwa's sisters. They were just hunting around there. The Indians were all over here at Oroville, but these ten or twelve were hunting.

Ktsatsĭkwa and his brother were hunting. They camped at ntlȧxnōextn (Midway). The Shuswap went down the river in their canoes. Ktsatsĭkwa did not see them go by. They went as far as Curlew, where they saw lights down the river. They stopped, got out of their canoes, and crept slowly up on the Indians. It was near morning. They killed them all but one woman, who they stabbed all over. Then they jumped into the river and swam across. The Shuswap also captured Ktsatsĭkwa's two beautiful sisters. Then the Shuswap ate some food and took some, and went back toward the Shuswap country. The sun was just up when they got to Midway.

Ktsatsĭkwa was making a sweat house on top of a mountain. He had just lighted the fire. As soon as he had a good blaze, his power told him, "Your enemy is near you;it's going to bite you." So he grabbed water and threw it on the fire, and the steam and smoke went up in one great cloud. The Shuswap had asked the woman where Ktsatsĭkwa was, and the women told them that Ktsatsĭkwa was off looking for roots on the other side of Markus on the Colville River and would not be coming back for a long time. The Shuswap saw the cloud of smoke and said that the woman must be lying. Some said that it was smoke. The smoke stayed on top of a little mountain. They decided that it was a fog. Some said that there was a little lake there; that the fog had risen from it in the early morning. So they started out along Midway flat: it was quite a way from Curlew.

Ktsatsĭkwa and his brother began to run. They saw the whole band of Shuswap going along the flat. Ktsatsĭkwa wanted to attack them right there, but his brother advised him to be patient so that they could kill them all. They followed them slowly. They came far on this side [of the divide?] to a place called Wolf Creek (ntsatsEnĭ'lhᵘ). They went down there and into the creek, and lay under the brush near the trail; that is, Ktsatsĭkwa and his brother did. They wanted to know if they had any captives or if the band was Shuswap alone. Ktsatsĭkwa wanted to attack them again, he was so enraged, but his brother held him down and told him that if they attacked them now, the enemy would get away. The Shuswap reached the flat to-

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24 Told by David Isaac (W.B.C.).
25 On Kettle River.

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ward the river, and sitting down in the shade, began to eat their lunch.

The two started down the hills. When they got down the hill, the Shuswap saw Ktsatslkwa and his brother. They said, "There's Ktsatslkwa coming." So as soon as they saw the enemy, Ktsatslkwa's brother said, "Do your best, now they've seen us. I'll do whatever you do." Ktsatslkwa took his quiver and bow, and threw it between his legs, raised it, and made a tail of it. The Shuswap looked at him and kept saying, "That's Ktsatslkwa." He told his brother, "I'll turn and run up the hill, and you do so too." He turned around quickly and ran up, changing into a wolf, and so did his brother. So the Shuswap said that they were mistaken: they were two wolves; they had mistaken them for Indians because the wolves had been coming straight toward them. Ktsatslkwa and his brother ran way up the hill making noises like wolves, till they got out of sight. The Shuswap said, "They're wolves. They must be chasing a deer."

After they got out of sight of the enemy, Ktsatslkwa and his brother kept the Shuswap in sight. One of Ktsatslkwa's sisters was going along. She jumped down a bluff into the deep water of the river, away from the file of Shuswap, and escaped across the river. This was the younger girl. They still had the older girl. So they went on, above Rock Creek (chaI'aqEn)."[1]

The Shuswap went into the brush, and went way down in a swamp by the river to camp. Ktsatslkwa and his brother had not gotten that far when it became dark. Ktsatslkwa had a cap with a wolf nose in front and a grizzly nose in back. When they reached the swamp, his brother asked him if those were the tracks, and he said, "I don't know yet." He turned his cap grizzly-nose to the front. He smelled the track with his grizzly power. His brother asked him if they were the tracks, and he said, "Yes, those Shuswap feet stink very much." They followed them till they came nearly to the bank of the river. They stopped: they could hear the Shuswap snore. The Shuswap were all tired and had gone to sleep.

The Shuswap had gathered all their weapons at one tree. Ktsatslkwa and his brother took them all away, picking out the two best spears they could find. They looked for Ktsatslkwa's sister. The Shuswap had her right in the middle. They had covered her with a buckskin robe, and were lying on top of the robe on each side. Ktsatslkwa whispered to his sister, and split the hide open. His sister jumped into the river and swam across. Ktsatslkwa's brother told him, "Take your spear and start from one end [of the enemy group], and I'll start from the other. Take your time, and we'll finish [killing] them all." He stabbed them one by

[1] [See p. 223(A). -- Analyst]

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*539 one, and when one woke up out of turn he would stab him. KtsatsIkwa shouted at the Shuswap after they woke up, and stabbed them and stabbed them till there were only three left. He told these three that when they got back home they could tell the tale.

He jumped into the river. There was a snag there. He jumped on it, and it went through his buckskin. He could not get loose from it and he was held under the water. He was almost drowned when his Frog power told him, "I play with water, so you aren't going to drown." Then the frog freed him from the snag. His brother and sister were already across. While he swam, he began to make a noise like a frog. They thought something was the matter when he had been gone so long. When they heard the frog, they asked him if it was he, and he said, "Yes." So he got to shore. Then they heard the Shuswap crying and asking, "Who are you that killed so many of us?" KtsatsIkwa said, "My name is KtsatsIkwa. I am your man" (as if to call them his women). So he left them there to go and tell the tale.

TWO BROTHERS WHO CHANGED INTO WOLVES[26] (SECOND VERSION)

Long ago the Shuswap[27] came down the Kettle River, killing old women and children. They would put them on sticks and roast them over a fire. There were two brothers hunting in the mountains not very far away when these Shuswap came along. There were only old women and girls left in camp to be slaughtered.

These two brothers were putting hot stones in a sweat house. Just as the smoke rose, the spirit of one of them, KátsátsI'kwa, a warrior, told him, "Can't you see: your father and mother are dead, and there are your enemies right at the camp." The enemies saw the smoke rising beyond the mountain. They said, "That is KátsátsI'kwa's smoke." KátsátsI'kwa threw water on the fire and the steam rose like a cloud. The enemies began to argue. Some said, "That was a fire." Others said, "No." Some said, "Yes, that was a fire. That was KátsátsI'kwa, a great warrior."

They had not killed his sister. After they killed the others they captured his sister. She knew it was her brother who made the fire and had found out about the raid. She knew how much power he had.

So KátsátsI'kwa told his brother, "We will go down." So they started down. When they reached their camp, they could see men, old men, women, children, lying by the fire, roasting. They could not find their sister: she had been captured. So he told his brother, "We will follow the enemy." So they set off running. They reached the top of a hill. The enemy below saw them coming over

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26 Told by Andrew Tillson (L.S.).
27 In a third version, identical with this, the Entsani are named.

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the hill. The enemy sat down. KátsátsI'kwa said to his brother, "Now is the time to use your power. If you are a man like me use your power." He said, "No, use your own power. I will help you. My power is just like yours. We will use the same power, the wolf power." KátsátsI'kwa said, "All right, go ahead."

Just then they both turned into wolves. They had their bows and arrows under their arms. They howled like wolves. They then turned around and ran up the hill, one behind the other. The people began to argue: some said they were men who came over the hill. Some said, "No; they are wolves." Finally they all agreed they were wolves. But their sister knew they were her brothers.

So the enemy went on toward their own home with the sister of these two warriors. They travelled until dark, when they found a swamp. (This is on Kettle River, eight miles above Rock Creek. Bones of Indians are found there yet.) They went far into the brush and all lay down. They lay by a tree. They covered the girl with a buffalo robe and a warrior lay on top of it on each side to pin her down so she could not escape. They tied her hands.

The two brothers were overtaken by darkness, so they could not follow the tracks. One said to the other, "Use your power." KátsátsI'kwa said, "All right." He put on his cap made of grizzly bear head. Then he turned into a grizzly and began to follow the tracks in the thick underbrush. Toward morning, he came on them sleeping.

They crept about to locate their sister. They slit the robe and untied her hands. The enemies had piled their bows, arrows, and spears at one tree. They picked out the best spears, put them aside, and dumped the rest of the weapons into the river. Then they slaughtered those Shuswap, killing all but two. When these two got up and began crying, the two brothers said, "We will let you go. You can go back and tell your tribe that we would like them to come by thousands. We would kill them all. You can tell them you saw I was 'mean' and turned into a wolf."

KátsátsI'kwa sent his brother and sister across the river. He was alone with these two. He dived into the river, but got caught on a root in the bottom. He could not come up. His brother and sister could hear him making a noise like a frog. He was nearly dead, when his spirit, a big frog, came along, saying, "I did not tell you that you would die in the water. Water is nothing to me; that is where I live." So his spirit took him off the root. He swam ashore.

I told him I would leave him; so I came back.

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THE THEFT OF SALMON'S WIFE[28]
(FIRST VERSION)

Salmon had a wife. She was Mourning Dove. There were four wolves. The youngest took Salmon's wife away. This was on the Columbia River south of Kartaro. They came to Kartaro where there is a spring. That was the house of the wolves. From there the wolves used to go way off hunting in the mountains. Each time they went, each of them would kill a deer. They would throw them into the back part of the house, lifting the mats, and then they would go to wash their hands at the spring.

About a year later Salmon thought he would go get his wife. He came to the place in the Columbia River where they used to spear salmon in the morning. He took a short cut and came to where his wife was. When he got there his wife was all alone. She told her husband, "No matter what you do, they'll know about you. If you go down to the spring and hide there, they'll know about it. You can't fool them." He went and lay in the spring anyway, and tried to hide himself in the mud. Waiting for them there, he killed each of them as he came there, and laid him aside. So he killed three of the brothers. He took his wife and they went back.

The last brother chased them and shot him. But he could not kill him because his body was so slippery the arrows slipped right off. People tried to help Wolf, but they could not kill him. They were fighting on the bank of the river. Rattlesnake had a house right opposite. He had a grandchild who saw the people fighting and trying to kill Salmon. Rattlesnake told the child, "Open the latch of the door so I can see what is going on." Rattlesnake saw that Salmon was way up in the air and the people were trying to kill him. So he took some of his teeth and aimed them right at Salmon. He shot at him and hit him right in the back of the head. Salmon fell right there and died.

There were two river-side birds who carried water and threw it on Salmon till he recovered. They made a raft and put Salmon on it. Then he and his wife went down the river. Salmon's wife was crying all the time. She was feeling bad. Salmon got tired of her crying and threw her to the shore, saying, "Your name will be hamī'shamī'a. Whenever I come up this way you can go along and start to sing tisqēlīn (naming her husband)." Salmon went on down the river.

The next summer he came up again. He came to some fishes who had a house there by the water. He walked to the shore and up to the house. They were saying, "Oh that salmon, he thinks he's a chief but he's mean to the people. They're hungry and he don't come up." All at once Salmon walked in and

28 Told by Cecile Brooks (M.M.).

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they all looked up. They told him they were so glad to see him. Salmon said, "Get some water and set it right here." Salmon told the first of the fishes, "You spit in that." He wanted to see how fat they were. But there was just a little fat on the water. None of them was fat. (He did this because they had said that if it had not been for them, the people would have starved. That is why he made them spit; to find out.) Salmon spit on the water and there was a lot of grease on it. He said, "That's why I think I am greater than you: when you spit there's nothing on it. That's why I think I'm higher than you people." He threw them into the river and told them, "That's where you will live, in the eddies where the water is somewhat still. That will be your home." And he gave them names. He said, "I will come back in the summer, but you people stay here all the time, so that people can go out torch fishing and catch you to eat whenever they like."

Then he went on until he reached Rattlesnake's house. Rattlesnake was doing a war dance and singing, telling about how he had shot Salmon: tĭsta xa'x̣ɫn tĭsta xa'x̣ɫn tēla...lĭ'ʾ ha....("I was just trying; I was just trying; and Salmon fell down"). Rattlesnake was boasting, when all at once Salmon walked in. Then Rattlesnake started wetting his eyes, and said, "I was just crying because I heard that Wolf killed you last year." Salmon went out and plugged up the house. He made a fire at the door. He said, "That will be your home in the rocks all the time. That'll be your den. You won't be able to throw your teeth far and kill people. You'll bite them when they step on you, but you are not going to be as clever as all that." Then he left Rattlesnake there and went on up the river.

Farther up he heard some people talking in a house. They were talking about him. They looked up and were surprised to see him. He told them, "I don't make the people worse by their eating me. They feel good after they eat me. They get more strength. You people just make people worse. You don't do them any good." He took one of them and threw him on a tree saying, "Your name will be sqᵘli'p (moss on the tree). After they eat me they can eat you." He took the prickly pears and threw them, saying, "That will be your home." This was a prairie where there was a gulch. "People can eat you, too. They can burn the spines." Salmon took the wild cherries and threw the bush to one side, saying, "You'll grow any place. After they eat me the people can eat you." He threw the service berries every place, too. He said, "You can grow any place where people can get you." He gave them each a home. Then he jumped back into the river. Then I came back.

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THE THEFT OF SALMON'S WIFE[29] (SECOND VERSION)

Three wolverine brothers took away Salmon's wife. Salmon had given a lot for her, and he was an awful nice looking fellow, so he had gotten this chief's daughter. He took her way down some place. Finally she was going to have a child, so Salmon said, "You can go back to your relatives and I'll come back later." So she went home bringing a lot of salmon.

The three wolverine brothers were in love with her. After the child was born they stole her and took her up into the mountains, where they kept her for a long time.

So Salmon went up to fight with them. (In a little pool in Kartaro Valley, you'll always see one tiny fish that never gets any bigger. That is where Salmon hid himself.) When the oldest wolverine brother came there to wash his hands, Salmon jumped up and killed him, and threw the body aside. The same thing happened when the second came. When the third came, Salmon struck him in half and the half-wolverine went up on a mountain. So Salmon got his wife and son and went down the Columbia.

Some other animals came to fight with Salmon, but he had a shield and killed them all. Rattlesnake said, "I'll get him; he killed all my animal friends." Finally Rattlesnake shot Salmon in the back of the head and killed him. He lay there till he was dry. Finally two birds came and saw him. They picked him up and started to pour soup on him, and poured it till he became alive,

While he was lying dead the three wolf brothers got the woman. He went down to the ocean and stayed a year before he came back. Then he came back and killed the three wolf brothers just as he had killed the four wolverine brothers.

SALMON ENDS RATTLESNAKE'S DESTRUCTIVENESS[30]

When Great Man first made Fox the chief, he (Fox) made all the fierce animals, such as Rattlesnake, to be fierce. Coyote came along and made him stop. Fox made Rattlesnake to be a man-eater. [Johnnie Louie, the interpreter, said Andrew was not telling the story right.]

A salmon was going along. No one was supposed to go by Rattlesnake's home. When Rattlesnake saw Salmon going by, he shot Salmon with his bow and arrow. Great Man told Coyote to destroy all that Fox had done. When Coyote saw Salmon dead on the bank, Coyote picked him up and brought him back to

29 Told by Johnnie Louie (W.B.C.).
30 Told by Andrew Tillacum (W.B.C.).
31 Told by Michal Brooks (E.C.).

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life and told him to go back to Rattlesnake. [Johnnie said that Coyote got angry when Rattlesnake killed Salmon, so he went back to Salmon.] Salmon got angry when Coyote brought him back to life, so he went back in a canoe. When Salmon got close to Rattlesnake's den he heard Rattlesnake doing a war dance and song. When Salmon heard him singing his war song and talking about him, he went back to his canoe, and started up the river. At first he hit his paddle on the canoe to make a noise. Rattlesnake went back into his den. He took charcoal and dirtied his face, and went to make believe that he had been crying ever since Salmon was killed. Then Salmon went in, and Rattlesnake told him, "Ever since I heard you were killed, I was sorry and have been crying." Salmon said, "Well, I've come back to life again so you'd better stop crying." Salmon went out of Rattlesnake's den and put all kinds of pitch and dry grass around the house and set fire to the den. Salmon stayed there till the den burned to ashes, and then he heard one of Rattlesnake's eyes pop: it had burst. When this burst it turned into an owl, and flew, and sat on a tree and made a noise like Mmmmm [an owl's low hoot]. Salmon said, "When people come to this world, you'll be harmless, and good only to scare children with when they are naughty or crying." And the other eye burst and blew into [bits?], and started to rattle and to crawl [as rattlesnakes?]. Salmon said, "When people come to this world, you'll not kill people every day, but just once in a while you'll bite people and kill them."

RATTLESNAKE AND MICAUI[1] [2]

Rattlesnake was a very nice looking fellow. Mica'ūi'[2] was a nice looking girl, too: she was very pretty. Mica'ūi' thought that since she was nice looking, she should have a nice looking man. She looked over all her people, but did not see any of them good looking enough to suit her. Finally she saw Rattlesnake. As soon as she saw him she fell in love with him. She thought she would make him love her. When she told him she would like to have him for a husband, Rattlesnake did not dare go close to her, because she stank so. Rattlesnake said, "You stink so much that I don't like you. You're good looking enough, but you stink." So Mica'ūi' told Rattlesnake, "All right then; you don't like me! You told me I stink. Wherever I may be, you can't travel on the ground where I am. You can always be on the rocks and wherever it's very hot, while I'll always be in a place where it's nice and cool and green." And from that time the rattlesnakes were always among the rocks, where other things cannot be. But Mica'ūi' is always on green places where rattlesnakes are forbidden.

[1] [See p. 226(A). --Analyst] [2] [See p. 226(C). --Analyst]

p. 226(B)

3: Cline E-5 (1930) 1938 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
Sinkaietk

*539

32 Not translated: probably not skunk (s'nkstə'ə): possibly mīcōwī, an evil-smelling root. — L.S.

p. 226 (c)

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THE MOUNTAINS FIGHT FOR A WIFE[33]

All the big mountains about here were once people. That was after Coyote was elected chief. In those days there was no camas here and they had to go to the prairies on the Spokane River to get it. At this time there was a very nice looking woman at kalispī'lEm who was the daughter of a chief. She decided that she would come over here and make love to tcōpa'q (Mount Chopaka), who was the chief of all the mountains around here. She carried camas with her.

At a place near Keller she sat down to rest. When all the mountains who were big fellows around here — Moses, Little Moses, and others — saw her, they thought she was a good looking woman, and that they would fight for her against tcōpa'q to whom she was going. (You can still see the gullies and the canyons which are the places where they struck him.) Tcōpa'q beat the others and said, "I am going to be highest of all around here." Then he stepped over the others, going higher and higher.

When the woman saw that they were fighting over her, she said, "I'm not going to marry any of you. I am going back to my country." Then she took the camas she had and threw it back to kalispī'lEm. (If you go over to that place you will see where the old woman is. She is there yet.) She said, "I'm going to stay right here. When the Indians come they will have to pay me every time they pass." When the world turned over, we came to be people and she became a stone. (Today the Indians deposit a handkerchief or a piece of horse's hair or a dime, and ask for luck. This rock is called n·a'mtūc, "sitting on a hill." It is on the summit between Oroville and Chesaw.)

THE ROCK WHO WANTED TO MARRY MOSES MOUNTAIN[34]

The mountain to the east of Moses Mountain is qōqōlē't. That behind [north of?] Moses is sxwEī'lt. This means "holding a baby:" it is like his [Moses?] baby.

Moses Mountain had a wife. She died and left him with the baby. He was holding it in his arms. On the prairie beyond Nespelem there is a high rock called pEpītsqEmEn. She [the rock] got ready to come to Moses Mountain. She prepared a bundle of tsixElō'sa (a white camas-like root) and bitter root, and put some kElkElmEnē^{l}p in her moccasins. Then she came over to Moses Meadow (nqwa'lEqūltEm). When she reached there he said he did not want her. She ate some of the camas and threw away the leavings. Some of it grew there for a while, but it is all gone now. She threw away the weeds from her moccasins, and then these grew there. Then she

33 Informant not on record (M.M.).
34 Told by Andrew Tillson (?) (M.M.).
35 Told by Billie Joe (L.V.W.W.).

p.227 (A)

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started back by way of Kartaro, crossed the river and went up a mountain. There she sat down and ate some of the root and threw the rest of it away. So there is lot of it growing there now. Huckleberries and some weeds that she took with her from here are growing there now, too.

COYOTE KILLS THE CANNIBAL WOMAN* 1/

Q'ōmkanI''tsa had a big dog. The dog was on top of a big rock. As soon as people would come in sight, this dog would bark. Then Q'ōmkanI''tsa would come out and tell the people, "Come on, come on." Then she would tell her dog to kill the people as soon as they came. The dog would kill them. Q'ōmkanI''tsa would take the people and eat them. In her house there was nothing but bones on the floor. Q'ōmkanI''tsa was "mean." She ate people.

Then Coyote (Sinkelip) thought, "I'm going over there and see Q'ōmkanI''tsa." He went to see her. The dog started to fight with Coyote. Coyote was beaten. Q'ōmkanI''tsa said, "Oh, it's just Coyote. I won't eat him," and she threw him away.

Coyote lay there where Q'ōmkanI''tsa threw him and Fox came along. Fox jumped over him several times and brought Coyote to life. Coyote yawned [Billie Joe yawned deeply] and said, "Oh, you bother me. I'm sleeping." Fox said, "Oh, you thought you were smarter than that woman and she killed you."

Coyote thought, "Well, I'm going to kill her." And he went back to her the way he had come. Then he called his power three times, "psss, psss, psss." The first power said, "I'll be strong so nobody can get the best of me when I fight." The next power said, "I'll be invisible." The third said, "I'll be the one to kill the dog and the woman."

The dog looked and ran, but could not see anything, so he lay down to rest. But Coyote was going along there invisible and he got close to the dog. He walked close to the dog resting there. He grabbed the dog's head and before he could jump or bark, Coyote broke his neck. Coyote told the dog, "You are never going to be fierce any more. From now on you will be just a dog."

Coyote went around and on up to the house. He went into the house where Q'ōmkanI''tsa was. He went in and she said, "That's the one I killed and there he is again." Coyote did not say anything. He just walked up to her and started fighting. They fought, and he would be on top and under and on top again, and finally he killed her.

He dragged her out of the house and

1/ [See p.227(A).--Analyst]

p.227(B)

*339 threw her down the hill and told her, "You can't be fierce any more. You will be just a woman now." That is why we have women and dogs now.

OWL CANNIBAL WOMAN[36]

A man and his wife had two children, a boy and a girl. The man went hunting and the woman went digging roots. The children were left alone at the house. The man left his children and took another wife. The woman returned home and waited until morning, but her husband did not come back.

Next morning, the woman went digging roots again. Then she came home and told her son, "Go and get me some water to drink." The little boy was lazy and would not go. Then the woman said, "My husband left his children. I'm going to leave them too."

The woman took crow feathers and covered herself, made a tail and wings and all parts of the bird. Then she flew calling, "Caw, caw, caw, caw." The little boy siezed a pail and ran for water. He ran back with the water, but his mother had already flown away. The little boy had a piece of flint in his mouth all of the time. He and his sister cried and cried. Spa'tła (owl cannibal woman) heard them.

Spa'tła already had a house full of children. She killed people and fed them to the children. She grabbed her basket and ran when she heard the children crying. The children were walking around outside their house crying. They looked up and saw Spa'tła coming. The little girl told her brother, "There comes Spa'tła. Now we will be killed." They ran back into the house. Spa'tła thought, "Now I'll have something small and tender to eat."

The little girl threw her brother down and tried to make a little stick of him, and tried to make herself into a pole, but she could not. She threw her brother under a big rock by the fireplace and they both turned into a bunch of worms, crawling around there. Spa'tła went into the house, but could not find the children. Spa'tła looked all over but all she could see was the rock and the worms. She thought to herself, "Well, I guess I'll put the rock and worms in my basket. That must be they." So she threw them into her basket. Spa'tła ran toward home and the worms turned back into children.

The little girl called, "Your children are all on fire." Then Spa'tła ran fast. The little girl called again, "Your children are all on fire." Then she pushed her little brother down to make the basket heavy. Then Spa'tła thought the basket was awfully heavy. She ran and broke a branch off a tree. She hung the basket there and ran away fast to her children who were on fire.

36 Told by Billie Joe (L.V.W.W.).
37 Told by Cecile Brooks (M.M.).

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The sister said, "What have you in your mouth?" The little boy told her it was a rock his father had given him a long time ago to make arrows with. They took the piece of flint and cut the rope. They fell on the ground. They cut the basket all up with that piece of flint. They spread it all over the ground and told Gopher to scatter the pieces.

Spa'tła ran to her children but there was no fire there. The little girl had fooled her. Spa'tła said, "No matter where you go, I'm going to kill you."

The little girl took her little brother by the hand and away they ran. When they got tired, they would rest and then away they would run again. When Spa'tła got back, her basket was gone. She ran all around, gathering up the pieces of her basket. Then she sewed it all together again, and ran after the little girl and her brother.

The girl told her brother, "Now I guess we will be killed. There comes Spa'tła and she will kill us now." They called across the river to an old man there, "Come across and get us. Spa'tła is coming to kill us." So the old man came after the children in his canoe. After the children were some distance out in the canoe, Spa'tła reached the shore. Spa'tła said, "You'd better take me in the canoe too." The old man said, "It isn't very deep. It is so shallow, you can wade right across. Put some rocks in your shoes and clothes and a lot in your basket," he told her. The old man had already told all the insects in the water to pull her in and drown her when she got in the water. She said, "I'm going to be drowned," but the old man said, "No; it's shallow. You won't drown." She took about two steps and all the insects pulled her right in. One of her eyes flew out and lit on a tree. The old man told Spa'tła, "You aren't going to be killing people any more. You are going to be an owl now and live in the trees. People will tell their children about you to scare them. All your teeth will come out and will turn into ducks. People will cook you before they eat you."

I just came down here and I am living here now.

CHIPMUNK AND THE CANNIBAL WOMAN" 1/A

Chipmunk had a grandmother who was a cottontail rabbit. They had a little house. Her grandmother made some soup. Chipmunk told her, "I want something to eat with my soup." Her grandmother said, "We haven't anything else." So she gave Chipmunk a little basket and told her to go gather some service berries. Chipmunk crawled high up a tree, saying, "pipaya'ga, pipaya'ga." As she said this the berries were caused to ripen, and she picked them and put them in her basket.

1/A [See p. 228(A). -- Analyst]

p. 228(B)

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As she was picking, all of a sudden she heard a bush crack — kaū'x — very loud. She heard this twice and all at once she saw a cannibal woman (spatła) come out from under the brush. Spatła came and stood under the tree. She told Chipmunk, "You better come down. I've come after you because your mother wants you." Chipmunk said, "I haven't any mother. She died a long time ago." So Spatła said, "I made a mistake; it's your father who wants you." Chipmunk said, "My father died a long time ago too." "Well, it's your brother wants you." "Well, my brother died a long time ago, too." Spatła was just guessing to make her come down. "Oh no; it's your grandma that wants you. Hurry and come down." Chipmunk said, "I'm afraid of you. If I come down you'll kill me. Put your hands over your eyes so you can't see me. Then I'll come down." Spatła put her hands over her eyes, but she could see through them. Chipmunk said, "No, you can see me. I don't want to come down. Dig a hole in the ground and sit in it with your basket over your head and I'll come down." Spatła did this and Chipmunk came down. As she came off the tree, she made a loud noise, "patītītītī," and Spatła scratched her all the way down the back from head to tail. But she escaped.

She ran back and told her grandmother, "Well, I just got away from Spatła." Her grandmother put her in an oyster shell, but she was so tired that her heart beat loud and she made lots of noise even then. Her grandmother took her and tried to hide her, but she still made a loud noise. Then Robin came along and lit on a tree. He said, "Put her among the deerbones that you use to make soup. The hair there will hide her and she will be safe."

Then Spatła came to the house and said, "Did you see Chipmunk here?" The old lady said, "No, I never saw her." "Well, I saw her tracks all the way over. She came to this house. You must be hiding her." Then Robin came along and lit on the tree, and cried, "lsĒmēōnsntqw'īc," and thus told where she was. So Spatła told Rabbit, "Hurry up and get her; I want to eat her." Rabbit became fearful, and went and got her, and gave her to Spatła. But she said, "Don't take the joints apart; leave her so I can make soup out of her."

Spatła said to Rabbit, "Why is it that you are so white?" Rabbit said, "Well, the one that you ate was the one who picked the pitch for me that I used to make myself white. If you like, I'll make you white too; but you'll have to pick the pitch yourself. Just go out and fill your basket brim-full of pitch. I'll stay and make a place in the ground to put the pitch." So Spatła took her basket and went to gather pitch. As soon

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as she was out of sight, Rabbit took the bones of Chipmunk, laid them down, stepped over them about three times, and Chipmunk came to life again.

Rabbit told her grandchild, "You go out and get two long forked saplings. I'll go dig the pit for the pitch." She put a lot of wood in the pit and then a lot of rocks on the wood, and set fire to it. Chipmunk returned and hid again. Rabbit said, "When I shout, get the forked poles and run down." When Spatŧa got back with a big load of pitch in her basket, she set it on the ground. Rabbit took some and set it on the fire. As it dripped she put a drop of it on Spatŧa's wrist and it burned the skin off so that it looked white. So Spatŧa believed that that was the way Rabbit became white. Rabbit said, "We're going to put pitch all over the fire. Then you lie right on it, and when I tell you to turn around, you turn around. First we'll circle about the fire twice, and then I'll push you on the fire myself. We'll dance and sing while we're going around the fire." After they had circled the fire three times, Rabbit pushed Spatŧa right on the fire, and then she shouted for Chipmunk to come with the forked poles.

Chipmunk came down there with the forked poles, and they each took one. One held Spatŧa's head down and the old woman pushed down her feet. Then Spatŧa said, "I'm going to turn around." The old woman said, "No; it isn't time yet. Stay on a little longer and you'll get white. Pretty soon it'll be time for you to turn around." Finally she got cooked and she died. They just buried her with the dirt as you would a camas oven. Rabbit and her grandchild moved away from there.

Then the three sisters of Spatŧa arrived. The eldest saw the pit and said, "Well, I guess our sister cooked this for us to eat." They dug it up, but the youngest said, "No; that's our sister." The two eldest ate it, but the youngest would not touch the meat. They ate every bit of it and then went down to a lake. They were thirsty and they drank. As soon as they drank the water, their teeth came out, because they had eaten their sister. The teeth turned into ducks and swam out on the lake. The two older sisters turned into owls, but the youngest escaped. Then I came back.

COYOTE AND THE CANNIBAL SISTERS[1]

There were four sisters; they were all spa'ŧa.[1] A man said, "You had better do something; the spa'ŧa are coming over to kill us." They asked Coyote, "What are you going to do, Coyote? You'd better be doing something." Coyote called his power four

[1] [See p. 229 (C). -- Analyst

p. 229 (B)

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P.229(c)

38 Told by Cecile Brooks (B.C.).
39 "A spa'ia is a woman monster, who is very large and black. She carries a basket in the bottom of which are sacti which stick to the babies she throws into the basket."

*539 times. Coyote told his powers, "You hurry up and help me, because the spa'ɬa are coming." His powers told him, "All right." One of them said, "I will be a big long-house." Another of them said, "I will be a lot of pitch, everywhere in the wall and all over the house." The third one said, "I will be a lot of people." That is the third power. And the fourth one said, "And I will be a song."

All these people who wanted to be saved hid themselves. Then the spa'ɬas got over to where the big house was built. They heard a nice song in the big house; the prettiest song they ever heard. Coyote was standing by the door. He told them, "You people better come in." He finally got them inside the house, and he told them, "No matter if the people [here] should spit on you, don't pay any attention to them: they are just flirting with you." He meant, as soon as these spa'ɬas went in the house, the pitch would burn. Coyote made them believe somebody was spitting on them, but it was the pitch dropping. One of the spa'ɬa was a girl at first menstruation, and she did not go into the house. All at once this - youngest of the spa'ɬas shouted to her sisters, "You are going...." 1/

A BOY KILLS CANNIBALS 1/

A chief had a son. The boy went out, taking his bow and arrow, and shot a raven. When it fell he saw some blood on the snow. He thought, "I wish I could find a woman with fair red cheeks like that blood." The boy told his people he was going out by his self into the world. He did not pick out a place to travel, but just wandered at random

He travelled until he came to a place where he saw two dogs fighting a man. He went to a certain tribe of Indians and said "What's the matter that those two dogs fight this man?" So this tribe told him, "All right, we'll stop the dogs because your father is a chief." He took the dead body of the man killed by the dogs , dug a hole for it, and covered it up. When he got through burying this man, he went off.

So he travelled until he came to a big lake, where he saw a little boy standing by the shore. The little boy asked him, "Where are you going, partner?" He told his partner, "I'm going anywhere." This little boy said, "I'd like to go with you; I don't care if we both die." So he told his partner, "I'd rather not have you around; you're too small. I'd rather be all by myself; I'm big enough to travel and you're not." So he told the little boy, "If you want, you can go along with me, if you're not afraid of getting hungry and tired and probably getting killed."

1/ [See p. 230 (c). -- Analyst

p. 230 (A)

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They could not see across this lake; it was so far. It was the ocean. He said to his little partner, "How can we get across now?" And the little boy told him, "You get behind me and close your eyes tightly and don't open them until I tell you." So this fellow closed his eyes and got behind the boy. When the little boy told him to open his eyes, it was but a few minutes and they were already across the ocean. So they went on travelling.

Then this little boy told him, "I'm the man you saved from those two dogs. That's why I'm going to take pity on you and help you." And they said they would be brothers. This little boy said to his brother, "We're going to Cannibal's place. When we get there, don't eat any of the meat." When they came to Cannibal's place, an Indian woman gave them some meat. It was human flesh. They ate everything but meat. And when they got through eating, they went outside.

This cannibal had a great rock to play with. He threw this rock and it went out of sight, and he thought a while, "I wish I had that rock back again." It came back to him right to the place he threw it from. The smallest one said, "If he tells you to throw it, tell him your little brother will. Don't you throw the rock." Cannibal said to the older one, "Well, you throw this rock." And the older one said, "I won't throw this rock, but my little brother will." The cannibal thought this little boy was too small and could not begin to throw it at all. But the little boy picked it up and threw it, and it went so far that Cannibal never saw his rock again. The little boy told his brother, "You go in and get a shirt and we'll go."

They started travelling again. The little brother told him, "We're pretty close to the next cannibal." He told his brother again not to eat the meat. This cannibal asked them to come in and eat, saying, "When you're through eating, come out and we'll play." So they went outside, where they saw a great big mountain. This cannibal took hold of the mountain and moved it to one side. The cannibal said to the older one, "You put this mountain back in its place." But the older one told him, "I won't put it back in its place, but my younger brother will." The little boy took hold of that mountain, and it turned into a plain. He got a knife from this cannibal.

Then they went on. So he told his older brother, "This is the last place." So they travelled until they came to a woman cannibal. The younger one said to his brother, "I'm going back and see how your relatives are." So he took the buckskin shirt and the knife. Then the boy could not see his little brother: he could only hear his voice. The big brother went on. The little boy

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40 The remainder of the manuscript is missing. — L.S.
41 Told by Billie Joe (E.C.). Johnnie Louie, the interpreter, thought this was a "priest's fairy tale."

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took three or four steps and he was back at his brother's house. He walked around outside, then went inside, and saw that everything was all right. The big brother had not gone very far when the little brother caught up with him, and said, "Your relatives are all well; there's nothing the matter with them."

When they got to this place, the boy saw a woman come out with coal black hair and red cheeks, and he thought that was the woman he wished for when he was a boy. The woman said to him, "Well, you have come." He said, "Yes." "See that little house over there: that's where you boys are to camp." When evening came, the woman cooked, and when the boys finished eating, they went back to their little tipi. His little brother told him, "When it gets somewhat dark, we'll go to see this woman." He told his big brother to put on the shirt he had worn, taken from the first cannibal. The youngest one took the knife. The younger told the older one that this woman's husband was the devil. The little brother told him, "If we're smart enough, we'll get this woman."

When they went in, they saw her and her husband lying. The youngest one took his knife and cut the devil's head off. The devil's head would fly up and come down on to his body again. So he would come to life The younger one was getting tired. He said to the older, "Do your best. When I cut the devil's head off again, cover the neck with your buckskin shirt." Just as soon as his little brother cut the devil's head off, as soon as it raised in the air, he put his buckskin shirt over the neck. The head dropped and struck the earth. It went into the earth and the body followed the head.

The little boy told his big brother, "Cut some rose bushes, tie them up into four bunches." So they took this woman, tied her hands and feet behind her, put her face down, started whipping her with one of these bundles of rose bushes. They whipped her until a frog jumped out of her mouth. That was her baby. They did that with all the rose bushes. When they got through the younger said to his brother, "Tomorrow about noon I'll leave you." So the older one got the woman he had wanted when a child.

The next day, when noon came, they went to a level spot and stood. The younger one told his big brother, "Just a year from today I'll meet you right here and that's when I want my pay." Then the little brother rose right off the ground into the air.

It was not long until they had a child, a little girl. They had forgotten all about the little brother. But one day he remembered his little brother would be there the next day at noon. So he told his wife that his little brother would be there the next

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42 Told by Cecile Brooks (N.M.). p.231 (A)

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day at noon. His little brother came back and said to him, "I want my pay. I've come back after the pay you owe me." His little brother told him, "I want just half of your baby; half to you and half to me." He told his little brother, "I told you that you could do anything you want. I guess you want to kill your little niece. You can do anything you want." So he took the little boy out on a level spot, and taking his knife, cut the boy right through down the middle. It left one half standing,while the other half went down into the ground. His litte brother told him, "Now you're sure of that boy [sic]. Well, I'm going to leave you again. Whenever you die you'll go to heaven; whenever your wife dies,she'll go to heaven; and whenever your boy dies he'll go to heaven."

THE SON OF THE GIANT[42] 1/x

There was a man and his wife. They had a little home in which they lived. The woman was away from the house, when all at once a giant (stswanaI'atEm[ix]) came to her and took her away. He brought her to his home and fastened the door. He put something over her head so she would not know the way to escape. She stayed until she had a baby boy. In a little while, the boy was already big. When evening came the giant used to fasten the door and go out somewhere Giants can walk very fast and cover lots of ground in a short time. He would get home about daylight and then sleep. This would happen every evening.

The little boy grew up until he was a man. Then the boy asked his mother, "Where do you come from, anyway? You look so different from my father." His mother was a really nice-looking woman. She told him, "I don't know where my country is. Your father took me away from my country, so I don't know where I really come from." The boy said, "When my father comes back I'll ask him for a coat." So when he came back, the boy said to him, "Give me one of your coats." "You couldn't use my [big] coat if you tried it on. I'll look for a coat for you." When evening came the giant went out to look for a coat for his boy, and when he came back the next morning he had one with him. He told the boy, "There is a coat that I got for you." The boy tried it on, and it fitted him just right. It was a grizzly bear coat.

The boy told his mother, "This evening as soon as my father leaves, we'll get ready and go. Pick out all the best things that you want to take along." As soon as his father had gone he tried to open the door but he could not. So he took off his coat and hung it up again, saying, "Maybe some time when I can open the door we'll go." Whenever he would be able to do this he would be as strong as his father. So they stayed for

1/x [See p. 231 (A). --Analyst]
p. 231 (B)

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two days after that before he tried the door again. When he put his coat on and tried the door it just opened. He and his mother got ready. They took all the best of the goods that his father had stolen and he rubbed them in his hands until they all became small. He put on his coat and gave his mother the little bundle. Then they started out. There was a long pole about a foot wide stuck in the ground. It was his father's power. He just pushed it and it fell over.

About daylight his father got back and found they were gone. He looked around but could not find them. So he put on his coat and thought about his power. He looked for it but it was gone. It lay on the ground. Then he thought to himself, "I see that my boy is stronger than I am. I guess I might as well not chase them."

The boy and his mother kept going to the east. When the boy put on the coat he turned into a grizzly bear and his mother followed him. They went on for a long time until they got to some people. They went where there was a little house and not so many people. He told his mother, "You can go to sleep there tonight. I'll leave you forever. You'll never see me again, but when you wake up in the morning you'll know what to do."

When she woke in the morning the house was well furnished. She even had a bed to sleep on. When the people saw the house they went over there, and saw there was a nice-looking woman staying in the house. The boy left, and I went to see the house and then I came back.

COYOTE TRICKS COUGAR INTO PROVIDING FOOD[43]

Coyote and Fox lived together. They were partners. Once they got awfully hungry. Fox told Coyote, "You better do something. We're getting awfully hungry." Coyote said, "All right, I'll think of something to do." He thought and then he went outside and evacuated. Fox thought, "I guess my partner is going to really do something." The dung said, "Oh, you get us cold." They grumbled to themselves. Coyote said, "You better hurry and talk to me, or I'll leave you there to dry up." Then he called upon his dung, which turned him into a really good-looking girl. She went back into the house and started to comb her hair. Fox thought, "My partner's performing now. I'll leave him." So he left.

Coyote went to another village. There were cougars there and Cougar was the chief. But he had no wife. Girls would try to go with him, but he would have nothing to do with them. Then Coyote got to the spring where they got their water. Cougar's two sisters came along to get water and saw that

43 Told by Cecile Brooks (N.M.).

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woman there. It was Coyote. They asked her, "Where are you from?" She said, "I came from our house." They said, "Where are you going?" She said, "Well, I came over to see Cougar." The girls said, "All right; you can come back with us."

They did not go back to their own house, but took her to the house where all the women did their [basket] weaving. They said, "Go in there, and we'll tell our brother about you. After we know what he says, we can come and get you." So he went in and there were nothing but women in that house. He took up one of the baskets and started working on it. His power helped him, so he did very fine work. It did not take him very long to finish one of them. One of the girls ran back and told her brother, "There's a girl come over to see you. She certainly is good-looking, and she certainly knows how to weave. You better take her." So Cougar said, "Well, I guess you girls want her for my wife, so I'll take her. Go tell her to come."

They brought her and seated her right by their brother. They cooked her a nice meal with the best they had, and she ate a good meal. Then she was married to Cougar. When he tried to make love to her she said, "Don't. My mother told me you would have to come and bring us food four times before I was really married to you." In the morning he told his sisters to get a lot of deer meat and a horse to carry it on.

The two sisters went along with her to take the meat to her mother. They did this each day for four days. When they got close to the house she would tell the girls, "Don't go in there. My father and mother are both powerful, and they might get mad at you and kill you with their power." So Coyote would take it in alone. She would go in and say, "I'm back again, mother." And they would answer her, but there were not really people there: it was just his power. Then the sisters would go back home, where their brother would ask them, "Well, did you see her folks?" And they would answer, "No, we didn't see them, because she said her people were awfully fierce. We stayed outside and didn't see her folks."

Then the prairie chickens, who knew what was happening said, "Oh, that Coyote! He shouldn't do that with the chief, fooling him like that." On the fourth night, Cougar tried to make love to her and get close to her, but she tried to avoid him. Only the upper half of Coyote had been turned into a woman and the rest was like Coyote. He knew that if Cougar found out, he would break his back for him. So she kept pulling away from him.

The next morning all the men went to the sweat house. Cougar went with them. The

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prairie chickens danced all over the village. Then they went to the sweat house and said, "Cougar, you've got Coyote for a wife." They were dancing and singing. Coyote turned around and went up on a hill. He began to howl and laugh at them. Then, of course, he had plenty of food and would not starve. He had it all to himself, because Fox had left him permanently.

COYOTE ATTEMPTS TO CAPTURE THE DEER[44]

In the fall they made camp where they were going to winter. Coyote had a grown boy who was sick. He was sick all winter and toward spring he died. Coyote began to get sick himself. He said, "I wonder why my boy got sick and died, and after he died I got sick." He thought he would ask his dung what was the matter; that he would find out what to do. After he evacuated, he asked the first of his faeces what to do. His dung told him, "Well, your boy had a power which killed him; and your boy's power will kill you too." His dung told him a certain song, saying, "You sing this when you start to dance." One of his faeces told him, "I'll be your son." [And another said?]"I'll be the post in the middle." [Another said?] "I'll be lots of people." [Another said?] "I'll be your power, so that you can see everything on the outside: nothing can come near that you won't see."

Coyote started to sing. The big deer from the mountains heard Coyote singing. The big deer asked all his children, "Who told Coyote to sing our song? That's our song that he's singing. Which one of you told him?" But all the little deer said they did not know which one of themselves gave him the power to sing their song. So the big deer said to Bluejay, "Go and kill Coyote. He's just lying: we didn't give him the power to sing our song."

Bluejay started, but Coyote knew that Bluejay was coming. He had his stick (a cane with deer-hoof rattles tied on top, for thumping on the ground when dancing.) Coyote pointed it at Bluejay and told himself (by his dung power) just how near Bluejay was coming at various places on the way. [When telling the story to Indians, the narrator would name the points on Bluejay's path, as Coyote saw them.] When Bluejay got up on top of the tipi poles, Coyote made a motion of thrusting this stick at him — and Bluejay rolled off the tipi. He lay there till he was all right again, and got up and went back. When he got back to the big deer, Bluejay told him, "There was no use in sending me down there, because he knew I was coming all the way. When I alighted on the tipi poles, he pointed at me with his stick and I fell off and lay on the ground dead for a long time."

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44 Told by Michel Brooks (W.B.C.)
45 Told by Andrew Tillson (M.M.).
46 Told by Cecile Brooks (M.M.)

p.233(A)

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So big deer gathered all his people and asked them again. He said, "Don't hide it. If any of you told him to sing our song, why, we'll all go down there and join in with him." He asked them all, and they all said they did not give Coyote power. But the smallest deer of all said, "Well, I was the one that gave him the power to sing our song." So the big deer told him, "Well, all of you get ready and we'll go down there."

So they went, and they all went in Coyote's house. The little one that had given him the power was the first to enter. Coyote's dung told him, that when he sang, he should wait till all the deer and the biggest deer of all had come in; then he should stop singing. They kept on going in and going in till Coyote saw a great big deer going in. The very biggest deer, the chief deer, had not yet gone in; and there were a whole lot more big ones that had not yet gone in. But Coyote thought that the biggest had come in, so he stopped singing. Then the deer started to go out again. All the deer got away, except the very smallest deer that had given him the power. He was the only one they caught. They killed him. So they had to give up, because they let all the deer get away except the little one. Then I came back.

COYOTE IS TRICKED EATING DUCK EGGS[45] 1/A

Coyote was going along, gathering duck eggs from among the tules at the shore of a lake. He set the eggs to roast in a pit oven. Fox and Wolf came along as he was resting on the hill waiting for the eggs to cook. They blew a wind and he fell asleep. They dug out the eggs and ate them. Then they pulled his ears and nose, and they painted him yellow and smeared eggs on his mouth and hands. He went to the pit but there were no eggs there. He felt hungry but he saw the yolk, so he thought he must have eaten. He went to the lake to drink and saw his shadow [reflection]. He was frightened by the new face he saw there.

Then he realized that Fox had done it and he started running after him. Fox got tired of the chase. He jumped behind a rock and started pushing it. Then he called to Coyote, saying, "Come help me hold this rock. It's falling on me." Coyote forgot all about the quarrel and helped hold it. Coyote pushed and pushed, while Fox ran away. Finally Coyote realized that he was being tricked, but Fox had already run away, and he could not get him.

BUNGLING HOST[46] 1/1

Kingfisher lived by the river with his wife and his children. Coyote lived near there too. He said, "I'm going over there

1/1 [See p. 233(A). --Analyst]

p. 233(B)

*539 and visit Kingfisher. I'm getting awfully hungry." He went over to Kingfisher's house. Kingfisher sent his little boy to get four sticks of service berry wood. When the boy got home, Kingfisher warmed them slightly and twisted them all up. He got up with them and flew up to the top of the house through the smoke-hole. He sat on top of the house. Then he flew down to the river and right through a hole in the ice. When he came out his sticks were full of all kinds of fish. He strung them on the sticks and took them back to the house. When he got back he had a lot of fish: four sticks full. They cooked two sticks for their visitor. They set it out for Coyote and he began to eat. When he finished, they said he could take the rest of the fish home with him for his children. When he was going out, he said, "Tomorrow you come after your dish." Then he went home and his wife cooked all the salmon and they had a good meal.

Kingfisher said, "Well, I'm going for my dish over at Coyote's house." He went there and went into the house. All of Coyote's children had their forelocks tied and so did Coyote and his wife. (This was in imitation of Kingfisher's crest.) Then he told his little boy, "Go get four sticks." The little boy ran out and got the sticks, and gave them to his father. Coyote took them and warmed the sticks. Kingfisher thought, "Oh that Coyote; he's coyote enough to imitate me. It's my way of doing." Coyote twisted the sticks around. He climbed up the smoke-hole, having a hard time to get up there. Kingfisher thought, "Oh, that Coyote; he is liable to kill himself." Coyote made a noise and jumped, but he fell down outside, and hit the ground and died. Kingfisher said, "You children better see what happened to your father." The oldest one ran out. He came back and said, "My father is dead." Kingfisher took the sticks away from Coyote and flew up to the top of the house. Then he flew to the ice and got a lot of fish. When he got back to the house Coyote was all right again. Kingfisher told Coyote, "You shouldn't imitate me, because that's my way of doing it. You couldn't fly like I could." Then he got his plate and went back home.

Then Coyote said, "Well, I'm lucky I got something to eat now. If I didn't do that maybe I wouldn't have gotten something to eat." Then I came back.

COYOTE AND THE WATER MONSTER[47]

Coyote had a son, a very good looking son. This son got a woman from under the water. Finally she wanted to go back to her father and mother. Fox told Coyote; "You stay here; don't go with us. We might all die. I'm not man enough to save my nephew (Coyote's son); I might not be able to save him if you're along." Coyote's son had a little boy. Coyote said, "I might get so lonesome for him that I'd die." Finally Fox

47 Told by Johnnie Louie (W.B.C.)

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told him, "All right. You can go along. But you'll have to behave yourself and do what I tell you or you will cause us all to die." Coyote said, "All right. I'll do what you tell me." So they started.

They took a canoe and went down the rapids. Fox had the paddle. Fox would put the paddle in the water and they would go a hundred miles at a stroke. Coyote began to be frightened by the rapids. Coyote cried out, "We're going to die." But his son told him to keep quiet, and Fox told him to behave himself and not say too much. They went over a fall while Coyote was shouting that they were going to die. His boy kept scolding him and telling him to keep quiet. They went over the fall and landed. They started to climb up the bluff. The woman went up the bluff as if it was nothing to her. She went in [the house] and did not wait for her husband or anybody. Finally Fox got hold of his nephew and Coyote, and Fox trotted up the bluff like the woman did. When they got up there, they found the door was made of rattlesnakes. Coyote cried out, but Fox told him not to pay any attention to those rattlesnakes. The rattlesnakes began to rattle, but Fox walked right in. But when the snakes jumped at Coyote, he shouted, "I'm going to die! I'm going to die!" Coyote got in. [Johnnie does not know how.]

When he got in he said that he was awfully lonesome for his ntImtn (his son's father-in-law) and that was why he had come to see him. Coyote made him believe that he was awfully lonesome for him. Finally they were all in there. The monster said to his child, "You'd better feed the strangers." Fox said to his nephew, "Now, if your father doesn't keep still, we'll all die. I'll put you all in my pipe and I'll lie on my back." So Fox put Coyote down in the pipe first, and then the little youngster, and then the son. He told the son to keep his father, Coyote, down in the pipe. The monster told his children to get the food. They got a lot of garbage and put it on the fire, and they blocked up all the openings in the rock (in which they were), their lodge. Finally Coyote shouted, "I fell pretty good in here. I'm sleepy now." The chief said, "They want some more [garbage as food]. They haven't got enough." They put some more on [the fire]. Coyote's boy scolded him, saying, "Don't say anything." The garbage on the fire smoked very bad. Coyote shouted again, "Ho! ho! ho!" And Coyote's son said, "Don't say anything or we'll throw you out and you will die." Finally they got over that. Coyote did not shout any more. They opened the door and let all the smoke out. Coyote got out and Fox put his pipe away. Coyote said, "I didn't get quite enough. That was pretty good." So the monster thought, "They must live on the same thing that we do!" [i.e., eat the same food]. He had thought that he would smoke them to death with the garbage.

[That is all Johnnie knows of this story.]

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COYOTE AND THE HOUSE OF WOMEN[1/A]

Coyote was going along, and he thought he would call his power. He said the word he had to call his power: "pIspIsk!t!Up." (He always said this over four times.) He told his power, "Well, I want you to tell me what to do." And his power told him, "All right, I will tell you what to do. You go along, and you will get to where there are a lot of people gambling. When you get to these people, don't stop. Even if they call you and ask you to come over to play the stick game, don't do it. You pass them and go on a way when you will get to another group of people. That group there are all drunk. If they call you to drink, don't drink." Then the power told him, "When you go along until you get to a group of women, and when the women call you, don't go. Even if they tell you, 'Come on; you will be my man,' don't pay any attention to them."

Then he went along and reached a house. His power told him, "When you get to this house you will see two chiefs inside. When you go into the house you will see one on this side (left) and one on this side (right) and when the man on the left side tells you, 'Come and shake hands with me,' don't let him. But when the man on the right side tells you, 'Come and shake hands with me,' go and shake hands with him."

Now from here it is the story. When the man on the right side asked him, "What do you want? And what is the reason you come here?" Coyote told him, "Well, I am looking for a wife, and I am coming to see if I can get one from you." The man on the right side told him, "All right, I will give you a wife." Coyote heard something like dancing and singing in the next room. The man on the right side opened the door and led him in there.

Coyote saw a whole lot of people in that big room; they were all women. The man told him, "If you want one of these women, you can have her." Coyote looked at all the women. There was neither one tall or short; they were all the same height and their faces were all alike. Coyote did not know what to do. He could not pick out one because they all looked alike. He just made up his mind that he would take one anyway, and he did. He took this woman and went back to the chief on the right side. The chief told him, "You go back to your country now, and as you are going along and make camp, don't sleep with this girl. But after you get home, then you can sleep with her. If you sleep with her on the way home, you

1/A [See p. 235(C). --Analyst]

p. 235(A)

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will never see her again. But when you get home, then sleep with her, and then she will be your own." Coyote said, "All right. I will not sleep with her until I get home." And then he and the girl went.

They went along and camped. The next morning they went on and when it got late they camped again. The next morning they went along, and when it got late they camped again. And then they went along again and camped. Then he told the woman, "We will sleep together tonight." They did sleep together, and Coyote did not know anything more. When he woke in the morning the girl was gone. She went back where Coyote had got her from. He looked for her but could not find her. He could not see even her tracks. He shouted and hunted for her, but he could not find her. (That was just like Coyote to do that: if he had waited, he would have won her.) And so he lost her." 1^

COYOTE SEEKS A WIFE AMONG THE DEAD" 1^

Coyote was travelling. He travelled for many days, but he did not know where he was going. Then he came to a river, where he saw a whole lot of Indians on the other side, thousands of them. He began shouting to them to take him across, but none of them would pay any attention to him. He shouted and shouted and shouted, but none of them would look over to where he was. Finally he got tired and lay down to rest; he was perspiring. He grew awfully sleepy; so finally he started gaping and the chief across there said, "There's someone across the river; you better go over and get him." So these people came across the river after him and they took him across.

He went to the chief's house. The chief asked him, "What did you come over here for?" He saw a lot of women; so he said, "I came over after a woman for myself." So the chief told him, "All right; I'll give you one, but you aren't supposed to sleep with this woman till you get back where you came from. If you do what I tell you, the people [i.e. humans] in the next world, when the world changes, will be able to come after the dead and take them back."

So Coyote took this woman, and those fellows brought him across again. When the two got back across the river, they started to travel. They travelled back toward Coyote's tribe. They travelled for a good many days, and camped on the way. He had been letting this woman alone until he had only one more day to get back. When night came, Coyote thought, "Well, I must try this woman out before I get back. I guess I'm close enough to home so this woman can't get away from me now." So he thought to himself, "I'm

1^ [See p. 235(C). -- Analyst]

p. 235 (B)

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48 Told by Michel Brooks (B.C.).
49 Michel's interpretation of the story was that the sqs'lmn (devil) was the man on the left in the house.
50 Told by Michel Brooks (E.C.).

P. 235(c)

*539 going to possess this woman before I get back." So they camped. They lay down and he turned the woman over toward him, and he tried to have intercourse. As soon as he turned her over and tried to have intercourse with her, he froze stiff. When Coyote came to his senses the woman was gone.

So he got right up and followed the woman back. When he got back to the river, he started gaping again. They came after him. Coyote asked if the woman was back there again. The chief told him, "I don't think I'll give you another woman, because this is what you did. I told you not to sleep with this woman until you got back to your country. If you did what I told you and didn't sleep with the woman until you got back, then when the Indians came, whenever anyone died, they could have come after him. But now you spoiled it." And I got so angry at Coyote that I came back.

BUFFALO AND COYOTE CAPTURE A GIRL[51]

Buffalo and his people were on the warpath. They were going along when Coyote saw them. Coyote thought, "Well, I think I might die because these people might kill me." Then Coyote thought he was on the warpath himself. Then Coyote thought, "Well, I am going to try and get my power. He called his power; he had a word he used: "pis, pis, pis, ktło'p." Every time he said that, a woman would come there. He said, "pis, pis, pis ktło'p" four times and he got four women. He called them his sisters. With their help, if he could get a girl over the mountain, he would win her. Coyote stood there and told them, "I want you to help me. You make me a lot of people to help fight the enemy." One of these women said, "I am going to be a lot of people." Another of the women said, "I'm going to be a drum." Another of the women said, "I'm going to be a bow and arrows." And the last woman said, "I'm going to have a pipe with a lot of tobacco and a sack to carry it in." Then there were a lot of warriors out of [illegible] woman, and the next woman turned into a drum. The third was a bow and arrows, and the last one was the pipe and tobacco and sack to carry it in.

Then Coyote went to meet the enemy. Buffalo saw them coming. Then they met. Buffalo asked Coyote, "Who are you going to fight?" Coyote asked Buffalo, "And who are you going to fight?" Buffalo said, "I'm going east to fight the enemy, and that will be the end of my people. I wouldn't have any more people, any warriors." He had along with him yearlings and calves. Coyote asked him, "What are you fighting about?" Buffalo said, "I'm fighting over a girl. Even if we don't kill the enemy, if we can get the girl over the mountain, we will win." Coyote said, "I'm going to the same place where you are going." Coyote was just deceiving him when he said that; he said it just because

51 Told by Michel Brooks (R.C.).

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Buffalo said it. Coyote said, "And me too; I'm doing the same, because these are all the warriors I have. If I took them over the mountain it would be the end of my warriors." He said that just because Buffalo said it. Buffalo told Coyote, "How would it be if we go as partners?" Coyote said, "It will be all right if we go as partners together." They went as partners. They put all their warriors together. Coyote had a good outfit: a nice drum, a lot of warriors, bows and arrows, and lots of tobacco and a pipe. Buffalo told him, "You will sing the war song and beat the drum and be the leader (qatō´s). The reason I want you to be the leader is because you have a better drum and I want to learn your song." (Just from his power Coyote has gotten everything nice, but Buffalo has no power.)

They went along together and camped. Buffalo told Coyote, "You beat your drum and sing your war song." They all started a war dance: then they danced, and their drum had the loudest sound. In the morning they went on their way. They went along until they got to a high hill, which overlooked a lake. The lake was wide, and there was a canoe lying on the shore on their side of the lake. Across the lake they could see a lot of people, and that is where the girl was. As soon as they got on the hill they stopped: they did not go down to the lake. The people across the lake saw them. The people across the lake said, "There is the enemy way up there." Then all the people from across the lake got ready. And the girl put on a red blanket and walked towards the lake. When the girl reached the lake, she sat on the shore and washed her face. Buffalo and Coyote came down and got into the canoe and went toward the girl, to get her. The girl's name was Sun (sxra´xn'nq).

They took the girl and paddled across again. The girl's people chased them. As soon as they got on their own side of the lake, they went up on the hill where the warriors were. They stopped. The enemy caught up with them. Then they started fighting. The enemy had more people than they. The girl kept going higher up on the hill, while behind her they were fighting. Coyote's power was so strong, they could never shoot at him. Buffalo never got shot, either. Buffalo got tired and told Coyote, when they were just about half way up the hill, "You better do something, because we are going to get killed." Coyote used his power: all at once it became dark and foggy, just like night. They could not see anything. Coyote and Buffalo sat down, and the enemy could not see them. The enemy started fighting among themselves because they could not see one another. They fought among themselves until there was a whole lot of them dead. After the fog disappeared, the enemy discovered Coyote and Buffalo sitting way up on the hill, and they had killed their own people.

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The enemy started chasing them again. Buffalo got tired again and told Coyote, "Well, you'd better so something because we are going to get killed. I'm getting tired. It got dark and foggy again, and the enemy started fighting among themselves again. Coyote and Buffalo got out of the way and did the same thing again; went on the hill and sat down. The enemy killed so many of their own that they were hardly any left. Then they started fighting again and the girl kept on going up the hill; now she was pretty nearly on top. They got to the top of the hill and were fighting, and then they won the girl. The enemy had to go back because there was hardly anyone left. None of Coyote's or Buffalo's warriors were killed; not even one. They got up on top of the hill where they sat. Buffalo was very glad none of his warriors were killed.

Buffalo told Coyote, "We will go back," so they went back. They camped, and in the morning Buffalo told Coyote, "You can have the girl because you won her." Coyote told Buffalo, "No, you can take the girl, because you won her, and you are the leader." Buffalo said to Coyote, "If it hadn't been for you, we wouldn't have got the girl, and beside, none of our warriors were killed." Coyote said, "No, I am always travelling, and I can't be taking her along wherever I go." Finally Coyote made up his mind to take the girl. Then they parted. Buffalo went back. It did not make any difference where Coyote went, he had a wife. Buffalo wanted to give Coyote some of his warriors, but Coyote did not want them. Then they parted and Coyote went with his wife. Coyote's warriors all disappeared, because they were just made to help him.

Coyote and his wife went along and camped. When they camped the girl found out that her husband was Coyote. Then she thought to herself that she would leave him. She gathered some dry wood and burned it, and she went away in the smoke; went back to her country. Coyote did not know where his woman had gone. He called for her and she did not answer. Then he looked for her but he could not find her. He lost her forever. And then I came back.

CRANE AND LOUSE[52]

Crane and his grandmother had a tipi together. Crane did not have a wife. He was a very good hunter. So wherever there was a nice young girl, her parents would tell her, "Go over to Crane's house and have him for a husband." One girl went to Crane. When she got to Crane's house, he told his grandmother, "Close up the tent entirely so it will be dark inside. I'm going to try this girl." After his grandmother finished, he told her, "Go off somewhere by yourself; I'm

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52 Told by Michel Brooks (W.B.C.).

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539*

going to try this girl." His grandmother told him, "Don't leave her, because I want you to have her for a wife." His grandmother told him that she was getting awfully tired patching up his moccasins and making moccasins and clothes. So Crane said, "I've got to try her, and if she's good I'll take her, and if she's no good I wouldn't want her."

So after he got through trying her, he told his grandmother, "Get her ready and let her go back. I don't want to take her as a wife." The old woman packed up a whole big bundle of deer meat for her and told her, "Well, you can go back." So the girl would go back to her people.

They would wait so long and a grandmother would tell her granddaughter, "Go to Crane. I want him to be your husband." Then this girl would go to Crane. He would tell his grandmother, "You close up the tipi. I'm going to try this girl, and if she's good I'll take her, and if she isn't I won't." After he got through trying her, he would tell his grandmother, "Well, I don't want her; you'd better send her back."

(Michel had forgotten the rest of the story, but says that Crane finally got a louse for a wife.)

COYOTE'S LONG PENIS » 1/

When Coyote was travelling he had a packet on his back. He saw some girls across the [Columbia] river at Kettle Falls. The girls shouted, saying, "Give us some of what is in your pack." He said, "No; that isn't fit for girls to eat." But they said, "Give us some anyway." So he unrolled his pack and all it contained was his penis. He floated it down the Columbia, and when one of the girls was swimming, it went inside her. It swelled up so she could hardly get out of the water or get it out of her. There were a lot of children swimming there. They got a stone and tried to cut it, but they could not. Coyote worked it and worked it. When he got through he told the girls, "Go down the river and get a wide blade of grass (called xitxatpoê'cîa, rip-grass) and cut away my penis." So the children went there. As soon as they got some and cut it, he rolled his penis into his pack again and went up the river. But the girl still could not get the end of his penis out of her. She got sick.

Coyote went on up the river with his pack: he went way up the river. When Coyote went to sleep, Fox and a lot of animals got Coyote's pack and cut the penis up. They divided it among the animals all over the world. Coyote did not have any left. So Coyote thought of the piece that he had left in this girl. He went back to the girl.

1/ [See p. 237(c). -- Analyst]

P. 237 (B)

*539

52 Told by Michel Brooks (W.B.C.).
53 Told by Michel Brooks (W.B.C.). "This story was told to me [W.B.C.] when I asked if the Okanagon had any short funny stories, such as we tell."

P. 237 (c)

*539 Mouse understood his language: Coyote made believe that he was a Kutenai: that he had just come from the Kutenai country. The girl was just about to die. The shamans could not get it out of her. She was the chief's daughter. Coyote said that he had dreamed that the girl was dying, so he had come to cure her. Mouse translated this to the chief. The chief said he should come to cure her. After Coyote got to the chief he said he would not treat her in the house: he had to treat her in the sweathouse. So they built a sweathouse for him. He went into it following the girl, so that he was behind. As soon as he got into the sweathouse he put himself between the girl's legs, and his penis went back where it belonged, and he pulled it out.

Coyote then started singing and blowing, and Mouse would shout to the people whatever he said. Coyote was blowing: suddenly he ran out of the sweathouse, and hit Mouse on the nose and tore Mouse's nose. When he got up on the hill he started laughing at the people, saying, "You had to get an Indian doctor to sexually initiate your daughter. She's initiated now." And the girl got well. I was waiting to initiate that girl, but Coyote got ahead of me.

TURTLE AND EAGLE RACE[54]

Once Eagle said, "I want to make races so that when people [humans] come they can have races." All the birds came. He said, "If you win, I will be your slave. If I win, you will be my slave all your life." All the creatures said, "All right, we must make the laws."

One of the birds ran against Eagle and lost his freedom. All of the creatures raced with him and lost. They were his slaves and had to obey him. Eagle was the chief, then. Turtle and his partner, Muskrat, lived together all the time. They did not race because they knew they could not run fast. Even Fox and Wolf lost.

One night Turtle dreamed. He was told, "You have to race with Eagle tomorrow and free all the creatures. When the Indians come, all of the creatures have to be free." Early in the morning, he told Muskrat, "Get up. Go for a swim. Get ready. We have to run against Eagle." Muskrat said, "You can't beat him. I can't beat him. He can fly fast." Turtle said, "I know all the creatures have lost, but in my dream last night I was told to race and win." They got ready together. They went to Eagle's camp. All the creatures said, "Turtle and his partner, Muskrat, are coming. Maybe they want to race against Eagle." Some made fun; "Turtle and Muskrat can't beat Eagle." They thought they would be Eagle's prisoners forever.

54 Told by Suzzee Timentem (L.V.W.W.).
55 Told by Andrew Tillson (W.B.C.).

P. 238(A)

*539

Muskrat asked, "Who is the speaker here?" Eagle sent a speaker. Turtle said, "You can call out that I want to race with Eagle tomorrow." He crawled away and everybody laughed. Eagle said, "All right. Tomorrow when the sun is way up, we will race. If you win, all the creatures are yours." Turtle said, "All right." Eagle said, "If I win, I will keep you here. We are betting our lives on this race."

Next day they went to the race ground. Eagle told Turtle, "Name any distance you want and any place you choose: I am willing to race with you." Turtle asked, "Are you sure? Any place?" Eagle said, "Yes;the people hear me." Eagle thought that Turtle could not run. Turtle said,"All right. All you creatures heard Eagle. I'm going to name the place. Are you ready, Eagle." "Yes."

"All right," Turtle said, "Take me and carry me up in the air. When I say drop me, from there we will race." Eagle was worried then. He took Turtle way up in the air. Turtle said, "Get ready. Whoever reaches the ground first, wins."

"All right," he said, "let's go."

Turtle dropped like a rock and Eagle tried fast to catch him. Every once in a while, Turtle stuck out his head and said, "Eeeeeeee, Eagle, come fast. I'm going to beat you now," and pulled in his head.

The creatures were watching and shouting for Turtle. Muskrat jumped around and whipped his tail [Suszen waved his hands] because his partner was winning. Eagle was close behind all the way to the ground. He thought Turtle would hit the ground like a rock. Turtle did hit the ground and said, "Heeeeee." He stood up and said, "All you creatures go wherever you like, anywhere. I am your chief now."

"Now, Eagle, I am not going to stop your speed. You will always be the fastest creature. You can catch what you want to eat. When the people come, they can dream. You know I can't beat you, but I dreamed. Then you let me pick the place and I beat you. So I destroyed your laws so it couldn't be your way when the people [humans]get here."

All the creatures scattered. Eagle went too. He had lost his laws. That was the beginning of races. The creatures told the people [about] races when they came.

CRAWFISH AND FOX RACE" 1/

Fox was a fast animal; he could outrun all the other animals. Crawfish said that he was going to run a race with Fox. When Crawfish got there, he said to Fox, "Well, I've come to have a race with you." Fox

1/ [See p. 238(A). --Analyst]

p. 238(B)

539*

looked at him and thought, "Even the other animals, who run forward, can't beat me; and how can this fellow who runs backwards race with me!" So Fox told Crawfish, "You can't run very fast. You begin to run." Crawfish said, "No; you start. You can't run fast." Fox said, "All right. We'll start." And they both started.

As soon as Fox made a jump, Crawfish caught on his tail. He kept telling Fox to do his best; that he was going to leave him. He was hanging on Fox's tail. He told Fox to run faster. Fox did not have time to look back, because Crawfish kept telling him that he was going to beat him; but Crawfish was hanging to his tail. When they got close to the finishing line, Crawfish cried, "Run, I tell you! I'm going to beat you." Fox did not look around, but did his best. When Fox came closer to the line, Crawfish told him to run faster because he was going to pass him. Just as Fox crossed the line, he turned around to look back. Crawfish jumped off, and crossed his legs. He said to Fox, "What's the matter? I told you I'd beat you." So Crawfish told Fox, "From now on you'll be nothing but a fox that goes around in the hills, and you'll not be a racer any more."

FROG AND TURTLE RACE[1]

One time Frog had a long tail and Turtle had none. Frog ran races and always won because he could jump. Turtle had three brothers. He dreamed that they could beat Frog. He said to his brothers, "Get up. I had a dream that we would win from Frog."

They went to a camp where Frog was with all the people he had beaten. Turtle sent his three brothers to station themselves at intervals along the race track. Turtle bet his life against Frog's tail. Frog knew that Turtle could not run. He said, "All right, and you can free the creatures if you win."

They started. Frog ran fast and saw Turtle way behind him. Turtle stopped and hid himself. He called, "Whooooo." His first brother got up and began running. Frog looked ahead and saw him. He ran fast and passed him. Turtle called, "Whooooo," and hid himself. The next brother got up and ran. Frog saw him ahead and ran fast and passed him. Turtle hid and called "Whoooo." So the brother at the turning point started to run back. Frog ran fast around the mark and came back. He passed Turtle. Turtle called, "Whoooo," and hid. The third brother got up and ran. Frog ran fast and passed him. Turtle called, "Whoooo," and hid. The second brother got up and ran. Frog ran fast and passed him. Turtle called, "Whoooo," and hid. The oldest brother, hidden close to the finishing line, got up and ran. Frog ran fast but he lost. [Suszen represented the

[1] [See p. 239(c). --Analyst]

p. 239(A)

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hiding turtles with his right index finger, and the sprinting Frog with his left index finger.]

Frog sat down to hide his tail, but Turtle said, "Well, I want my tail now." Frog sat there a long time, so Turtle pushed his head down and pulled all of Frog's tail off. Frog has only half a backbone now.

THE MAN ABANDONED ON A LEDGE" 1/

There were two brothers. The older had a wife. They lived between the lake and the bluff called xōtia'mist. The older told his brother, "We'll go up there and get the young eagles on the bluff." (That was before they would be able to fly.) They picked a lot of qō'lûs and made a strong rope by braiding it. Then they went way up the bluff and tied the rope to a tree. The older brother took the other end and went down the bluff holding on to it. When he was about half way down he stopped at a narrow ledge and said to his brother, "When I pull on the rope you'll know I'm standing on something and am safe." The younger brother thought, I'm going to cut the rope so I can take his wife." He cut the rope.

It was in the morning when this happened. The rope was tied about the man's chest, and when it was cut it nearly pulled him off the ledge. The younger brother went back to the camp. He told his sister-in-law, "The rope broke and your husband is dead now. Well, I'll take you and take care of you myself. It's too late to do anything to save your husband now." So they packed all their belongings, and moved away from the rock towards Kartaro. There is a place there called snktsē'xknatn, "burnt down house," and there they pitched camp.

The older brother stayed there on the ledge. It was high above the ground. He stayed there until just about dark. Then he took two of the eagles and tied their feet with the bark. Just about morning the mother eagle came back. He saw all kinds of bones there: deer and all kinds. He seized the mother eagle and tied her up too. Later the father eagle came, but he was afraid of the man and would not come there. Finally the man got him tied up. So he had four tied together. Then he thought to himself, "If I stay here I'll die anyway and if I go down I might die too." So he tied a bird to each ankle and each wrist. When he went down he lost consciousness but the birds flew to a nice place where it was not so rough and there they landed.

He came to his senses about sundown. When he woke, he looked at the eagles and their mouths were wide open, they were so hungry. He took them to the water and took

1/ [See p. 239(C). --Analyst]

P. 239 (B)

*539

86 Told by Susan Timentwa (L.V.F.W.). Another version, told by Andrew Tillson, substitutes Hummingbird for Frog.
87 Told by Cecile Brooks (M.M.).

p. 239 (c)

*539 a feather from each. He said, "I am not going to kill you, because you saved my life. I am just going to take a feather from each of you."

By now three days had passed. When he went back to the camp, he found that his brother and wife were gone. He followed their tracks and saw their camp at the little spring. He jumped back into the brush and hid. He got close to the house and heard them laughing and having a good time. First he killed his brother. His wife pleaded with him, saying, "I didn't want your brother: I want you." But he killed her too.

He laid them both down. Then he took all their mats and other things, and laid these on them, and just set fire to it all. That is why they named the place "House burned down." And I left them there and I came back.

THE MOUNTAIN GOAT GIRLS[58]

(People say, "Look. Here are deer bones. How can they come to life again?" Here is a story about a real Indian in Canada.)

One time there was a good hunter who killed lots of deer, maybe one or two for each person. All by himself, he could help all the people in only a few days. When he hunted, many people followed him. The stronger women followed him with the men. One day he killed four for his people; the next he killed for himself. All followed him in the summer.

One day he saw two mountain goats a little way from the dead deer. The hunter followed the goats. He went over the hill, following their tracks. He saw a little lake with good water. He saw two pretty women swimming, but no mountain goats. They stood off there and called, "Come on. After swimming, then we will go." He thought, "They don't know me." He sat down and waited. They came out of the water and put on two mountain goat hides that he saw lying there. Then they were mountain goats again. He tried not to follow, but his feet went right along. Finally on a mountain between two other big mountains, the man saw a lot of ice where he could not go.

The two goats told him to close his eyes and hold onto them, and not to open his eyes. He did that and went a little way. He could not feel the ice so he opened his eyes. Then he slipped down, clear to the bottom. They said, "Now, don't open your eyes again. You might get hurt." He closed his eyes and it was just like walking on a level place. Finally they told him to open his eyes and he looked back. They had come straight up, perhaps six miles.

58 Told by Suszan Timentwa (L.V.W.W.).

P. 240 (A)

*539 He went a little way and saw a door with ladders sticking out. He went in and saw many people. He saw an old man there who said, "Hello, my son-in-law." The old man said to the other women there, "You'd better cook something to eat for your husband." The man thought. "Why, he is going to give me all his women for my wives." They gave him a good bed with goat skins to rest on. When he lay down, the two pretty women took off their hides and were women again. All the rest of the people were goats when dressed, but people when they took off their hides.

In the evening, everybody lay down to sleep. One women slept on each side of him. He attempted to copulate with them, but they said, "Not now. When the time comes, all these women will be your wives." Next day, he was sorry and thought about it. The old man said, "Why is your husband sorry?" The women said, "He wants to copulate when it isn't our time." Old man said, "Every year, there is just one time for our people to raise children."

Next day, the old man sent the boys down to the river to see about the salmon. They said, "The salmon stay still. They spawn now." Every day they went hunting, and the man went along. The old man told him, "When you kill deer, don't throw away anything; neither the intestines nor anything." The man obeyed four times, then he thought he would find out about this.

Eight boys went hunting with him one day. He killed three deer and only five boys came back in the evening. He thought perhaps the boys had turned into deer."[1] The next time he went hunting, he jumped quick and cut off the tongue of one deer and hid it. When they got to the house with the deer, they ate it all. The old man sent the boys to throw the bones in the lake, and all the deer came to life again. They returned to the house. One boy was sick and spit blood all the time. Other boys said, "Our partner is sick. His tongue is gone." Then the man knew. The boys would go hunting with him in the morning; they turned into deer and were killed, eaten, their bones put in the lake, and they were revived again. So the man gave the tongue to the old man, who put the tongue in the boy's mouth and it was all right. The man believed now. He knew. When deer bones are put in the lake, they come alive again.

In the morning, the old man sent the boys down to a certain Indian who was hunting. "You help this man, who wants something to eat. But there is one man there who makes fun of us. Don't go near him." All the deer put on their skins and went down. All the Indians, except the man who mocked them, killed deer. Some of the boys came back very soon. Others were kept a long time

[1] [See p. 240(c). -- Analyst]
P. 240(B)

*539

58 Told by Suszen Timentwa (L.V.W.W.).
59 The same confusion of deer with mountain goats occurs in another (identical) version of this tale told by the same narrator.

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When the deer came back, some said, "That man fed me well: camas, berries and everything." (When Indians put camas and berries by the deer when he is brought into the house, they are feeding him.)

The old man sent the boys down to see about the salmon again. When they came back, they said, "The salmon are spawning now." The old man said, "All you girls go to the lake and swim. When you come back, all you boys go and swim. Tomorrow is your time. Go and have a good time." The two women told the man, "See, you were in a hurry some time ago."

All went swimming, and after breakfast all put on clothes and became deer. The old man reached out and gave the man a thick goat hide to wear. He said, "Wear that so your friends can't hook you with their horns and hurt you." It was so heavy that he could only walk while everybody else ran and played as they chose. Towards evening, the others came back and left him. He tried to get near the does but could not. He went back and took off his skin. Everybody was laughing and playing. He thought, "Because I am a man, I can't do anything."

The old man said, "Maybe someone did wrong to this man and he is sorry." They all said, "No, we didn't do wrong. But he is too slow." The old man said, "That is my fault. I gave him a heavy skin so he would not get hurt. Tomorrow I will give him a lighter one so he can go fast."

Next day the old man gave him a lighter skin. He went out, trotted and ran, and caught up to the other deer. He was bigger than all the other bucks, so soon he was alone with the does and had all of the women all day. Now the man remembered that he had a little girl and a little boy with his own people whom he had left. He went with the does for nearly a month. When a doe felt that she was going to have little ones, she did not play any more. Finally just a few does went out. Finally there were no more. So the man learned to be like the deer, and to have intercourse with women only once a year. He stayed with the deer three years and learned good ways from them.

The man's people had followed him when he left that first day. They had found his tracks between the two deer tracks going up the ice mountain. They knew that the deer had taken him away, that he was not dead. So the people used their power to find if he were dead or alive. Then they knew that he was living with the deer. They made power to make him think, "Let me go back to my people."

Finally after three years, he thought, "I have a boy and a girl. I am lonesome. I must go back." He told the old man who said, "All right. That is your affair; but any time you want to come back here, this is your home too."

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60 Told by Billie Joe (W.D.C.).

P. 241 (A)

539*

When the man came back to his people, he told them all about everything. And he did not know how many of the young deer were his children.

The old man had given him shoes to wear over the ice. Finally he came close to the camp. He became afraid of the camp odors; just as a deer would. For four days, he tried to go into camp, but was always scared and ran back into the brush. Finally, the people saw him and went there, and saw the tracks. They said, "Maybe he is scared, just like a deer. All of you who have power come and try to catch this man who is coming back."

They all came together and lined up on two sides of the brush where he came out. They said, "When he comes, surround him." All the men and women did this. The others said, "We have to get some certain roots and weeds to put medicine on him when we get him."

They caught him. He was just like a deer, running around. He died, just like a deer; scared. They took him to camp quickly and washed him with roots. He woke up and was sick for quite a while. So they made him tame again.

THE MAN WHO HAD HIS WILL OF A DEER" 1

A man was lazy and lay in the tent all the time. His brothers told him to look at their deer snare. It was in the fall and they were snaring deer. He went out and saw a female deer in the trap. He had never had anything to do with women. So when she turned her buttocks toward him, he had intercourse with her. She told him to free her from the trap.

In the spring he went out to hunt. He saw little deer tracks, which he followed. A woman laughed from up on the hill, saying, "You want to see your children." He went up there and found the little fawns. The doe had turned into a woman and was sitting down by the little fawns. The mother told him, "Any time now when you go hunting, tell your brother to sit right in between two little mountains. You stay ahead with these deer, and tell your brother not to kill you, the leader deer, but that you'll take the deer right past him for him to kill."

He told his brother this, and left camp. The brother tried this; he went and sat in the gap. Soon he saw some deer coming. The man was the leader; and after he had passed, the brother was to kill the rest. "We're going to npEcqwē'ōc" (down near Wenatchee). (These people were Sinkaietk.) So the brother thought that he would kill the leader this time; that his brother was way down there at npEcqwē'ōc. So he sat in the gap. When the leader came close, he shot him. His brother, the leader, jumped two or three times, and fell down dying. He turned into human form, and put his arms over his face.

1 [See p. 241(A). --Analyst]
p. 241(B)

*539 The deer brother told him, "That's the end of your hunting. You'll never kill another deer as long as you live. You've killed me now. I'm dying."

THE BOY FOSTERED BY BEARS[61]

They always used to go up Kettle River for deer hunting in the fall, and for trapping. There was a man, his wife, and their little boy who went up to Kettle River. They went way up and made camp at the head of Kettle River, near White Mountain (kpukamé'qin). They stayed there, while the father was killing game and trapping all through the winter. All this boy would do is to just lick the cooking pots out. His belly just grew until he had a great big belly. He would not mind his parents: he would not get water or wood. He would just lie there and lick the big horn spoons and the pots. When high water came in the spring, his father said to his mother, "I think it's time for us to go home." So he told his wife, "I'm going to tell you something. Don't be sorry about it. I've made up my mind to leave our boy here. When we get ready to go back, we'll just leave him here. He's not good for anything but to lick pots. It would be a shame to take him back among the people." His mother did not like it very well, but her husband said, "If you don't come back with me I'll kill you, and I'll kill the boy too." So he got ready and made a bark canoe.

When he worked on it, the little boy was so glad that they were going back that he ran here and there to help his father make the bark canoe. When the canoe was ready, the man told his wife, "Get everything ready; we'll put it all in the canoe. The little boy heard this, and was so pleased that he took his bow and arrows and put them in the canoe. His father was watching him as he did this. When they were just about ready to start, his father took the boy's bow and arrow back, and hung them way up on the tipi poles. Then his father asked him, "What did you do with your arrows?" He said, "I've got them in the canoe." His father said, "No; there they are on the tipi poles. You're so lazy you don't take care of them. Go and get them." The man and his wife were both in the canoe ready to start. The little boy went ashore and ran up the hill to get his bow and arrows. Then, as soon as the boy got on the bank, his father pushed the canoe out, and they went on down the river. When the little boy got his bow and arrows down, he looked around. His people were just going out of sight at the turn of the river. So he shouted, but it did no good; they went on all the faster. The little boy sat there and cried and cried. He stayed there at the camp for two or three days. Then he thought to himself, "All right. I guess my mother and father don't like me. I'll go up on White Mountain and find a grizzly so it will kill me." So he started out.

61 Told by Johnnie Louie (W.B.C.).

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Sinkaietk

*539 He went up, and looked and looked and looked for a grizzly. Finally he came to a grizzly bear that had two little cubs. He went ahead of them and lay down where he thought they were going to go, so they would find him and kill him. But the mother just went so far and turned away from him. So he went around and lay ahead of her again. But she went just so far and turned away again. The little cubs, who were running around, found him. They shouted to their mother to come over and see this little boy. The little cubs told her, "We want him for our brother. You'd better come and make him our brother." But she said, "No, he's lazy. His mother and father left him because he's lazy. All he would do was lick pots. You don't want a brother like that." So the cubs cried and finally left the little boy. Then the little boy got up again and went around in front of the bear for the third time. This time the bear turned around and went the other way. The little cubs stayed with him, and cried and cried.

Finally their mother told them, "If you don't get lazy, I'll fix him for your brother. See the belly on him. We'll have to wash all that out." So the mother took her little finger and split the little boy's guts open with it. All the pots and spoons that were inside of him fell out. (Every time he licked a pot out, that would be a pot, you see.) Finally the two little bear cubs took a bucket apiece and fetched water from the river, and their mother washed out the inside of the little boy. She washed it and washed it and washed it, and after she got through she found just one little, little power that this little boy had. It was all crowded in among the pots: a little white weasel. So the mother took that out, and washed it clean, and put it back inside him. Then she put his belly together, and gave it one rub, and the rip was healed over.

She turned to her children and said, "Now, here's your brother. You'll have to be good to your brother now, and do what he tells you to do." So he took his bows and arrows, and killed birds and squirrels for his brother and sister to eat. He got to be a smart boy. The little bears were very pleased that they had a brother who could kill something for them to eat. Finally, when fall came, their mother told them, "We'll have to go back to our den." So they went back and got into their den, and stayed there all winter. The next spring he hunted for his little brothers and sisters, and they would dig roots for him to eat. So he stayed two years with the grizzly bears. Then the grizzly bear fixed him so that he was an awfully nice looking boy.

The second year she told her young ones, "We'll bring your brother back to wherever he came from." The little bear cubs started to cry. They went down the Kettle River;

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started early in the spring, and when they got down to Kettle Falls, there were all kinds of people at the falls catching salmon.

When his parents first got home, the people asked them where their little boy was. They both replied that their little boy had died; that that was the reason they came back. The people believed it; that their little boy was dead. They did not think that they had left him in the hills.

So when the grizzly bear and the cubs and the little boy got back to Kettle Falls, the old mother bear told him, "Here you are now, a nice looking man. You're going to leave your brother and sister. If it hadn't been for them, you wouldn't be a nice looking boy now. When you grow up to be a man, never kill your brother and sister. Never touch me at all. If you want to kill a grizzly bear, kill a big he-grizzly, but never touch me or your brother and sister. So now, all right; you can go." He went close to where the children swam, where he fainted and fell down: he smelled the Indians. [Here Johnnie launched into a description of the odor of Indians; saying that when one has just had a sweat bath, his clothes smell strong when he puts them on, and he smells the other Indians strong when he first comes among them after the bath.]

The little children ran back to the Indians, and told them they had found a little boy with a small scar on the cheek, and that it looked like the little boy who the parents said was dead. The people rushed down and saw it was the same little boy. So they put him in a buckskin robe, and smoked him with xaxac root, and he came to life again. His mother and father were ashamed to claim him. He had an aunt who had a son. He stayed with his aunt and cousin till winter came.

Then he told his cousin, "If anything happens when the Indians are dancing, if they hit me just right, I'm bound to faint. Pierce both of my arms (near the shoulder) with a feather: I will get up and sing, and you come right behind." When the Indians were dancing the cta'xwa[1] dance [Procession dance], he did what the bears had told him to do. And his cousin did what the boy had told him to do. So he got up and went on. The dogs were following as if it were a grizzly; and at every tent he went to, people would follow him out. Finally he had all the people following him.

He came to his father's house, and his father becamed ashamed [because?] of him. He said to his wife, "I wonder where he got the song that he is singing." His father stood inside the door, and when the boy came in, his father took a bow and arrow, and shot him

[1] [See p. 243 (c).--Analyst]

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right through the body. His boy gave the grizzly cry. When he went out the door, the ends of the arrows broke on the door posts and hung down. So he told his father, "You hit me just right. That's just what I wanted you to do." He went out. Someone came and told the father, "Your boy is dying," but he was not; he was going around singing. He went around again just because his father shot him, went into every tipi. When his father heard him coming again, he told his wife, "We'll go with our son. Get your best things, and you put them on him when he comes, and we'll go." When the boy came in again, his mother started to throw the blankets on him. He told her to keep them, that he did not want them: that he just went around to show the people that he was a man: he was no longer a pot-bellied child,"as you called me," he told his father. And the ends of the arrow were still hanging from his sides. He danced till he got back to his aunt's house, where his cousin pulled the arrow out. So he healed himself.

In the spring they used to go hunting. He always killed grizzlies and deer, and was a very good hunter. When he got in a valley and saw the smoke from a black bear's den, he would go right to the den, and if there were cubs and a mother in there, he would never touch them.

Finally, one day he got a woman,and had brothers-in-law and a father-in-law. It was in the spring; in the breeding time for bears. They saw a great big he-grizzly and a mother bear and two cubs. Whenever he would see bears with cubs, he would always go up and pet the little cubs, and play with them, and get something to give them to eat. This time when they found the big he-grizzly and the mother and cubs, he killed the he-grizzly, and played with the little cubs a while, then let them go. His father-in-law and brothers-in-law asked him, "Why don't you kill the cubs and the mother? We'd have that much more meat." So he turned to his brothers-and father-in-law, and told them that there was plenty of other meat to get without killing them. They laughed at him, and told him, "That old mother bear and her cubs must be your wife and children," making fun of him. Finally he told his father-in-law, "All right; you'll see. If you want me to die, all right; I'll kill them." So he told the little cub bears, "Don't be sorry. It isn't my fault I'm going to kill you. They make too much fun of me for not killing you. They want me to die, I guess." So he killed the two little cubs, and went up to the mother bear and shot her. As soon as he shot her, she picked him up and tore him all to pieces. So his brothers-in-law and father-in-law started to cry. They went back, knowing that he was killed. He had told his wife before he went out on this hunt that he

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62 In this the shaman, barefoot, leads the people (who wear moccasins) around the tipis in the winter (Colville). Johnnie stated at another time that this Procession dance is Colville, not Sinkaietk. At this dance they paint the face of the shaman, who has gone into a trance, to make him come to himself.

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*539 was going to die through the fault of his father-in-law and brothers-in-law.

The bear went off way up [in the mountains?] and became sorry for him; that it was not his fault. She thought, "I'll go back and bring him back to life again." So she went back and gathered up all his body that was mixed with dirt, and put it all together. She healed him again, and told him, "From now on you can kill me and you can kill your brothers: you've already begun to kill us. It was through that little brother and sister of yours that you became a man. You can go ahead and kill us now. I'll give you the power."

THE BOY WHO KILLED THE GRIZZLY BEARS[63]

They called the bird kiamqĭ'hqō, a chickadee (?). He had a grandmother. After he grew up he asked his grandmother if he had any relatives, a father or mother or any other. His grandmother told him he had a sister, but she did not know where she was, because Grizzly Bear had captured both her and her husband Wolf. They had been captured for many years and she had lost track of them. Grizzly had charge of them.

So he asked his grandmother where the Indians got their bows and arrows. His grandmother told him that the place where the Indians got their bows was very dangerous; that nobody ever had a real bow from the proper woods that Indians use for bows. (That is bluewood and dogwood.) He begged his grandmother to tell him where this place was. Then his grandmother told him where to go. He said nothing to his grandmother, but early the next morning he got something to eat and started out to look for this place.

When he got close to this place he could hear the trees — well, the trees would spring way back and then crash together. Nobody could get close to that place: as soon as an Indian got close, the trees would draw him to them and smash him. He had a little power that he had got when he was a child. He took this power and put it on the end of a stick. When he got close, the trees were coming together, and he hit them as he spoke. He broke the trees right in two. (That was when Moses Mountain was a man.) And he (the boy) said that in the next world, people [humans] would not have to be killed just because they were looking for bows and arrows. He went and got the wood. He tied a big bundle of it and carried it on a high hill, where he threw it all over the world. He said, "This wood will be there, and there, and there," and so on; so that when the Indians came afterwards any Indian — children and all — could have bows, and they need not be afraid to go and get it. After he did that he took what he wanted and went home. His grandmother said to him, "I told you not to go or you'd get killed." He said, "I did

63 Told by Johnnie Louis (W.B.C.).

*539 that because in the next world they have to have bows and arrows, and yet not get killed." So his grandmother thought that he must be a great man.

He asked his grandmother where they got their arrows. His grandmother said, "You'd better not go there. That's a dangerous place, and there's a big bear there. As soon as you get there, the crane that is watching the serviceberry bushes will shout and the bear will come out of the bush. Nobody ever gets away from that grizzly." He said, "Well, I'll take a chance." So he started for this place. When he got near the place and got close to the crane, he took his little power and stuck it up on a little bush, and stood it right up on the plain. It began to rain, and then poured. The crane put his head under his wing. He thought there was no use watching because nobody would travel in such a storm. So the boy went in and began to cut serviceberry bushes, as many as he could cut and carry. He started to carry them out. He carried the bundle out on the plain, and spread the serviceberry bushes all over the world again. He said that when the people [humans] come they were not supposed to get killed while getting arrows: that they should get arrows any time they wanted them. So he got what he wanted to use. Then he went back to his grandmother and his grandmother thought that he was quite great for a boy. So he made his arrows.

After he finished he asked his grandmother where they got their flint. His grandmother told him that that was impossible to get, but she thought to herself that he was great enough and might get that, too. So his grandmother told him that they got it from a place above; that there was an old fellow there, who would tell him that he got his flint across the river, but not to believe that. She said, "That's the way he kills men. He is a kind of man-eater." And so the boy said that he would try it. And he went.

When he got to this fellow, this fellow said to him, "Youire a relative of mine, and I know what you're looking for. You're looking for flint. I have lots of it across the river. I'll take you over and show you where it is buried around the trees, and you can get some for yourself. I haven't time to dig it myself." So this old fellow took him across and told him, "Well, I'll wait for you here, and when you get some, we'll go back across the river." So the boy went up on the hill.

When he got up on the hill, he heard a canoe and looked around. The old man was back on the other side of the river, where he took his canoe out [of the water] and covered it up. The boy started to run back and shout, but the old fellow just laughed at him and told him to go to look for flint; that when he had found flint arrow heads, he

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would come back after him. This old man went back in his house and covered everything up, and began to sing his song. It started to snow. It just rained and snowed, and the boy got wet through and through. He started to go under the bank, where he thought he would have a little shelter. As soon as he had popped under the bank, he found himself in a tipi, where it was nice and dry.

The man in the tipi told his wife, "There's your nephew. Take his clothes off and dry them, so he can have them to put on in the morning." These two were not people at all: they were mud-hens, that always go in pairs. After they gave him something to eat, they said, "Well, here are your cousins. I don't like him [the boy?] to kill them [his cousins, the eggs], but I would like you [the boy] to get what you're after." His aunt told him to go and hide; to take these two eggs, and just about midnight to break one of the eggs, and to come back and stay. After he broke that egg, he went back and stayed in their tipi. Just before daylight his aunt sent him out again with the other egg and he burst that egg just before daybreak. It made a cracking noise. The man-eater heard the crack and thought it was the boy's eyes that were cracking. So he stopped his song then and said, "Well, I guess I'll go over and get that young boy and have a nice tender breakfast." So he went over there, but the boy kept himself hidden under a root. His aunt told him, "When he comes across the river to the bank to look for your body, let him go up on the hill. Then get in the canoe and start to paddle. Don't pay any attention to him. When you get across the river, sing the man-eater's song to make the snow and cold come." His aunt sang it to him, so that he would know the song. Then he went and hid himself under the root.

Pretty soon he saw the man-eater come down to his canoe and put his canoe on the water. When the man-eater got across to where he was, he heard the man-eater say, "I heard his eye pop up on the bank: he went up there." So he got out of the canoe and went up on the bank. Then the boy got in and pushed out. He was just about in the middle when he struck the canoe with his paddle. Then the man-eater saw him and began to beg him to come back and get him; that he would give him all kinds of flint. The boy paid no attention to him, but kept on paddling till he got to shore. When he got to shore, the man-eater thought there was no more use in begging him to come back, but he begged him not to sing the song that he (the man-eater) sang. But the boy paid no attention to him.

He went in [the man-eater's house] and blocked all the openings and started to sing his song. The man-eater had all kinds of human bones on his dance-pole to make the cold and snow come. He sang this man-eater's medicine song and made it rain and snow all day. Just about evening he changed his song and made it turn cold and clear so that it

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would freeze. He kept up his song until midnight. It was freezing and cold and it started to blow. At midnight he heard the man-eater's eye pop [from the cold]; and as soon as his eye burst, he [it?] turned into an owl (siné'na) and sat on a tree. The boy said, "You're not going to be a man-eater all the time. After a while you'll be nothing but an owl that people scare children with." Towards morning his other eye popped, and he [it?] turned into an I'hēn (like a nighthawk). And the boy said to the I'hēn that he would be nothing but a bugaboo to scare children with, not a man-eater, just as he had said to the owl.

After this fellow died, the boy went to the place in the tipi where the man-eater kept all his flint. He went back to his grandmother, and on his way he threw this flint all over the world, so that when the Indians came they could have flint without any trouble or dying for it. So he went back. His grandmother was glad to see him return and she thought that he must be an awfully great boy. Now he had those arrows and bows and flint.

Then he asked his grandmother how they got deer sinew to put on the arrow and bow. His grandmother told him that not everybody could get the sinew; that he had an aunt quite a way in the mountains who had a big deer for a husband; that she might be able to get some sinew for him. He told his grandmother that he was going over to his uncle's house to get some sinew, that is, to this big deer.

He went to his uncle's house and asked his aunt for some sinew. His aunt told him that she did not have any and that her husband was way up in the mountains; that she might be able to go over there and get some sinew from him. So she started up to her husband. When she got there, this big deer asked his wife what she wanted. She told him that she wanted some clothes for her children, that it was getting cold for them. So she tore a place in the back of his neck and pulled on the sinew. He got up and asked her what was hurting him so. She said she was not doing anything but getting hair to keep the children warm. He said, "All right," but it was hurting him. Finally she pulled all his sinew out. When all the sinew came out, this big deer died. So the boy's aunt shouted for him to come. He came and took all of his [the deer's] hair, and threw it all over the world. He said, "There isn't going to be only one deer in the world for people to get meat and sinew from; that will be yours, and yours, and yours; for people not to be in want." He went back.

He worked on his bow and arrows, and prepared all his flint [arrowheads]. Then he saw one thing that he did not have; that was a feather. He asked his grandmother, "How can I get some feathers for my arrows?" His grandmother told him that they got feathers from birds, but she said she did not know [how?] he could get them. But the birds were flying

*539 south (it was in the fall), and he shouted to the leader bird, and finally he came down. That was the goose (? qōcí'h^{0}). He got feathers from them. He got all kinds of feathers from all birds, and he put marks on them [the birds] in payment. After he got all kinds of feathers — grouse, eagle, hawk, and so on — he let them go. He went back and feathered his arrows.

He told his grandmother, "Well, I'm going to leave you now;" that he was going to look for his missing sister. So he left. He travelled until spring came — all through the winter — and kept on travelling and travelling. So he travelled for about three or four years. He came to a place where somebody had made a fire. He thought it had been just about a year since someone had made a fire there. He followed that fire sign for about two years till he came to a pretty fresh sign of fire. He kept on till he came to where they had just made a fire the day before. So he travelled till he caught up to them.

His sister was dragging their tent-poles along. He saw his sister, and, she told him, "You came here to die, because we're with grizzlies." She and her little boy were in danger all the while from the grizzlies; that her husband had to go and hunt for the grizzlies all the while. (Her husband was Wolf [ntsí'tsin].) She thought that he had better hide himself. So she put him in her pack and laid her pack down where they were going to camp. As soon as Grizzly saw them he told them to camp, and they camped just as far as they could from him. They put up the tent. This boy kept in hiding till the sister had tule mats [on the tipi frame] all around him. He got up and sat down, but she said he would have to keep in hiding or they would kill him. He said that he was not afraid of their killing him. When her husband came back, he was glad to see his brother-in-law, but said that he was awfully sorry that the boy came; that they would kill him if they found him. But the little boy said, "That's all right. I want to destroy everything that kills people."

When evening came his brother-in-law said, "Well, I'm going over to Grizzly's camp to get a piece of the meat that I killed for them." The boy jumped up to go with his brother-in-law to Grizzly's camp. When they reached Grizzly's tent, Grizzly said to his daughters, "Make room for your husband. Let him sit over there between you." Grizzly told the boy to go sit between the girls. He went over and sat between the girls, while his brother-in-law went and got meat. When Wolf had gotten meat he said to the boy, "Let's go back." The boy tried to jump up. He could not; the bears' power had glued his legs together so he could not get up and walk. Finally his brother-in-law went away and left the boy. The boy just lay there and the girls started to play with him.

The next day they got ready and travelled. They carried the boy. His sister was

*539 crying all the while. They carried him till they came to a big river in a canyon; then they threw him over the bluff into the river. He struck the water with his feet, but he fell on a little level place, and he stayed there. His sister came over the top of the bluff and cried and cried. He told his sister, "It won't do you or me any good to stay there. You'd better let me die here, but take good care of your little boy." So she got up crying and left him. So his feet were hanging in the water. All kinds of little fish came and sucked on the cords with which the bear power had bound his legs.

He stayed there for three days till the sun told his daughter, "You'd better go get that boy out of there, and you can have him for a husband." She went down and took him out. He said, "I'm not fit for you at all." The girl said, "My father sent me down here to get you out. You are to be my husband." He said, "If you think I'm all right for you, I'll go with you." So this girl fed him some white stuff; he did not know what it was, but he ate a very little and it filled him up.

So they travelled till they caught up to his sister. She was dragging the tipi poles and calling his name and crying. He stepped on the tipi pole; she pulled and pulled, and let go. He stepped on the poles again, and her little boy looked back, and said, "Oh, my uncle is here." She said, "Keep quiet. Your uncle is dead. He won't catch up wit' us." He stepped on the poles again, while his sister kept pulling and pulling, and the little boy said, "My uncle is stepping on the poles, mamma." Finally his mother whipped him again very hard. The uncle could not stand it any longer, so he said, "Don't whip the boy, sister. He's telling the truth. I've caught up with you." Then his sister looked back, and there he was, with a woman. They sat down there and talked. The woman's sister-in-law [i.e. Sun's daughter] got this white stuff out and fed it to her and the little boy. There was little of it, but, while they ate and ate and ate, the white stuff did not diminish. Finally they were filled up and they went on.

When they got close to Grizzly Bear the sister put him and his wife in her pack. Grizzly Bear told them to stop; not to come any closer. So they stopped and made camp. They got through putting up their tent. He [Klamqĭ'hqŏ] had a lot of small flints in his pockets. He sent the little boy over to Grizzly Bear to get some deer grease. When his little nephew got over there and asked Grizzly for some deer grease, Grizzly asked him, "What do you want it for?" The little boy said, "I want it for my head, because my head must be awfully hard on your buttocks when you wipe your buttocks with it." So they gave the little boy some deer fat and he went back. His uncle washed and combed his head, cleaned all the bear dung out of his hair, and greased it well. Then he put all these small flints on his head, and told the little boy if they happened to call for

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him to come, to hit them in the buttocks with his head, and just keep rubbing as hard as he could, no matter if they cried out or not. Just as his uncle got through with his head, one of the grizzlies shouted for him to come, that the dung was getting dry on their buttocks. So he ran and bumped the old bear in the buttocks with his head, and the flints cut streaks in the bear's buttocks The bear said, "What's the matter with your head?" The little boy said, "Well, I thought it was getting awfully hard on your buttocks with all that dry dung in my hair, so I washed it, so as to make it soft, but I must have done wrong." He kept on till he had done that to all the grizzlies; cut up their buttocks so they could hardly walk.

When Wolf came back he saw his brother-in-law at the camp. He saw that he [Kiamqi'-hqō] had a woman. Wolf told his brother-in-law; "I wish you wouldn't let them see you, because they'll certainly kill you this time." Kiamqi'hqō told him that he was not going to fool them any more. He sent his brother-in-law [Wolf] over there, telling him to tell the grizzlies not to move camp the next day, because they wanted to go after moss and steam it under ground; they would be there for three or four days.

The next day the young bears went out in the hills to gather black moss. He told his sister, "You prepare the sweathouse for me. Put one blue rock on one side of the fire, and put another one on the other side." This young fellow [Kiamqi'hqō] started out. He told his brother-in-law where to go to hunt, and that these two young grizzlies would be with him all the time. He caught up to his brother-in-law, and asked him, "Where are the young grizzlies?" And his brother-in-law told him, "They're on ahead." So he went on and caught up to one of them. The young grizzly looked back and was going to charge him, but he threw his glove over [beyond] the bear's head, and his glove turned into a deer. He told the young grizzly, "Look ahead. There's a big deer." Then the young grizzly looked and saw the deer. Kiamqi'hqō put an arrow in his bow ready to shoot the young grizzly. He shot an arrow into the young bear, killing him. Then he ran after the youngest grizzly and killed him. He turned back and caught up to his brother-in-law.

He told him to run back down and shout that Kiamqi'hqō had killed all of Grizzly's daughters and sons. So his brother-in-law went down where the girls were getting moss. They were up on the trees. He killed them also. He stuck the youngest one on a stick and put her by the fire: he took a stick and ran it through her and stood her by the fire and pried her eyes and mouth open, and then went back to the camp. When Grizzly heard Wolf shout that his children were all dead,

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64 Told by Michel Brooks (W.B.C.).
65 Told by Johnnie Louie (W.B.C.).

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he threw [put] his teeth in his mouth (the teeth that bears wear when they are fierce), and went up on the hill. There he found his wife[?] and children dead. He came down again and found all dead but the youngest. She was standing by the fire. When her mother and father came, she was laughing. They slapped her and she turned round on the stick; that made them cry more. They saw that all were killed, so they rushed back to the camp.

When Kiamqi'hqō got back to camp he heated the stones for the sweathouse. When the bears came, one of them charged him, he poked the hot rock, and it flew into the bear's mouth, ripping her open, going right through her. Then the other one charged him and he poked the other rock. It flew into the other bear's mouth and killed him. So he said, "Now you're all killed;" that when the day came when there would be [human] children and men busy getting food, they would not have to fear bears all the time when searching in the hills. "Sometime you'll be nothing but a grizzly bear, but you won't be a man-killer all the time. You will kill a man now and then, but not all the time." He had killed them all. Then he went back and told his brother-in-law, "Well, we'll get ready and leave." So I left them and came back to Okanagon.

GRIZZLY AND RABBIT PLAY THE STICK GAME" 1

Grizzly Bear and Rabbit were playing the stick game together. Rabbit's song was qwēxqwēxhōlēwē'a, qwēxqwēxhōlēwē'a, qwēxqwēxhōlēwē'a. Finally he beat Grizzly. Grizzly told his partners, "Don't guess the bones. Let me do the guessing. If Rabbit beats me, I'm going to kill him." So Grizzly started to play, and started to guess. All the rest were afraid of Grizzly, so they did not guess, but let Grizzly guess all the time until they were beaten. Then Grizzly got angry and went after Rabbit to kill him. Rabbit jumped up and ran. Rabbit did not know which way to run. He ran onto the ice, and Grizzly ran after him on the ice. But when Grizzly ran on the ice, he broke through it and was drowned. So Grizzly's partners said, "It's all right that he was drowned. He was too mean [fierce; bullying]."

THE ORIGIN OF BLACK BEAR" 1

The black bear used to be a man. He had three brothers. He told his wife never to eat the brisket of a deer. He and his three brothers were hunting. He was the only one of the brothers that had a woman. One day after hunting he came back and saw his wife had eaten the brisket. He told her he would give her one more chance: if she ate brisket again, he would turn into a bear and leave her. He caught her eating the brisket again, so with his snowshoes on, he left her.

1 [See p. 247 (A). -- Analyst]
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After two days his brothers thought he was dead, and asked his wife what had happened. His brothers followed his snowshoe tracks; after a while they saw one snowshoe and that foot had left bear tracks; further on they found another snowshoe, and the track of the other foot was a bear track. They followed until they found him in a cave. He said, "I've turned into a bear, and I've left you forever." So his brothers started to cry. He told them, "Whenever you see me, never kill me. I'll be red." (That is the cinnamon or little brown bear.) So they returned and killed his woman. And when they got back they told the tribesmen all about it.

A CAPTIVE WOMAN'S SONS GIVE WARNING[66]

A long time ago the Shuswap came down to fight the Methow. They captured a girl there and took her up to Shuswap country. She stayed there a long time. Two boys were born to her. As soon as they grew up, she told them that they belonged down at Methow. She told them, "When you go down there, don't fight the Indians down there. You will be the ones to tell the people there before they fight. Never kill any of the people there, because they are your own people.

They found a canoe while they were coming down the Columbia from the Shuswap country. As soon as they got in sight of qKlê'-tsEmEn (on the Columbia River near Kartaro), they saw some men standing in a canoe, spearing salmon. One of these boys pretended he fell down and his paddle made a big noise against the canoe, so they could hear him. Those men who were spearing ran back and told the rest of the people that the enemy were coming. They all got ready and left there. The two boys told the Shuswap, "They couldn't have been people: they must have been ghosts standing there, who we thought were real people." These two boys went alone to see if there were any people there. They got there, but all were gone.

Then they went on down the river. When they got to where the Okanagon empties into the Columbia, they did not see any people. Then they went on up the Methow river, but they never killed any people. It seemed they were seen every time.

Then they told these two boys, "You are not trying to kill any people." But they never tried to kill the boys, because they were afraid of them. So they had to go home without killing any one.

Next year the two boys came down with some more people. They got way down where Okanogan [town] is now. There was a trail right there. The Shuswap spread out in a half-circle across the road. The two boys were in front, one on each side of the road.

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66 Told by Cecile Brooks (R.C.).
67 Told by Michel Brooks (K.C.).

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A couple was coming along that road. The boys held up their bows and arrows so the old couple would see them, but they did not. They came right on and were killed. The man tried to run away, but the woman said, "You said you would never run away if anybody was pursuing us," so he stayed. The woman was killed first and then the man. But the two boys did not have anything to do with killing them. Then they went back.

THE DOG WHOSE BARKING DROWNED PEOPLE" 1/1

There is a hole in the bluff in which a blind dog lived. The Columbia River is right below the bluff. Every morning after sunrise the blind dog would go on top of the bluff to lie there. This old dog had some little sparrows to give him warning when anything happened. So every time people went down in canoes, the sparrow would see them, and the sparrow would tell the dog, "Here comes some people down the Columbia." Then this dog would bark at the people, and as soon as he barked, there would be a big current that would tip the boat and the people would drown. Just as soon as the people were drowned, he would go up on the bluff again and lie down. The sparrow would watch, and just as soon as there were some more people coming down, the sparrow would tell him again, and he would begin to bark and the boat would turn over. This old dog did not want any people to go by him along the river.

The sun was angry with him because he was killing so many people. The sun thought that if he did not destroy this old dog, then, when there were people [humans] later, he would kill them: they could not go by there without his drowning them. So the sun came down and got behind him in the west. They would always be looking toward the east, because the river comes down from the east. Sun got quite close to him, when this little sparrow jumped up and made one little noise. The sun motioned to him not to make any more noise to warn the dog, because he would pay him, "because I want to kill him. I'll give you something you'll be proud of." The old dog said to the sparrow, "What's the matter that you made that one little noise and stopped?" And the bird said, "I went to sleep and I was dreaming when I cried out like that."

The sun hit the old dog over the head with his spear pole and broke the dog's head. The dog ran down the bluff and all over the bluff, but he could not find his den in the bluff. He went back in the den, where he died. That was the end of people getting upset. That is why the sparrows are marked all over: that is what the sun gave him in payment.

In the early days when a party passed there, they could hear a dog barking, and

1/1 [See p. 248(A). -- Analyst]
p. 248(B)

they would say they were going to have bad luck; that one of the party would die. The sun told the dog that when the people came, they would be able to hear him bark; that when they were going to have bad luck, he could give them warning. (Swaham'hatitsin is 539*

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the name of the dog and the bluff near Chelan where the story is located. The name means "barking dog" in the Wenatchi dialect: the bluff is in Wenatchi territory. It is still called "Barking Cliff" by the whites.)

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ABSTRACTS OF TALES

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The Origin of People

God creates the world and animals. He is to return in a year, when he will name the animals and create humans. Coyote desires to be the first named, hence leader, but falls asleep and is named last. God puts an object in the water, which becomes Beaver. In the future, humans will arise from twelve pieces of Beaver. Coyote is left in charge of the earth. When God returns, Coyote asserts he has the most power. Coyote is challenged to move mountains by pointing: he succeeds once but then fails. Coyote, having lost the opportunity to make humans, is placed by God in a house in the sea. God is to rejoin Coyote in the future.

Four wolf brothers prepare spears to kill Beaver. The youngest wolf uses his three brothers' spears, but they break. He pierces it with his own spear but is dragged down the Columbia, despite his clutching at plants on the way. Beaver is killed. The beaver is cut into eleven parts, instead of twelve. The animals take these portions and the blood, which serves as the twelfth part, to various localities. They breathe life into the so that each part becomes an Indian tribe. The humans are shown what is food and told to pattern their utensils after certain pictographs.

The Naming of the Animals
(First Version)[3]

God is to name the animals: the first to arrive is to be chief. Coyote decides to be first, and tries to keep awake by falling on a stake and by propping his eyes open, but he falls asleep. Fox arrives first and is named chief. The animals are named. When Coyote arrives, God offers him the choice of the names, coyote and sweathouse. God offers him power in his dung. Coyote tests his dung, which enables him to move a mountain by the wave of his hand. He imagines he is more powerful than God. He accepts the name coyote.

Fox, as chief, commits wrongs. God sends Coyote to right them. God, naming the sweathouse, tells it to be wherever there are people. Coyote and Fox travel over the world. God places Fox on a log in the northern ocean, Coyote on one in the southern ocean. God turns the world over and the creatures become animals. Coyote is still

1 Explanatory elements are underlined.
2 See Religion.
3 See Religion.

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in the ocean and will return to destroy the whites.

The Naming of the Animals
(Second Version)

A chief calls all the animals into his house to be named. Coyote wants to be first in order to get the best name. He tries to keep awake by first leaning against a stake, and then by propping his eyes open, but the chief's power makes him sleep. The chief names each animal and directs it to its proper home. When all are named, Coyote wakes and asks for the names of powerful animals. The chief gives him the only remaining name, coyote, together with power.

Origin of the Sun and Moon[1]

In the beginning it is dark: people decide to have a sun and moon. Crane is chosen as sun, but his body is so long, that the day is too long. Coyote is chosen in his place, but he gossips about what he sees, and he, too, is too long. Woodpecker is chosen, but he causes great heat.

Frog-woman causes a rain to force Coyote's sons into her tipi. Frog clings to the face of the elder: she cannot be cut loose. They decide the elder son shall be the moon, with Frog on his face, and the younger the sun.

Coyote Destroys North Wind's House
(First Version)

North Wind is preparing a sweathouse. Coyote comes prying and impudently goes into the lodge. North Wind throws the hot stones inside: Coyote suffocates. Fox revives him. Coyote pretends to have been asleep. They see no signs of the sweathouse.

Coyote calls on his power for help. Following instructions, Coyote goes into North Wind's house of ice where are the latter's wife and son. Coyote's power causes heat; the house, melting, tumbles down and kills the woman and boy. Coyote decrees that the north wind will be able to kill only those who are insufficiently clad.

Coyote Destroys North Wind's House
(Second Version)

Coyote sees North Wind preparing a

[1] [See p. 250(A). -- Analyst]

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sweathouse. He says that he too would sweat but North Wind refuses to answer. North Wind removes his clothes and enters the lodge. Coyote, in anger, kills him as he comes out and dons his clothes of ice. North Wind revives. The ice clothing freezes Coyote to death. North Wind recovers his clothing. Fox steps over Coyote, reviving him. Coyote pretends to have been asleep. [Incomplete.]

The Contest of the Winds

There are four North Wind brothers and four South Wind brothers. The former have a black bird as a relative, the latter Crane and Insect. The wife of the youngest South Wind is pregnant. Half the world is cold, half warm. The North Wind brothers kill people.

The oldest North Wind challenges South Wind to wrestle on the ice to decide whether the whole world will be cold or warm. Oldest North Wind wrestles with the South Winds in turn and kills them. Youngest South Wind, knowing he is to die, hangs up a bow and a digging stick. One of these will fall, informing Crane and Insect whether his wife has given birth to a boy or a girl. Youngest South Wind accepts the challenge and is killed. The whole world becomes cold. The wife returns to her home in the south.

Black Bird uses Insect's head and Crane's legs to clean himself after defecating. The animals are cold and starving. Each sings to bring back warmth and food, but fails. Duck sings and it becomes warmer.

Crane sees the bow fall: he knows a son is born to South Wind. North Wind is kept in ignorance of this. The boy grows rapidly and goes north to challenge North Wind. Young South Wind puts obsidian blades on Insect's head and Crane's legs. When Black Bird cleans himself, he is badly cut. Young South Wind instructs Insect to prepare soup to pour on the ice to assist him when wrestling.

Crane calls a challenge to North Wind. Young South Wind wrestles with the North Winds in turn and kills them. Each time Black Bird pours cold water under their feet to make it slippery, but Insect pours the soup, helping Young South Wind to win. Each time a North Wind is killed it becomes warmer.

Young South Wind pursues Black Bird, who escapes over the ice. Young South Wind decrees that Black Bird will always stay in cold places. He decrees that the North Winds will not remain dead, that he will bring summer, they will bring winter, and they will kill only those humans who mock them.

Youngest Wolf Brother and Big Deer
(First Version)

Big Deer was chief of animals inside a mountain. The four wolf brothers went to

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kill Big Deer for his horns. The youngest brother sings to make snow fall, sending the oldest out at intervals to report how much has fallen. He purposely reports less than the true depth. Finally the second youngest reports the truth. Youngest Brother then sings to make rain, and then to freeze a crust on the snow, with the same false reports. Youngest Brother makes snowshoes for his brothers.

They open the mountain: all the animals inside run out. When Big Deer comes out, Youngest Brother pursues him. Their footprints can now be seen. Deer takes refuge with Old Man, who has two fish daughters. Old Man hides him beneath a canoe and throws his gloves to an island to become deer. When Wolf arrives, Old Man denies seeing Big Deer. Wolf sees the deer on the island and swims toward it. Old Man and Big Deer pursue Wolf in a canoe. Big Deer kills him. Because they think all hands are against them, wolves are now killers.

Old Man gives his daughters to Big Deer as his wives. The animals are ashamed for Deer because his wives are ugly. A woman under the water wants to marry Deer.

Old Man and his daughters go fishing each night. When Deer takes his place, he is warned against going downstream. He does; the underwater woman seizes him and throws his wives back to their home. His fish wives give birth to two sons. A son is born to the underwater wife, who exactly resembles Big Deer.

Big Deer is made chief under the water. His followers agree to sending the third son to Big Deer's parents in the mountain. The boy goes, telling his two half-brothers to join him. They dawdle, eating pine nuts. The boy throws them into a tree, where they become a certain kind of bird. The boy arrives at his grandparents' home in the mountain and becomes chief of the animals there.

Youngest Wolf Brother and Big Deer
(Second Version)

Four wolf brothers live with their family. Whitetail, chief of all the deer-like animals, takes their sister for his wife. The wolf-wife makes moccasins for their son in the form of wolf paws, while Whitetail wants them made like deer hoofs. When she complains to the wolves, they decide to kill all the deer.

The wolf-father has the oldest son sing to bring snow. The son sends the father out to report: each time he returns with a misleading report that it is not deep enough. The son then sings to cause a thaw and then to freeze. Whitetail takes all the deer through the air and distributes them over the country. Whitetail fleeing comes to the Columbia and calls on a fish to carry him over. The fish refuses to heed when addressed as a blood relative. He accedes when addressed as father-in-law because he

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wants Whitetail to marry his daughter. The fish throws his coat into the river to look like a swimming deer.

When the oldest wolf brother arrives, he demands that the fish take him across. The fish decrees that humans shall not ask for ferryage to take revenge. When the wolf is swimming after the mock-deer, Whitetail shoots him. They take his body ashore. The second wolf brother arrives and is similarly dispatched. The youngest wolf brother arrives and after several false starts, gives up the attempt and goes home. Whitetail magically causes his wolf-wife to become blind.

Whitetail has three children (birds) by the fish's daughter. He sends them to join his son by the wolf-wife. On the way the two youngest birds decide to stay in the trees. The oldest, Woodpecker, reaches the wolf-son, who decides Woodpecker can live on grubs in the trees. The wolf-son becomes a bird, never seen, which causes animals to become dormant with the cold. Whitetail throws his fish-wife in the bush, where she becomes robins, always crying. He puts the fish in the river.

The wolf-father fails to cure his daughter's blindness. He appeals to the birds, who refer him to their chief. The chief bird tells him to enumerate all the rivers and to break the beaver dams on Yakima River to release the impounded water. Coyote warns Wolf to spear only the third, the oldest beaver; a man-eater. Wolf allows the first two to pass and spears the third beaver. He cannot release himself from the spear shaft. Beaver drags him toward the Columbia. Each bush tells Wolf to hold to it, but the bushes break. Wild hops repeat this advice: their root system is long and tangled. He holds to them and is saved. The wolf-father and Coyote kill the beaver. They use the beaver's entrails to cure blindness in the wolf-wife.

Killing the Water Elk

Elk lived in a lake. The wolf brothers want to kill him, to use his horn for a spear. When Elk comes out and sleeps, the youngest wolf brother cuts off his head. The three other brothers run up a hill with the head, but are pursued by the rising waters of the lake. The youngest brother has them surround themselves with grass, which the water cannot pass, so they are saved.

Fisher and Marten Cut off the Sea-Monster's Head

Fisher's wife goes swimming and seats herself on the sea-monster's horns, mistaking them for roots. The sea-monster steals her for a wife. Fisher and Marten, his brother, track her to the river edge, where Fisher's little son is crying. To soothe him, Marten makes a fawn in a cottonwood grove by using his power: Fisher provides bow and arrows. The child plays at shooting the fawn.

Fisher and Marten see two girl birds

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(waters of the sea-monster) approaching in a canoe, which they make move by wriggling. Fisher ...ers them ashore, but they refuse. Fisher and Marten have their power in canes. Fisher makes his cane long: it jumps into the canoe and brings them to shore. Fisher questions the girls, who are seeking food for the sea-monster's wife. He learns where they sit at home and how they carry out the wife on a mat to defecate.

Fisher kills the girls. He and Marten don the girl's skins. Marten tears the skin at the eye, so his eye waters. They set off in the canoe, propelled by their wriggling. Their canes take them ashore.

When in the house, the sea-monster suspects. In the evening they carry out the wife on a mat and reveal themselves to her. When the sea-monster sleeps, Fisher and Marten take off their disguise. Fisher cuts off the monster's head. The three flee in the canoe, taking the head. They cannot get away because of the monster writhing. Monster's people pursue them: they throw the head overboard.

Coyote volunteers to dive for the head but fails. Turtle dives and locates the head, but complains his shoulders are open to the cold. A shaman closes Turtle's shoulders. Turtle brings up the head, which the people place on the monster's shoulders. He revives.

The sea-monster causes a flood to pursue the three up the highest mountain. To save them, Fisher sets up his cane, which they climb. When the flood reaches Fisher, Marten sets his cane on top: it reaches into the sky: he boasts of his superior power. They climb this, but do not wish to go to the sky. When the water recedes, Fisher and Marten decide to stay in the mountains, where they will always live. (Evidence of the flood is seen in a cottonwood log high on Moses Mountain.)

Skunk Takes Revenge

Skunk and Fisher are bachelors: Fisher is a good hunter. Rabbit sends two granddaughters, chipmunks, to marry Fisher. They hide under Fisher's pillow. When Skunk arrives, the younger chipmunk laughs, so that Skunk discovers them. He hides them under his own pillow. At Skunk's request, he and Fisher put food under their pillows. Skunk's food disappears, so Fisher discovers that Skunk has taken the chipmunk girls.

Fisher goes hunting while Skunk stays with his wives. When Skunk goes out, Fisher returns and takes the girls. They burn the tipi and go off in the smoke, so that Skunk cannot discover their tracks. Skunk returns, but cannot find their tracks. Building a fire, he sees the tracks in the smoke. He follows them.

Looking into the water, Skunk sees a reflection of them perched in a cleft of a cliff. He squirts his fluid at the reflec-

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tions to kill them. When they laugh, he discovers them in the cleft. He squirts his fluid up but fails. Going to the top of the cliff, he squirts it down, killing Fisher. Skunk goes off with the chipmunk girls. At night they camp in a cleft in the rocks. The girls cause the cleft to close on him, while they go away.

Skunk frees himself by putting his body outside piecemeal. Raven steals his anus. Skunk reassembles his body and stuffs grass in his open buttocks. He goes on to a group of people who are playing at rolling his anus. He sits where it falls, so that it rolls into his buttocks.

In revenge, Skunk has them assemble in a tipi to hear his story. On the pretext that he does not want his story to escape, he has them close every crack. He tells the story of his adventure, and then, squirting his fluid, kills them. Only those who could not crowd into the tipi are saved.

Raven and His Brother's Widow

Raven desires his brother's widow. He announces a dance and sends the people for wood for the fire. Devil fish goes upriver, where he discovers Raven's sister-in-law and her grandson in embrace. He returns where the people are gathered. They whisper the scandal among themselves: Mouse overhears it. At the dance, Mouse cries out the scandal. Raven goes to take revenge on the grandson. The grandson shoots Raven and the others, decreeing that thereafter the latter will be a raven. He shoots Sucker and Chub; his arrows are their bones. He decrees they will be in the lakes; he will be a rock bird

A Brother and Sister Commit Incest

A brother and sister have sexual relations while their parents are away. When the sister is pregnant, the brother sends her into the mountains to live alone. He finds she has borne a daughter there. Later he discovers the daughter knows that he is her father, so he kills her. The sister's digging stick breaks so she knows something has happened. When she finds her daughter dead, she smears herself with the blood and goes to the village. She kills all the inhabitants by making them look at her. Her brother will not look until she has cleaned herself.

They dig a pit to bury the bodies. She induces her brother to enter it to straighten the corpses and attempts to bury him with the bodies. He induces her to take her turn and buries her alive. He returns to the village and eats all the pretty things, whereon he becomes small, ugly, and bloated. He wanders along the frozen river but no one will have him because he is ugly.

Two Louse girls take him home to their grandmother. He vomits the pretty things, and in the process again becomes full size and handsome. He warns his wives, the Louse

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girls, against going to the burial pit. He does not know that his sister has escaped. The older Louse girl wanders where the sister is living and is killed by her. Then the brother kills his sister.

The Origin of Death

A chief has a son and two daughters, the older of whom is in a menstrual lodge. The son goes out at night, sleeping by day. The mother discovers that the son has intercourse with his sister in the lodge. The daughter puts paint on her unknown lover to identify him. In shame, the chief kills his son and places him in a canoe at the foot of a bluff. The younger daughter is warned against telling her sister what has become of their brother, but she disobeys. The older sister escapes the surveillance of the younger and flees toward the cliff. Fox catches her, but she frees herself and jumps down into the canoe, where she dies.

The chief wishes his children alive again. At a meeting, he insists that the dead shall always revive, but the people declare against it. Soon Raven's daughters die. Raven asks the chief to reverse the verdict, but the chief declares the dead must remain dead.

The chief sets his wife down at the waterside to become a sweatlodge. People are to come to it to sweat when ailing. He tries making places in which to stay; at last he is satisfied. He is called qEiEnsöltEn.

Coyote Liberates Salmon
(First Version)

Two sisters have a weir near the Dalles which prevents salmon ascending the Columbia. Coyote transforms himself into a bowl and floats into the weir. The sisters take the bowl in which to keep salmon. Coyote eats the salmon, so they decide to burn it. Coyote reveals himself as a little boy, who they adopt. He eats voraciously until he is strong. He tears down the weir and liberates the salmon.

Coyote takes the salmon upstream. When he wants to eat them, he falls asleep. Wolf and Fox eat them, smearing fish on Coyote's face. He repeats this: Wolf and Fox stretch his body into coyote-shape. He finds these two roasting duck eggs. He steals and eats the eggs, smears the remains on Wolf and Fox, and stretches them into their animal forms.

As he passes up the Columbia with the salmon, he calls together the creatures on each river in turn. He offers them a perpetual annual supply of salmon in return for their prettiest daughters. Salmon runs are established on those rivers where they accede. Where they refuse he builds dams to prevent the salmon ascending, thus establishing the present distribution of salmon. He shows how to build traps, use the spear and gaff hook, to teach humans their use. He makes certain pictographs, a sliding rock, and pothole.

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Coyote Liberates Salmon
(Second Version)

[The first part is identical with the whole first version, except for the omission of the instructions for fishing, the pictographs, sliding rock and pothole.]

A daughter is born to Coyote. When she grows up, he desires her for a wife. He pretends to die after instructing his wife to store food at his grave and telling her that a Kutenai will come to marry the daughter. When the food is gone, he calls on his power [faeces?], which becomes a canoe and clothing for him. He arrives as a Kutenai: Mouse acts as interpreter. He is given the girl to wife.

His daugher sees Coyote's hair on herself. Prairie Chickens know the truth and call out his name. The Kutenai (i.e. Coyote) protests, but they tell that Coyote has married his own daughter. Coyote runs off: the daughter throws herself in the falls. She [evidently as a star] is in the south:Coyote tells her to turn to the north.

Theft of Fire (First Version)

The animals debate on how long night and day shall be. The bears and other big animals insist on a night of six months, in winter: Frog and others demand short nights so they will not starve. Frog begins repeating "Tomorrow;" Black Bear, "One year." When winter comes,the bears hibernate; Frog stays in the water, croaking "Tomorrow."

The animals decide to procure fire for the humans of the future. Coyote tells them it can only be gotten in the sky,where there are people. He tells them to make an arrow-chain. The animals try but fail to hit the sky.

Coyote meets a little bird who has a very strong bow. He scouts the bird's ability to bend it and induces the bird to shoot at him to prove it. The bird shoots and Coyote falls dead. Fox revives Coyote who maintains he has only been sleeping.

The bird shoots at the sky and forms an arrow-chain. The animals climb it. Grizzly Bear is left to guard the chain, but he destroys it trying to climb up. That is why he is now angry at all animals. The animals make holes into the sky-land.

Frog and Watersnake are sent to spy on the sky-people. Watersnake accidentally tastes Frog's foot, eats him, and returns. Dog and Faeces are sent. Dog eats Faeces and returns. Beaver, Eagle and Woodpecker are dispatched to steal fire from the sky-people.

Beaver lies as dead in their salmon trap. They skin him. When the skin still adheres only at the mouth,Woodpecker alights nearby to create a diversion. The sky-people try to shoot him. Eagle flys over and

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they try shooting him. When others fail, those skinning Beaver leave off to try. Beaver steals fire, hiding it under his finger nail. He escapes into the river. The three return to the animals with the fire.

The arrow-chain having been destroyed, the animals must jump down to earth. The birds fly down: the animals and fish jump but are killed. Sucker jumps with squaw fish in his quiver. Coyote transforms himself into a rock and falls. It goes too fast, so he tries being a tree. Again too fast, he becomes a down-feather, but this floats upward. He turns into a leaf and drops to earth without harm. Coyote resuscitates the animals. Sucker lost his mouth: Coyote repairs it with bear grease. So now Suckers have no mouths [and the mouths are greasy]. The squaw fish had pieces of arrows stuck into them so that now these fish are boney. Black Bear is only half revived. Certain berries sing a song which revives him. So humans now sing this to revive the bears they kill.

Beaver puts the fire from under his finger nail into trees he gnaws. Hence beavers now gnaw wood for food and humans make fire with wood.

Theft of Fire (Second Version)

Coyote wins all of Chickadee's arrows at a shooting match. He offers to return them if Chickadee can hit him at a great distance. He goes off, forgetting his agreement. He mistakes the whistling of Chickadee's arrow for the wind, and is killed. Fox revives Coyote by stepping over him: Coyote pretends to have been asleep.

They join people who want to get fire from the sky. Everyone has failed to make an arrow-chain. They scout Chickadee's ability. He shoots his own arrows into the sky, then everyone else's, forming an arrow-chain.

Only Dog and Dung, Beaver and Woodpecker go to the sky. Dog and Dung are sent to spy. Dog, lieing behind Dung, laps it up, and returning, can only report, "Licked him."

Beaver pretends to be dead and floats into the fish trap. The sky-people skin him, except for the corner of his mouth, which he holds in his teeth. Woodpecker, to create a diversion, flies about. When the sky-people rush to shoot Woodpecker, Beaver siezes fire, and the two escape to earth. Chickadee pulls down the arrow-chain to get his own arrows.

Grizzly, as chief, decides that fire should be distributed over the earth. Horsefly and Hummingbird are dispatched to distribute it.

Two Brothers Who Changed into Wolves
(First Version)

The Shuswap descend the Kettle River on a raid. They massacre the Colville, captur-

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ing two sisters, while the two brothers of these women are away hunting. The brothers are preparing a sweatlodge. One of them is warned of the massacre by his power. He throws water on the fire: the steam which rises is thought to be fog by the Shuswap. The Shuswap go north with the women. They see the brothers in pursuit. The latter turn back, changing themselves into wolves. One of the sisters escapes. The Shuswap, with the other, camp in a swamp. The powerful brother turns his grizzly-head cap so that he can smell their tracks by his grizzly power. They free their sister, seize the enemy's weapons, and slay them with their own spears. Three Shuswap are spared to carry the tale home. The powerful brother plunges into the river where he is caught on a submerged root and nearly drowned. He is released by his frog power.

Two Brothers Who Changed into Wolves
(Second Version)

The Shuswap come raiding, slaying everyone, and capturing the sister of two brothers who are away hunting. The brothers prepare a sweatlodge. The enemy mistake its steam for a cloud. His power tells one of the brothers of the disaster. The enemy see them in pursuit: the two turn into wolves to deceive them. The enemy camp in a swamp. The powerful brother transforms himself into a grizzly to find their tracks. They free their sister and slay all the enemy except two, who are sent home. The powerful brother dives into the river but is caught on a root. He calls on his frog spirit, who comes and frees him. The bones of the slaughtered Shuswap can still be seen.

The Theft of Salmon's Wife
(First Version)

The youngest of four wolf brothers steals Salmon's wife, Mourning Dove, and takes her to his home at a spring. A year later Salmon goes there and hides in the mud in the spring. He ambushes and kills three of the wolves. He takes his wife back to the Columbia, pursued by the youngest wolf. He cannot be shot because his skin is slippery. Rattlesnake sees Salmon in the air fighting. He throws his teeth at Salmon, hitting him in the back of his head and killing him.

Two river birds pour water on Salmon until he revives. They make a raft for him. Salmon and his wife go downstream on it. Salmon tires of his wife weeping and throws her ashore. He decrees that when salmon run upriver Mourning Dove will sing for her husband.

Next summer he comes upstream again. He finds some fishes who are disparaging him for not coming to feed people. Salmon makes them spit in water to show much fat they have: he spits more fat, showing he is greater. He throws them into the river, decreeing that they shall live in the eddies where people can spear them for food at any time.

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He reaches Rattlesnake's house. Rattlesnake is dancing and singing in triumph over Salmon. When Salmon enters, Rattlesnake wets his eyes and pretends to have been weeping over Salmon's death. Salmon closes the house and sets it afire. He decrees rattlesnakes will live among the rocks and be only able to bite people when stepped on.

Further upstream he hears others talking of him. Truculently, he asserts he is the better food for people. He throws them on a tree, declaring them moss which will be eaten after salmon. He similarly throws prickly pears, wild cherries, and service berries where they should grow, and declares them food to be eaten after salmon.

The Theft of Salmon's Wife (Second Version)

When Salmon's wife becomes pregnant, he sends her to her relatives. After the child is born, the three wolverine brothers steal her. Salmon ambushes and kills the first two wolverines. He cleaves the third in twain: half escapes to the mountains. Salmon takes his wife and son down the Columbia. Although he defeats other animals, Rattlesnake kills him. He lies drying by the river. Two birds revive him by pouring soup over him. Meanwhile the three wolf brothers steal his wife. He goes to the ocean to stay a year and returns to kill the wolf brothers.

Salmon Ends Rattlesnake's Destructiveness

Fox makes certain animals fierce. Rattlesnake among them, until Coyote stops him. Rattlesnake kills Salmon, whom Coyote revives. Salmon paddles to Rattlesnake's den, where he hears his song of triumph. Rattlesnake pretends to have been crying in sympathy for Salmon. Salmon burns the den. One of Rattlesnake's eyes bursts and becomes an owl. Salmon decrees it will be harmless, but used to scare children. The other eye bursts and becomes a rattlesnake (?). Salmon decrees that Rattlesnake will kill people only occasionally.

Rattlesnake and Micaui

Rattlesnake and Micaui (a root?) are both handsome. Micaui wants Rattlesnake for her husband, but he refuses because she stinks. She decrees rattlesnakes will always be among the hot rocks, while micaui will always be in cool, green places.

The Mountains Fight for a Wife

The mountains are men. The handsome daughter of a Kalispel chief goes to marry Mount Chopaka, taking camas with her. The other mountains in jealousy fight Tcipaka, their blows making the gullies on that mountain. Tcipaka wins and stepping over the others, becomes the tallest mountain. The woman, disgusted, goes home, throwing the camas to Kalispel (so there is none in Okanagon country now). She becomes a stone

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which is still there and at which Indians leave offerings.

The Rock Who Wanted to Marry Moses Mountain

The wife of Moses Mountain dies and leaves him holding the baby (a pinnacle?) in his arms. A rock goes to marry him, carrying various plants. He refuses her and she turns back. At various places she eats the plants, throwing away the remains, so that the plants now grow in these localities.

Coyote Kills the Cannibal Woman

A cannibal woman has a dog who kills visitors: she eats them. Coyote visits and is beaten by her dog. She throws his body away. Fox revives Coyote by jumping over him: Coyote pretends he has only been sleeping. Coyote calls on his three powers to help: they bestow strength, invisibility, and certainty to kill. The invisible Coyote kills the dog and says he will be forever docile. He fights and kills the cannibal woman and decrees she will be a woman, no longer fierce. Hence there are women and dogs.

[redacted] Cannibal Woman

A couple have two children, a boy and a girl. The father deserts the family. The mother orders the boy to fetch water: he is lazy and disobeys. The mother decides to abandon them. She covers herself with crow feather and flies off, although the boy hurries to fetch the water.

Cannibal Woman keeps children in her house, to whom she feeds humans. When she hears the deserted boy and girl crying, she comes to steal them. The girl tries to hide her brother and herself, first by an unsuccessful transformation into sticks, then by transforming into worms under the fire stones. Cannibal Woman carries off the stones and worms in her basket. They are retransformed into children.

The little girl tells her that her children are on fire. As Cannibal Woman hurries, the pair make the basket heavy. Cannibal Woman suspends the basket in a tree and hurries home. The children cut the basket rope with a flint concealed in the boy's mouth and escape.

They run from Cannibal Woman, who finds she has been hoaxed. She repairs her basket and pursues them. They call across a river to a man to rescue them in his canoe. When the Cannibal Woman arrives, the man persuades her to wade after them. The water insects drown her. One of her eyes flies out and becomes an owl. It will no longer kill people: parents will frighten their children with it. Her teeth become ducks, which people will cook and eat.

Chipmunk and the Cannibal Woman

Cottontail Rabbit makes soup for her

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granddaughter, Chipmunk. The latter wants something to eat with it, so climbs trees, uttering a cry which makes the berries ripe. Cannibal Woman (Spatla) comes to entice her down, by saying that various relatives want her. Each time Chipmunk says they are long dead and refuses to come down. When Cannibal Woman says Chipmunk's grandmother wants her, Chipmunk agrees provided Cannibal Woman covers her head with a basket. When Chipmunk descends, Cannibal Woman grasps at her, but she escapes.

Rabbit hides her in a shell, but Chipmunk's heart beats too loudly. Robin advises hiding her among the cast-away bones. When Cannibal Woman arrives, Robin tells where Chipmunk is hidden. Cannibal Woman eats her.

Cannibal Woman asks how Rabbit became so white. Rabbit pretends she used hot pitch and sends Cannibal Woman to gather it. Meanwhile she revives Chipmunk by stepping over her and sends her for forked poles. Rabbit prepares a pit to melt the pitch. She shows Cannibal Woman how a drop of hot pitch leaves a white spot and induces her to lie in the flaming pit. She and Chipmunk hold Cannibal Woman down until she is dead. They then cover the pit with dirt.

The three sisters of Cannibal Woman arrive and think the pit contains food. The two oldest eat their sister's flesh; the youngest recognizes it and abstains. When these two go to the lake to drink, their teeth become ducks, although the two became owls.

Coyote and the Cannibal Sisters

When the cannibal sisters are coming, Coyote asks his four powers for aid. They become a house, pitch on its walls, people, and a song. The sisters arrive. Coyote invites them inside, deceitfully saying that the pitch which will spatter on them is only the spittle of their admirers. The youngest sister does not enter. [Incomplete.]

A Boy Kills Cannibals

A chief's son shoots a raven. Seeing its blood on the snow, the boy wishes he had a wife with red cheeks. He goes travelling until he finds a man being killed by dogs. The people stop this at his request. He buries the body. He reaches the ocean where a little boy stands. The latter wants to accompany him. After protesting, he accepts him as a younger brother. He is carried across the ocean on the back of the younger brother while keeping his eyes closed. The younger brother then reveals he is the man who fought dogs and offers help.

The younger brother warns him not to accept the human flesh offered by the cannibals. At the first cannibal's house, the boy is challenged to throw a huge rock with which the cannibal plays. In his stead the younger brother throws it. They take a shirt from this cannibal. A second cannibal

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challenges the boy to replace a mountain he moves. In the boy's stead, the little brother makes the mountain into a plain. They take a knife from this cannibal.

The little brother puts on the shirt and takes the knife. In a few steps he is back at the boy's house. Returning to the boy, he reports the boy's relatives well.

They reach a third cannibal house; the cannibal's wife has red cheeks. The younger takes the knife; the older the shirt. Inside the house, the younger cuts off the cannibal's head, but each time he does so, it flies back into place. Cut off again, the older puts the shirt over the cannibal's neck, whereon the head and body sink into the earth.

They whip the woman with rose bushes, until she is purged of the child inside, a frog. The boy then has her for a wife. The younger brother then rises in the air, to return a year later.

The couple have a girl born to them. A year later the little brother appears again and demands half the child as payment for his help. In anger the boy chops the little brother in twain: half remains standing, half sinks into the ground. The little brother then says the child is safe; all three will go to heaven when they die.

The Son of the Giant

A giant carries off a wife. Each night when he goes out, he fastens the door. A son is born, who asks his mother where she comes from. He asks his father for his big coat: the father brings him a grizzly bear coat.

The boy tries to open the door at night so that he and his mother can escape. When he grows strong enough, they steal out. They carry off the giant's best things, which the boy makes small by rubbing. He overthrows the giant's power-pole. When the giant returns, he sees the uselessness of pursuit. On the way the boy turns into a grizzly when he puts on his coat.

When the son disappears in the morning, the mother wakes in a richly furnished house.

Coyote Tricks Cougar into Providing Food

Coyote and Fox are hungry. Fox asks Coyote to provide food. Coyote seeks help of his dung, which changes him into a handsome girl. Fox leaves in disgust.

Coyote goes to the village of cougars. The chief, Cougar, has no wife. Cougar's sisters take the disguised Coyote to the woman's work-house, where he excells at basketry. Cougar agrees to take her as his wife. When Cougar desires intercourse, Coyote insists on his waiting until meat has been carried to his fictitious parents for four days. Each day Coyote and Cougar's sisters carry meat to Coyote's home, which he

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forbids them to enter. His power answers as though his parents, misleading the sisters. The prairie chickens are aware of Coyote's deception. When the men are sweating, they tell Cougar he has Coyote for a wife. Coyote runs off, howling in derision. He has the meat to himself.

Coyote Attempts to Capture the Deer

Coyote's son sickens and dies. Coyote becomes ill. He asks his dung (his power) why this happens: it is due to the son's power. His faeces provide him with a song, a dance-pole, an audience, and power to know what is going on outside.

When Coyote sings, the largest deer asks his children, who has given Coyote the song? Not one admits having done so. The big deer sends Bluejay to kill Coyote. Coyote knows he is approaching: when Bluejay perches on the tipi, Coyote points his power-stick at him so that he falls dead. Bluejay revives and reports to the big deer. The latter again asks his question. The smallest deer admits having told Coyote.

The deer go to sing with Coyote. The dung tells Coyote to stop only when the largest deer has entered the tipi. The deer enter, smallest first. When a big deer enters, Coyote thinks it is the largest, and stops singing. All the deer escape, except the smallest.

Coyote is Tricked Eating Duck Eggs

Coyote is roasting duck eggs. Fox and Wolf cause him to fall asleep and eat the eggs. They stretch his ears and nose, paint his yellow, and smear the yolks on him. When Coyote wakes he is hungry and thinks he must have eaten. He is frightened by the reflection of his new face.

He pursues Fox, who pretends to be holding back a rock. Coyote, forgetting the quarrel, goes to his help, and is left holding the rock.

Bungling Host

Coyote, hungry, visits Kingfisher. Kingfisher sends his son for four sticks, which he warms and twists together. Then Kingfisher flies up through the smoke-hole with the sticks and perches on the roof. He flies through a hole in the river ice and returns with the sticks covered with fish. Coyote is served half and given the remainder to carry home. Coyote invites Kingfisher to come next day to take back the dish.

Kingfisher visits Coyote. All the Coyote family have their forelocks tied up in imitation of Kingfisher's crest. Coyote sends his son for four sticks. He warms and twists them. Then he struggles up through the smoke-hole to the roof. When he attempts to fly, he falls to the ground and dies. Kingfisher takes the sticks and repeats his first feat. Coyote revives.

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Coyote and Porcupine Dance[4]

Coyote's son, Muskrat, gives a power-dance. Porcupine warns Coyote to respect his son's power. Coyote, scornful, joins the dancing maggots and calls on them to feed on him. They eat away his flesh. Porcupine following in the dance, shakes them off himself. He resuscitates Coyote, who pretends that he has been asleep.

Coyote and the Water Monster

Coyote's son marries Water Monster's daughter. When the young couple want to return to the wife's parents, Fox attempts to dissuade Coyote from accompanying them. Coyote is frightened when their canoe goes over the falls. They pass a rattlesnake door into Water Monster's house in a rock. Coyote is repeatedly warned against making a noise. Fox puts Coyote, his son, and grandson in his pipe for safety. Water Monster tells his daughter to feed them, by putting refuse in the fire to burn. Coyote keeps repeating that he is enjoying this, so they burn more, but they fail to suffocate the visitors. [Incomplete.]

Coyote and the House of Women

Coyote asks his power what to do. The power warns him against various groups, gamblers, drunkards, and soliciting women. He reaches a house in which is a chief on each side. His power warns him against the chief on the left side. The chief on the right reveals a room full of women, of whom Coyote may have his choice. Coyote, in a quandary because they are all alike, selects one at random.

He is warned against having intercourse with her until reaching home. On the way he refrains until the fourth night. In the morning the woman has disappeared (to return to the house of women) and Coyote fails to find her.

Coyote Seeks a Wife Among the Dead

Coyote, wandering, reaches a river, across which are many people (the dead). He shouts to them to fetch him across, but they pay no heed. Tiring, he yawns, which to the dead is a shout. They fetch him to their side. The chief of the dead gives him a woman, but warns against intercourse with her until reaching home. Coyote refrains until the last night of the journey. When he tries to have his will, the woman disappears. Coyote returns to the land of the dead. The chief refuses him another woman, saying that had it not been for his disobedience, humans would have been able to bring back their dead.

Buffalo and Coyote Capture a Girl

Buffalo and his people, on the warpath,

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are seen by Coyote, who fears for his life. He evokes four women helpers by his power: one becomes many warriors, a second becomes a drum, the third bow and arrows, and the last becomes a pipe and tobacco.

Buffalo announces that he is going to fight; to get a girl by bringing her over the mountain. Coyote says that is exactly what he intended to do, so they combine forces. Coyote is appointed leader.

They come to a lake; on the far side lives the girl (Sun) with her people. The two paddle across and seize her. Her people pursue them up the mountain. Twice, when Buffalo tires, Coyote creates a fog, in which the enemy kill each other. They escape over the mountain without loss of a warrior.

Buffalo and Coyote each insist that the other, as leader, take the girl. Coyote takes her as a wife. They part and Coyote's warriors disappear. The girl, discovering her husband is Coyote, makes a fire and goes home in the smoke. Coyote fails to find her.

Crane and Louse

Crane lives alone with his grandmother. He is a good hunter, so people send their daughters to marry him. He has intercourse with a girl, but is not satisfied with her, so his grandmother sends her home with a present of meat. This is repeated. [The story is incomplete: Crane finally marries Louse.]

Coyote's Long Penis

Some girls entreat Coyote to give them what is in his pack. It contains his penis. He floats it down river, where it enters one of the swimming girls. She cannot free herself. The children fail to cut if off with a stone. Coyote keeps copulating with her. He bids them fetch rip-grass with which they cut it free. But the end remains in her, making her sick. Coyote freed, goes upriver.

While Coyote sleeps, Fox and the animals cut up the penis and distribute it among them all. Coyote, having no penis, goes to get the portion left in the girl. The shamans have failed to cure her. Coyote arrives, pretending to be a Kutenai and to have dreamed a cure. Mouse acts as interpreter. They prepare a sweathouse for the cure. Coyote, pretending to cure, embraces her and his penis is restored. He rushes out, striking Mouse's nose. He runs off, jibing at the people for letting a shaman sexually initiate their daughter.

Turtle and Eagle Race

Eagle wins races with all the animals, who thus become his slaves. Turtle and Muskrat alone do not race with him. Turtle dreams he is to race Eagle and win, setting

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the animals free. The two go to Eagle's camp, where Turtle challenges Eagle. Eagle agrees, boastfully letting Turtle set the conditions of the race. Turtle has Eagle carry him high in the air and drop him. The dropped Turtle reaches the ground before Eagle, thus setting the animals free.

Crawfish and Fox Race

Crawfish challenges Fox to a race. Fox, who outruns all other animals, scouts Crawfish's ability. He tells Crawfish to go first: the latter refuses. They start together; then Crawfish holds to Fox's tail. Crawfish continually prompts Fox to run faster. As they cross the goal, Fox turns around to look back, so that Crawfish finishes the race first. Crawfish decrees Fox will be only a fox and no longer a racer.

Frog and Turtle Race

Frog has a long tail. Frog always wins his races with others because he can jump. Turtle dreams he can win. He wagers his life against Frog's tail. Turtle stations his three brothers along the race course. When the first Turtle is outdistanced, he hides, calling to his brother ahead to continue the race. This is repeated by each brother in turn; Frog unwittingly racing with all four. Thus Turtle wins and bites off Frog's tail. Now Frog has no tail.

The Man Abandoned on a Ledge

The older of two brothers has a wife. They go for eaglets, the older brother being let down a cliff by a rope to get them. The younger brother, who coverts his wife, cuts the rope, leaving him on the cliff. The younger brother takes the wife and goes to a place named "House burned down."

The older brother captures four eagles and ties them to each wrist and ankle. They carry him down from the ledge in safety. He frees the eagles, taking only a feather from each.

He follows his younger brother and his wife to "House burned down." He kills them heaps their belongings on their bodies, and sets fire to the whole. Hence the name of the place.

The Mountain Goat Girls

A very successful hunter kills deer for his fellows. He follows the tracks of two mountain goats. He sees two girls swimming: when they come from the water, they put on mountain goat hides and become goats. He is impelled to follow them. He cannot climb a mountain of ice until he obeys their injunction to keep his eyes closed. He disobeys and slips back. Again with eyes closed he succeeds. He reaches the house of the goats; when they remove the hides they are again people.

He tries to copulate with the girls, but they tell him there is only one season for

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this. They go hunting: he is enjoined not to throw away the deer [sic] bones. He surmises that the boys he goes hunting with turn into the deer he kills. To test this he cuts out a deer's tongue. When the deer bones are thrown in the lake, the deer come to life; but one boy lacks a tongue. The deer allow themselves to be killed by those who feed them(i.e. place food with the carcases) and do not mock them.

At the proper season, the deer-people put on their hides and are deer again. The man is given a hide so heavy that he cannot catch the does. In pity he is given a lighter hide. Because he is then the biggest buck, he possesses all the does.

His people, knowing he is alive, make him remember them. He decides to return. On his return, he is frightened by the camp odors, like a deer. The people surround and catch him. They tame him.

The Man Who Had His Will of a Deer

A lazy man is sent by his brothers to inspect their deer trap. In it is a doe, with whom he has intercourse. Later when hunting he finds the doe in human guise with the fawns, his children. She tells him that his brother can hunt by lying in wait while he, in deer-guise, leads the deer to him. When the brother thinks the lazy man has gone away, he decides to shoot the leading deer. He does so, thus killing his brother.

The Boy Fostered by Bears

A lazy boy grows fat by licking the pots. In disgust, his parents decide to abandon him. When they break camp, the boy puts his bow into the canoe. His father puts it ashore, orders him to get it, and slips away. The boy determines to let the grizzlies kill him. He lies in the path of a she-bear and two cubs. The she-bear repeatedly ignores him until implored by the cubs to take him as their brother. She rips him open and washes out the pots he licked up. In him is a power, a white weasel, which she replaces. He lives with the bears.

The she-bear returns him to his home, telling him that he can kill male grizzlies, but never herself nor her cubs. He faints at the odor of humans; the people restore him with the smoke of a root. His parents are ashamed, so he lives with an aunt and her son. He instructs his cousin how to restore him (the boy) if he is struck during the procession dance. The boy dances this at all the tipis, leading all the people. When he reaches his parents' tipi,his father shoots him. When he reaches it a second time, he refuses to let his parents accompany him.

He is a good hunter, but always refrains from killing she-bears and cubs. When he marries, his wife's relatives taunt him with failing to kill such bears. In chagrin, he agrees to kill them, although he knows be

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538 There was no distinction between tales for men and women, adults and children. How-
562 ever, Billie Joe said that his grandfather used to send his sisters away because certain tales were considered unfit for girls to hear. Probably each individual was familiar with all of the tales and could tell them on occasion, yet this familiarity did not lessen the eagerness with which a story was received at any telling. Favorite legends were those in which Coyote, the hero-trickster, was the chief actor. A Coyote myth invariably evoked interest and laughter, no matter how often it had been told.

538 Stories were told to adults chiefly in the evening. During the day, children would
861 gather around an old man or woman for hours, demanding tales. These were seldom for the purpose of pointing a morel. Many tales con-
[868] tained educational matter, such as directions for making tools, houses or clothing, the preparation of food, technique of the hunt, or rules for playing games; but these points were not emphasized. Ideas of cos-
[864] mology and ethical concepts were all implicit in the myths and were doubtless absorbed by everyone in childhood through the medium of the story-teller; yet there was no formalization of tales, no ritual of myth, no secrecy or sacredness.[1]

A story was sometimes ended with a little formula. At the conclusion of the tale, the teller spat upward (spraying the moisture instead of a solid stream) and said, "Rain a little; clear up again; get warm; Sun, shine and let the children play around outside." This was considered as a prayer to Qwūlēncōltēn, but was not requisite for story telling. All stories were concluded, however, with a formal phrase, "Then I came back" (xōłxEntsxaī or xīkē'kīkē'nsplāk). The individual tale-teller sometimes elaborated on the formal ending, as "Then I left them [the characters in the myth] and came back, and I have been living here ever since," or "I told him I would leave him; so I came back," or the like.

Several types of tale are distinguished: tcaptI'klāh (?), myth; insIm'a'pKlQks, "French" fairy tale; kūmaIxI'ts, a narrative of a recent event.

GAMBLING AND POWER

525 Gambling was highly important in the leisure life of nearly every adult man or woman. Some men, and occasionally a woman,

[1] [For footnote, see p. 185(A), category 116. -- Analyst]

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525 were "professional" gamblers to the extent that they spent their time on little else, especially in summer when large groups were gathered at a camp site. Such individuals would travel from camp to camp, playing for stakes with anyone who chanced to be free. Power was requisite for success in gambling, more than in any other activity. The "professionals" were usually persons whose guardian spirits were especially dedicated to gaming, or to the particular sport in which the gambler excelled. In games played by teams, the leader of each team was usually a man whose power gave him supernatural aid in the game concerned. Often this leader (xatō's, "man with power"; the same term is used for the leader of a hunting party), did not play in the game, but went aside to smoke and think of his power, in order to give his team the requisite supernatural aid. A team winning under such circumstances was supposed to have been assisted by a leader of stronger power than that possessed by the opposing leader. Betting was especially high on the side of a team known to have a strong power behind it.

525 778 Individual players had various gambling powers. That for a racer was usually some swift animal or bird. One informant told a dramatic story of a race lost by a champion with sage-hen power because the opposing runner had been blessed by a mouse, a more insignificant but a quicker animal:

Suszen's grandfather was a good racer. He got power from sage hens and won many races. Once he went to the Inc'lī'ūm tribe to get salmon with the others. As he used to do, he looked for someone to race him and found a man for it. His people asked him what power he had, and he told them he woul say after he had won or lost. They ran and Suszen's grandfather lost. The Inc'lī'ūm man shook hands with him and said, "I'm sorry I beat you. I didn't think I would. When I was a young man I saw a mouse running fast. He talked to me, and told me that I was going to be a good racer. He said, 'Listen to me. I can run fast, and I will give you my power." The winner said, "Maybe your power is good, but my power beat you, yet it is only a mouse." Suszen's grandfather stopped running after this, for all the people laughed, that a man with sage hen power should be beaten by one with power from a mouse.

A player of the hand-game might be blessed by a power which told him to prepare special bones for hiding-sticks. These would insure victory for whatever side the dreamer championed. The bones must be kept away from the influence of a menstruating woman, who would draw away their power if she chanced to walk over them. This influence could be avoided by wrapping the gaming bones in buckskin and burying them in an ant hill. The strongest power for the hand-game was given by the woodpecker, who made the same sort of noise with his bill as did the gamblers beating time with their sticks during the game. A man's power might also give him, in a vision, a special song to sing at the

551 562 A few of the otner names end in -pitsa, "blanket:"

cipi´tsa·	shouting blanket(?)
qōlpi´tsa·	red blanket
hūctamI´tsa	walking blanket
cikomEnI´tsa	part of the blanket is floating
amtEpI´tsa	———

Others were "long loose hair," "unbraided hair," and "sit-down skirt."

Men's names are much more varied. A large number of them are names of animals,or parts or attributes of animals, unchanged from the form they would have as non- human names. They never have plant names,"because plants don't give power." When not the unchanged animal name, they frequently end in -a´xn, -ē´xn, -Exn, which appears indicative of an attribute. Several of the men's names have the feminine ending "blanket."

snkalI´p	coyote (the myth name for Coyote)
q'lEpstsI´nExn	coyote's ankle
spEpEkI´na	rabbit (a man's name,though the mythical creature is female)
skn'xst	bear
Intimtamilō´pc	grizzly bear's anus
sqēlaūnI´tsa	grizzly hide blanket
xwarwaqE´n	fox head
cqlē'kin	deer fat
sn.kstI´a [?]	skunk (in no sense a derogatory name)
yixōI'xō´txn	badger
spūk'mI´x	swan
asū´xl	loon
n·laqē´kn	a bird picking its back (?)
sqEma´ūtkEn	(swan's ?) long neck
kutclixcqōlExEn	running crane
pūkhpE´lExqEn	white horse
tciq!ulpa´Oc	fir back

The last was the only name known to Johnnie referring to a tree, and the reference here was rather to the tree as fuel.

In others the meaning is less obvious. Some are descriptive. All are sharply marked off from the women's names, but themselves exhibit many differences not easily classifiable.

sinlō´lp	lower intestine
qēmtI´kEn	rotten on the mountain (?)
cIltI´qEn	lost on the mountain
inmechwi´ct	keeps walking

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1< Ross, Alexander, Adventures, 325. Tait remarked upon very much the same situation among the Thompson. "Each family had certain names, and no one but members of the family were permitted to use them.... They do not serve, however, to have been the property of families for a long time, new names being often invented" (Thompson Indians, 290).

1<[For context of this footnote, See p. 106(A), category 116. -- Analyst]

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nōlōmĒ'lc	iron head
tĒxwista'skĒt	walking in the sky (?)
slō'qĒxĒn	moccasins no good (?)
ma'Ēqē'n	big eddy
paχūmtī'tsa	shining blanket
qwalxunmītsa	something went dry around his blanket
χĒlĒka'xn	twisting his arm(?)
hūntōχsĒnī'lhū	tipi door
tcīxa'xĒliχ	they've been driven
hicha'ca	don't know how
ntsĒcpĒckwa'ct	no name
xīlĒka'χĒn	round wing
nīrqō'ctsīn	spanning (as a rainbow, or a stick bent accross a creek)
kstilīa'ōt	still walking with arrows in his body (from kstīlīēōt)
cpaqĒō'l[a]	two smokes
nχē'tĒmqĒn	serrate head (like a saw)
chĒlxa'lt	daylight
cōqē'm	moonlight
sinōē'c	sunrise

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"Burning back" (nōlē'qin), a man's name, was given him by his brother because he lied so much. People say, when a liar approaches, "Here comes so and so to burn our backs." "Pitiful" (ampcūmp) was described as a good name; girls would be kind to a man so named. "Big buttocks" (cīl'qūīp) was a self-elected name, chosen not because the man's buttocks were big, but to commemorate a famous occasion in which a person so formed had figured.

Other men's names were said by informants to be meaningless: xwĒsta'xn, s'aī'Ēaī', ōīa'pĒkĒn, kīnĒmī'lx, qalawī'ła, k!lō'pakn, kwa'alĒxnī'tsa, ckī'ōc.

The literature on the Sinkaietk says little about names. Alexander Ross says that babies were named, years after birth, after some fancied resemblance in character to an animal, and that names were changed frequently.[2] Curtis' account, which is not specifically Okanagon, notes the use of the names of living and dead relatives, and the paying for and giving away of names.[3] Teit's account says that in form the names agree with those of the Thompson, and these are seen to differ in no marked way from those suggested by our Okanagon informants.[4]

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CHILDHOOD

For the first year or so of his life the baby was carefully tended. He was wash-

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2 Ross, Alexander, Adventures, 325.
3 Curtis, North American Indian, VII, 75.
4 Teit, Salishan Tribes, 277.
5 See also Childbirth below.
6 See Adult Life below.

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ed, at first in warmed water in the shelter of the lodge, and then, as he grew older, in the same icy stream used by the adults. He was wrapped in soft skins and furs, which were lined with bundles of cattail rushes as diapering, and sprinkled with powdered sweet-smelling leaves. During the day he was carried about by his mother, and after the first few months he spent most of the day in a somewhat vertical position, tightly strapped to a cradle-board, whence he was removed to suffer the equal confinement but enjoy the lesser stiffness of his nightly sack. When a young baby cried from crossness, it was unwrapped and laid in the shade. No particular effort to train or amuse him was made. After his first tooth had appeared, he was given other foods in addition to his mother's milk, such as dried meat, dried berries, and camas. Before the tooth appeared they were afraid to feed anything else, as it would cause his mouth to become sore.' 1/ 854 [853]

When the baby learned to walk, the cradle was very gradually discarded. When he was able to run about freely, and had been given a name, he was left pretty much to his own devices, or to the care of older children. He was taught to avoid the fire and snakes, not to molest the food, and to conduct himself decently when he was with older people. His mother sometimes took him along when she went on trips from camp, and he played with the other children, or was tied to a post while his mother did her work. Sometimes the adults amused him with games such as shadow-pictures and cat's cradle. The training was left to mother and grandmother, since his father was usually not at home during the day. 855 857

When the child grew to be a bit older and stronger he was expected to be of some use. Little boys helped in the gathering of wood and water and the care of the horses. However, Mary Carden said that a small boy accompanied his father hunting and fishing, and while he was expected to help with the horses, he had no other household duties. They also learned to kill small game, build traps and make, shoot, and dodge arrows. The little girls helped their mothers about the house, cooking and caring for the babies, and in the fields, where they worked with little digging sticks and baskets. They also watched the smaller children. A house in which girls regularly gathered to work under the direction of an old woman was described by Suszen.' 1/

Aside from the few set chores their time was pretty much their own. They played at keeping house, built little salmon traps and weirs, and, if they were not drafted into service while the adults were building, they built little play houses. Here they

1/ [For footnote, see p. 107(A), category 116. -- Analyst]

855 sometimes slept when the village was very
857 crowded with visitors. They played games such as the cup and pin game, and also most of the adult games, but without the gambling. Little girls made themselves little dolls of of stone and bark.

858 To some extent the children were treated as adults. The desires of children only a few years old would be considered and consulted in such matters as the making of protracted visits. In return, they were expected to act according to group standards, to be polite and instantly obedient. While a woman cared for her own children, even in a plural household, children were expected to
861 obey all their elders. Bad behavior was punished by whipping, either by the parent or by some old man delegated to the task. Occasion for this was said to have been rare. Children were frightened into behaving by saying, "The owl (or night hawk) will bite you." Certainly today most of the children are very well-behaved, and one little girl, whose peculiar upbringing had "spoiled" her considerably, was considered an exception by all, including the other children.

A boy might go to stay with relatives for a time if he chose, but he would never run away to them if mistreated at home for fear that his father would punish him even more severely.

867 In addition to that education which came with play, a more formal sort was undertaken. Lectures were delivered morning and evening by an old man of the family. These contained injunctions to be industrious, honest, clean, liberal and respectful. They were not coated in sugared allegory or fable,
[538] and did not provide the same sort of pleasure as did listening to the ordinary tales, which were never directed to pedagogical ends.[7]

There seems to have been some prizing of the knowledge thus handed on.

[539] A sad tale is told of a widow who desired that her young son get his share of the lecturing. She sent him to listen to the words of wisdom being imparted by a neighboring elder to his grandsons. The old man would not allow this, so the poor boy got what he could by listening outside the lodge. He took all the words to heart, and grew to be wise and respected, but the grandchildren, careless of the worth of what was too easily theirs, disregarded the advice and grew up shiftless and worthless.

866 Character training was also practiced in making the boys and girls rise early every morning and go swimming, however icy the water, to insure their growing up to be energetic.

7 On the telling of stories, see Diversions.
8 See also Social Organization.
9 Teit, Salishan Tribes, 281.

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866 Julie Josephine said that when she was a girl she would wake to hear her grandparents calling to her, "Go wash your face in the creek. If you wash it with warm water you'll be blind right away." They would make her swim in the creek even when it was full of floating ice.

They were also sent to dark places to fetch things, as specific training for the vigil before them. The seasonal whipping which accompanied the setting up of the winter village must also have served as a training in stoicism. Billy Joe said that the man who did the whipping announced, "Don't be sorry in your hearts. I'm beating your children so that they will grow."[1]

lôt	kcêltc	hîcpôô'cEn	IsimErI'm
Don't	sorry	hearts	doctoring
Icqôcqwacî'atit		kstlaxpEmêha	
our children		grow.	

Teit speaks of the instruction and admonishment of the children, but he does not say what the nature of this was. He mentions that whipping occured, though but rarely.[1]

865 Our informant Mary Carden said that when a child was disobedient, an old man would take some object far from camp and leave it. At night the child was sent to fetch it and if he failed, he was whipped. One old man in each camp exercised this function: he may have been the person who whipped at the setting up of the winter house. Parents might whip a child all over the body with a little switch, or slap its face with the open hand.

866 The first roots dug or berries picked by a girl, when she was about nine, were given to the old people to eat. This was done so that she would not grow up lazy. Similarly, a boy's first kill was given to any elderly friends, so that he would become a good hunter.

869 What share the children had in the religious life was in its minor aspects only. When they were eight or ten they began to take the sweat bath, and learned the proper songs and prayers. A girl might carry food to her older sister in the menstrual lodge, but got no closer personal acquaintance with the tabus. Occasionally one might chance to be present at a curing, but this was not regular, and they attended no winter dances. When the household was occupied with such an affair the children were sent elsewhere to sleep. The vision experiences some of them had were probably most appreciated by the adult under whose direction the quest was undertaken; the child was expected to forget all about it. Unfortunately, as we were working only with adults, we could get no valuable material on the child's own view of the religion of its elders.

[1] [For footnote, see p. 108(A), category 116. -- Analyst]

the religion of its elders. 000 597

Adoption seems to have been relatively common. Parents, especially those who were poor, were known to give their children to well-to-do relatives to care for. The latter may always have been childless couples. Only a child who stood in the relation of sXEXEwilt, nephew or niece, to its foster parent would be adopted. Relatives of this degree were normally thought of as one's own children. For instance, Michel stated that when a man's wife died, his sister had the first right to the children if she wanted them, and she usually did. The adopted child would call his foster parents "father" and "mother." In later life the child would care for its foster parents. There was a term for such an "adopted father," ctqōllēū. The child's own parents would normally not think of reclaiming it while still a child. But when the boy was grown, it was expected that he would take care of his own father when old and needy. He then called his own father by the proper term, "father." Such more or less formal adoption was, of course, different from the frequent and lengthy visits with relatives in which children indulged.

The nature of a child's life can be learned from Mary Carden's account of her tenth year (about 1862). She was living with her Colville grandmother at Tukora'tum. In the spring, in April, they went to Waterville, where she helped dig bitterroot. It was still cold in the morning. At the digging place, all of the bags were put by a sagebrush clump to protect them from the spring wind. Her grandmother would wrap Mary up and she would go to sleep. Once when she woke up three jackrabbits were there; she was afraid and screamed, and ran to the women. 159 221 857

One cold morning she and her grandmother got on a horse to go out. The horse began to buck, the saddle turned and they fell off so the men caught the horse and patched the saddle. Then they started again.

She and two other girls were going to a spring through the trees to get water one time. On the way they heard something and were scared. They ran back and told their grandparents they had heard a cūnī'na. That means "owl" now, but it was something to be afraid of in those days.

The first of June they went up the flat from Waterville, crossed the river to Chelan Falls and went to Enkūmkūmā'swūltEn, where the town of Chelan now is. Big waves would throw suckers up in the tules there, which the women would pick up.

Then they came to lalaē'lūx and up to Enasxwūē'nEm, which is one mile up on the beach on the west side of the Methow River, to get sunflower seeds. When the old people went out to get sunflowers, the little girls would go to dig wild carrots. Mary saw a rattlesnake there for the first time. All the girls ran back and would not dig any

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more. They were afraid in those days.

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One day they were helping the old people when a doe and two fawns jumped right out of the sunflowers and ran into the brush. So everybody had fun catching those two little fawns. Mary's people caught one, which they killed and ate.

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Her grandfather caught a little deer once and kept it for a pet for two months. Then they took it along they would carry it on a pack horse. They fed the fawn flour and sugar mixed in water. He sold it to some white people at Bridgeport for five dollars because it was to hard to carry around. Some people would catch little coyotes for pets.

Next they went to kali't'man so that Mary's grandfather could catch salmon during high water. This was about July. Her grandfather was a good fisherman and a big power man. At Waterville he never hunted, just played the stick game and won lots of blankets and horses.

In the mornings some people would go up to the lakes on the hills to get duck eggs. The little girls would go along. The big girls would see a duck fly from a nest; then the little girls would run to it. The big girls would wade faster through the tules; they would duck the little girls in the water so they could not get eggs, which made them cry. Then the little girls would go off hunting by themselves.

From there they went back to Twisp. The men put fish traps in the river to catch salmon. It was still July. When they went to get willows the little girls went on horseback so that there would be horses to take the brush back. The old people cut the willows; the little girls had little knives to trim them. After one man tied the willows in bunches to put on the horses, the little girls led the loaded horses back. It would take a week to get ready. Some people would put tripods of poles in the river while others were gathering the willows.

The little girls used to have fun watching the men take poles out in the river; several men would carry one pole. Sometimes they would have to walk clear under the water. Everybody would holler and have lots of fun.

The men were late fixing the trap and did not have time to fix a platform above each hole in the trap. So they built a fire on each side of the river that night and the men speared.

The men took the first catch, cleaned and roasted it. The only part of the insides which they cooked was the fringe under the gills. They boiled this with service berries and bitterroot, calling it sk'alō'ps. Then the men divided all the salmon with every family, but the men kept the heads and the sk'alō'ps. All the bones were put on a drying rack, because if some wild animal ate

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169 221 857 the bones, the men could not catch any more salmon. The next day the men built corrals behind the holes to catch the salmon. They used dip nets then.

They stayed in Twisp country the rest of the summer while the women got berries. When the salmon began to spawn the people scattered, going up different streams while the men speared them. Mary came back to Tukora'tum in September.

In the fall, the children would all get together on the sandbars and play with rocks They would play that they were building fish traps and catching salmon, or they would put rocks around for cattle and play that they owned lots of cattle. Just before the snow falls, when the people go to their wintering places to build winter houses, the children would get poles and build winter play houses The little children were the play children: the big boys and girls were the fathers and mothers. They would take the names of older people whom they knew. They used these tent play houses all winter long.

When snow came they could not play outside because it was too cold. Then they played in their play tents. Sometimes, when guests came, the children would sleep in these play tents to make room.

Mary stayed in Tukora'tum until spring came, when they went back down to Waterville. Her people made rounds like this every year.

PUBERTY AND ADOLESCENCE

881 As the boy or girl grew up and approached puberty, he was forced to change his mode of life. Though this was not a very long nor a very tabu period for the boy, it must have been strongly marked emotionally, for it meant fasting and solitude for many days. For the girl the rites were more severe, and the introduction to adult life strongly colored by the feeling that "blood that comes from a woman is not good." For both boys and girls this pubertal rite or period was called apsûwi'st^{n}.

785 861 881 When a boy's voice changed, his father sent him away from camp for a period varying from three days to a week or more. The boy usually spent this time on the top of a mountain, where he ran about a great deal, lest he grow up to be lazy. The northern groups required of him strict fasting, but the others asked only that he eat sparingly. He took a sweat bath every morning and evening, and after it plunged into the waters of a neighboring stream. Each night he left a pile of stones on the mountain as a mark of the number of nights he had spent in this fashion. Even those who were known to have been blessed by the spirits had to undergo this ordeal, for by it they were assured of such common desiderata as strength and energy. There is now some doubt as to the relationship this may have had to the regular quest for power which was demanded of all children of the community. According to

*539 773 will lose his life. He kills the bear cubs. When he shoots the she-bear, she tears him to pieces. The she-bears, realizing that he was not at fault, restores him to life and tells him that he may kill them.

The Boy Who Killed the Grizzly Bears

A boy is told by his grandmother that his sister and her husband, Wolf, have been captured by the grizzlies. Planning revenge, he asks where bows are to be obtained. His grandmother warns him of the danger of opening and closing trees guarding the place. He goes there and destroys the trees with his power, and scatters the bow wood over the world. He asks about arrows and is warned that they are guarded by a bear and his sentinel, a crane. He goes there, makes it rain so that the crane takes refuge, gathers and scatters the arrow wood over the world. He asks about flint for the arrowheads and is warned not to obey the cannibal who guards the flint. When he reaches the cannibal, the latter transports him across a river to search for flint, and abandons him. The cannibal causes a great snowfall to freeze the boy to death. The boy takes refuge under a bank where he finds a mud-hen couple. The mud-hen woman gives him two eggs to burst outside to deceive the cannibal. When he bursts them, the cannibal thinks the boy's eyes have burst, and crosses the river. The boy seizes the cannibal's canoe and flees to the latter's house. The boy sings the cannibal's song, causing a great snowfall in which the cannibal is frozen to death. When the cannibal's eyes burst with the cold, the boy decrees that they will be owls and nighthawks, which will be only bugaboos. The boy scatters the flint from the cannibal's house over the world. He asks for sinew and is told to get it from his aunt who is married to a big deer. The aunt deceives the deer by pretending to pluck hair from his shoulders but pulls out his sinews. The boy scatters the deer's hair over the world so that there will be deer everywhere. He asks for feathers for the arrows. He shouts to the flying birds, who come. He takes feathers and in payment, gives the birds their characteristic markings.

The boy goes in search of his missing sister. He finds successively fresh traces of their camp fires. He overtakes his sister dragging tipi poles. She hides him in her pack and takes him to camp. He accompanies his brother-in-law, Wolf, to the grizzlies' camp. Grizzly gives him to his daughters as a husband. The bear's power glues his legs together. The grizzlies throw him into the river.

Sun sends his daughter to rescue the boy for her husband. She feeds him with a magically increasing morsel of food. They overtake the boy's sister dragging tipi poles. He steps on the poles, but she does not heed. Her son recognizes his uncle. Finally the sister knows he has come. Again Sun's daughter feeds them.

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The boy sends his nephew to the grizzlies for grease, on the pretext of softening the nephew's head, which the grizzlies are accustomed to use to clean themselves after defecating. With the grease, the boy sets small flints on the nephew's head. When the grizzlies make use of him, their buttocks are lacerated by the flints.

Grizzly's two sons hunt. The boy throws his glove, which becomes a deer. When the oldest grizzly son goes to shoot it, the boy kills him. He kills the second and all Grizzly's daughters who are gathering moss. He props up the youngest daughter's body, with mouth open. Grizzly and his wife rush out to take vengeance: they find their children slain and the daughter apparently laughing at them.

The boy heats stones for a sweathouse. When Grizzly's wife charges him, he causes a hot stone to fly into her mouth, killing her. He repeats this to kill Grizzly. He decrees humans will gather food in safety, being killed by grizzlies only on occasion.

Grizzly and Rabbit Play the Stick Game

Grizzly and Rabbit play the stick game. When Rabbit wins, Grizzly scolds his partners for guessing. But he guesses and they lose. Then, in anger Grizzly pursues Rabbit. Rabbit takes to the ice, where Grizzly breaks through and is drowned.

The Origin of Black Bear

Black Bear is a man. He warns his wife not to eat the brisket of a deer, else he will change himself into a bear. She does, and he goes off wearing snowshoes. His three brothers follow his snowshoe tracks. One of the tracks changes to that of a bear, then the other. They find him in a cave where he has become a cinnamon bear. He tells them never to kill him. They slay the wife.

A Captive Woman's Sons Give Warning

The Shuswap capture a Methow girl and take her home. She has two sons, who she instructs to give warning to her own people people when raiding with the Shuswap. Twice the Shuswap raid, but the boys give warning. An old couple fail to see the warning and are killed.

The Dog Whose Barking Drowned People

A blind dog lives in a cave in a bluff on the Columbia. Whenever people paddled past downstream, a sparrow gave warning to the dog. Then the dog barked, causing the people to drown. The sun is angered at this He approaches the pair, who gaze upstream, from the west. Sparrow gives one chirp of warning but, at the sun's behest, refrains. The sun breaks the dog's head. The dog dies in his cave. No longer are people drowned at this place and now passersby are warned of bad luck by a dog's bark.

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/For a collection of Sinkaietk myths and folktales, see pp. 197-260, category 116./